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THE ṬABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

THE ṬABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

OF

KHWĀJAH NIẒĀMUDDĪN AḤMAD

(A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLY MUSALMĀN INVASIONS TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR)

VOLUME II

TRANSLATED BY

B. DE, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired)

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TABĀQAT-I-AKBARĪ.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

(VOLUME II.)

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY THE FOUNDER OF EMPIRE. THE DWELLER IN PARADISE, ZAHĪR-UD-DIN BĀBAR BĀDSHĀH [1] GHĀZĪ, son of 'Umr Shaikh, son of Sultān Abu Sa'īd Mīrza, son of Mīrza Sultān Muhammad, son of Mīrza Mīran Shāh, son of Amīr Taimūr Gūrgān, may God sanctify their graves, and may He make paradise their abode!

As this narrative is specially about events that happened in Hindustān, for a description of the [2] accidents that befell his Majesty in Māwar-un-nahar and Khurāsān and other places, the reader is referred to the history called Ākbarnāmah, one of the compositions of the possessor of all excellences, the person who knows all truths and divine knowledge, the nearest to His Imperial Majesty, the most erudite Shaikh Abul Fazl, and the Waqaiāt Bābarī, and other histories; and a beginning may be made with our subject. And as in (the history of) this dynasty, which will last for ever, His Majesty Bābar Bādshāh is always known as the Dweller in Paradise (Firdūs-makānī), in this history also, he will be designated by that name.

Let it be known that when Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān and other great Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm sent, by the hand of 'Ālam Khān Lodī, a representation containing a prayer that the auspicious and victorious steps of His Majesty Bābar Bādshāh should turn towards India, His Majesty sent a group of celebrated Amīrs with 'Ālam Khān, that they should go before him to the boundary of Hindustān and do what they should consider advisable. [3] They marched with

[1] There are some slight differences in the MSS., for instance, the title Ghāzī has been left out in some.

[2] Badāonī also does not narrate those events, but Ferishtah, who aspires to write a complete history, devotes a considerable amount of space to them.

[3] This agrees with Badāonī and the Tārīkh-i-Salātīn Afāghana.

all speed and conquered Siālkot, and Lahore and its dependencies, and made a report of the true state of affairs. And His Majesty under Divine favour and God's guidance, started from Kābul, the abode of peace, and on the first day pitched his victorious tents in the [1] neighbourhood of the town of Yaqūbpūr. He determined to spend some days in traversing a short distance and stayed one or two days at each stage, waiting for Shāhzādah Muhammad Humāyūn Mīrza, who had remained behind, at Kābul, for the purpose of bringing the army of Badakhshān and the neighbouring country, until the time when the fortunate prince came with a well-equipped army and waited on him. It was also a favourable accident, that on the same auspicious day Khwājah Kalān Beg, who was one of the great pillars of the royal power, coming from Ghaznīn, had the honour of kissing the Bādshāh's feet.

When there was no longer any necessity for delay, His august Majesty made all haste to cover the remaining stages of the journey, and arrived on the bank of the Sind, which is celebrated as the Nīlāb river; and raised the victorious standards there. At this stage an order was issued that the great Bakhshīs (pay masters) should examine the army, and report the number of horsemen and foot soldiers. The total strength of the army including soldiers and traders and men of rank and ordinary men, and men of society and of war amounted to [2] ten thousand. Verse:—

The lion doth not need an army, specially when,
He hath in his mind the hunting of a gazelle,
The Sun, without clan or troop, conquers the world,
When from the East he shews his standard high.

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[1] One MS. has حوالی قلعهٔ قریهٔ یعقوب پور, i.e. in the neighbourhood of the fort of the town of Yāqūbpūr. The other historians do not give the different stages of the journey. Badāonī says و بابر بادشاه بکوچهای متواتر بکنار آب سند رسیده, i.e. Bābar Bādshāh having by successive marches reached the bank of the river Sind. This, according to the Tuzuk-i-Bābari, was the last and successful invasion. It commenced on Friday the 1st of Safar, 932 A.H. (Nov. 17th, 1525); and on the 26th, the army encamped on the bank of the Sind (Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 239).

[2] According to the Tuz.-i-Bāb. (Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 239) the total number "great and small, good and bad, servants and no servants amounted to 12,000."

At this time, news came from the Amīrs of India (i.e. those of Bābar's Amīrs who had been sent in advance) that Daulat Khān of the evil destiny, and Ghāzī Khān composed of wickedness having strayed from, and transgressed the path of, allegiance and submission and broken their ill-founded promises and engagements, had collected about [1] thirty thousand warlike men from the Afghāns and hillmen; and had taken possession of the town of Kalānūr, and intended to fight with the Amīrs, who were in Lahore. When the print of this news got impressed on the page of the world-conquering intellect, [2] Maumin 'Ali Tawājī was ordered with all peremptoriness that he should carry the news of the arrival of the victorious standards to the Amīrs at Lahore, and forbid them from coming out of the citadel and attempting to engage in warfare, till the time of the arrival of His Victorious Majesty. Then with great quickness, the victorious army crossed the Nīlāb river, and arrived in the vicinity of Kajhkot, and the ship of his greatness having, with all celerity, crossed the Kajhkot river, it was decided that it would be most advisable that the army should march along the skirts of the hills, which would be contiguous to the boundaries of Siālkot. When the neighbourhood of the villages inhabited by the Khakhars became the place of the encampment of the great army, from that stage it advanced with great rapidity, traversing hills and forests; and the royal standards arrived by five successive marches to the neighbourhood of the [3] Jūd hills and spread their auspicious shadow over the place called

[1] The Tuz.-i-Bāb. has 30,000 or 40,000 men.

[2] He is called مومن علي تواچی Maumin 'Ali Tawāchī, in the lith. edn. and مومن علي تواجي Maumīn 'Ali Tawāji, مومن علي قورجي Maumin 'Ali Qurji and مومن علي نواحی Maumin 'Ali Nawāhī in the MSS. The name does not occur in any other history, so far as I have been able to make out. According to the translation of the Tuz.-i-Bābari in Elliot's history Saiyad Tufān and Saiyad Lachīm were sent, each with spare horses, to push on to Lahore. Badāonī after saying that Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān had collected 30,000 men suddenly jumps to the statement that Bābar Bādshāh arrived at Siālkot and destroyed that town. Ferishtah contrary to his usual custom is still more brief. He narrates the events between Bābar's crossing of the Indus and the surrender of Milwat and the subsequent humiliation of Daulat Khān in seven or eight lines of the lith. edn.

[3] I quote the following note about the Jūd hills from Col. Ranking's trans.

Bālnāth. The next day they raised the standards for marching from that place and crossed the river Behat (the old name of the Jhilam).

At that place, His Majesty was informed, that Amīr Khusro Kokiltāsh who had strengthened the fortification of Siālkot, had on the arrival of Ghāzī Khān of the broken faith, fled; and with [1] Amīr Wali Qazl, who had been sent to reinforce him, had arrived under the shadow of the throne high as the sky. They became the subject of the emperor's anger on account of this fault of theirs, but ultimately the innate benevolence of His Majesty drew the pen of forgiveness over the pages of their guilt. At this time well-informed scouts brought the news that the luckless Ghāzī Khān, and the ill-starred Daulat Khān, had, after hearing of the rising of the imperial star, depending on the strength of their army, made up their mind to give battle, and having collected forty thousand horsemen were bent on slaughter and bloodshed. Immediately *farmāns* were issued to the victorious and far-famed [2] Amīrs ordering them to delay giving battle till they could form a junction with the victory-giving standards; and the victorious army encamped on the bank of the river Chināb.

After that, in the year 932 A.H. (1525 A.D.) the town of [3] Bahlolpūr was included in the imperial dominions. As that town-

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of the Munt.-ut-tawārīkh, p. 128, 'the Koh-i-Jūd (see Rennell's map Kohi-Jehond) is apparently a part of the Salt Range (lat. 32° long 71°).' Bābar states that 'the tribes of Jūd and Junjūha descended from a common ancestor, are the ruling races of the district, and of all the tribes between the Sind and Bahrah. Aīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett H. 485, note 2).' All the MSS. (except one which has جوی) and the lith. edn. have جودی, but following Bābar and other histories I have changed it to Jūd جود. As regards Bālnāth the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī describes the place, as the hill of Jud below the hill of Balināt Jogi.

[1] The name is so given in all the MSS., except one in which it is written as امیر ولي قرول, which is evidently a mistake, and in the lith. edn. Neither he nor Amīr Khusro Kokiltāsh is mentioned in any other history that I have seen. But their flight is apparently referred to in the Tuz.-i-Bāb. (Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 241) where Bābar says 'when my people were on their way from Siālkot to the camp, hungry and naked, indigent and in distress, they were fallen upon by the road, with loud shouts and plundered' [by the Jāts and Gujars].

[2] One MS. has امراء نامدار و خوانین نصرت آثار but I have left out خوانین as Bābar's nobles were not called *Khāns*.

[3] Apparently Bahlolpūr is mentioned as Dholpūr by Badāonī, where he

ship is situated on the bank of the river Chināb on an elevated site. a *farmān* having the force of fate, was issued, that at that place an extensive fort should be erected which would be a better substitute of Siālkot, where in spite of the proximity of such a river the people drank the water of ponds, and the inhabitants of Siālkot should be removed to this delectable spot. Bābar then halted for two or three days in that auspicious locality in the enjoyment of rest and pleasure. From that place, he moved to the neighbourhood of Siālkot. Fast moving messengers were sent from there to the Amīrs, with the order that they should write the particulars of the condition of the enemy in detail, and send them to the foot of the exalted throne.

At this time, a merchant having obtained the good fortune of kissing the foot of the seat of justice brought news of [1] 'Ālam Khān, to the effect that he had had an engagement with Sultān Ibrāhīm; and the result of it was this, that both sides suffered defeat. This happened in this way, that when 'Ālam Khān Lodī left the court of His Majesty, in the company of the Amīrs, and turned towards India, they came to Lahore with [2] great speed; and rested there for a few days; and on account of the false reports which he had heard from a band of Āfghāns, he insisted with great emphasis, on the Bādshāhī Amīrs, who had been deputed to help him, saying, "as His Majesty, the shadow of God, has deputed you to help me, and has ordered me to conquer the kingdom of [3] Iskandar and Ibrāhīm, and Ghāzī Khān has made proposals of peace to me, it is right that you should also in agreement with me, consent to this treaty of peace, and should advance towards Dehlī and Agra." The wise and prudent Amīrs, who were well acquainted with the deceit of those people, did not listen to this message with the ear of agree-

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says that after laying waste the township of Siālkot, Bābar founded Dholpūr. It appears, however, from a note, that the passage which says this does not occur in either MS. A or MS. B, but occurs in one MS. only.

[1] Called 'Alim Khān in the translation of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī.

[2] The Tuzuk-i-Bābarī says that he had marched forward in spite of the scorching heat of the weather ..... having without any consideration for those who accompanied him, gone two stages every march.

[3] Two of the MSS. omit Iskandar, which of course means Sikandar Lodī.

ment, and replied: "that Ghāzī Khān, was a great hypocrite, and no faith could be placed on his words and acts. To leave this place and to join him merely on account of a little softness and flattery from him, was remote from the rules of wisdom. If he sent his brother Hājī Khān to the Bādshāh's Court, or made him over to the servants and well-wishers of the Bādshāh as a hostage, they could take the step he proposed." The foolish 'Ālam Khān said, "His Majesty has ordered you to act in obedience to me, and not me in obedience to you." Although he insisted on this, the Amīrs did not agree.

At this time Shīr Khān, the son of Ghāzī Khān, came to 'Ālam Khān and strengthened the foundation of the alliance with his father. [1] 'Ālam Khān and [2] Dilāwar Khān, who had, on account of his being a well-wisher of His Majesty, been kept for a long time in imprisonment by Ghāzi Khān, now fled and came to Lahore, and having made friends with Mahmūd Khān, son of Khān Jahān, who had also been one of the group of the well-wishers of His Majesty, separated themselves from His Majesty's army and joined Ghāzī Khān, and all in concert advanced towards Dehlī. They combined with certain other Amīrs, such as Isma'el Khān Jilwānī and others who despairing of Sultān Ibrāhīm, were in the neighbourhood of Dehlī, and raised the standard of determination with the idea of fighting with him. When they arrived at [3] Indarī, Suleimān Shaikh Zādah, governor of that town, joined them. The number of the army approached to [4] forty

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[1] The readings of the MSS. and of the lith. edn. appear here to be doubtful. They have عالم خان دلاور خان, or عالم خان و دلاور خان or عالم خان دلاور خانرا. The second appears to me to be correct. The whole sentence is not quite clear. Why Dilāwar Khān, who had suffered long imprisonment on account of being on the side of Bābar, and Mahmūd Khān who had also been among his supporters, should have gone over to the opposite side is not very clear. Probably they were talked over by 'Ālam Khān. They were not, however, on the side of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, and, as a matter of fact, fought with him. The facts as given here agree mainly with those narrated in the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī. Mahmūd Khān is there described on Mahmūd Khān Khān Jahān. to whom the custody of Lahore was entrusted.

[2] He was kept in imprisonment by Daulat Khān, his father, and Ghāzī Khān on account of his being a partisan of Bābar.

[3] A town in the route from Lahore to Dehlī. Lahore, Sāmanah, Indari and Badāon are mentioned as towns on this route.

[4] The Tuzuk-i-Bābarī says it amounted to thirty to forty thousand.

thousand. They all, acting in complete concert, besieged Dehlī. Sultān Ibrāhīm hearing this dreadful news prepared to fight with them. After 'Ālam Khān and his confederates had heard of Sultān Ibrāhīm's determination, they advanced from the neighbourhood of Dehlī, with the intention of encountering him; and settled among themselves that as the Afghān tribes had a great regard for their reputation, and the act of deserting their lord and benefactor, and joining with the enemy, at the time of the battle, would be a slur and disgrace to them. it was clear that if the battle took place during the day [1] the Mistress Success should not uncover her face from the veil of loyalty, and the hand of shame should hold the skirts of their secret friends, and none of them, for fear of losing his reputation, would come and join them. It was therefore proper that after the setting of the red glow of success when the veil of night would hide the face of good and evil, they should make a night attack on the army of Sultān Ibrāhīm; and thus enable their secret friends to combine with them, and then engage their enemies. In short, [2]they mounted in their encampment, which was at a distance of six *karohs* from Sultān Ibrāhīm's camp, with the object of making the night attack, and towards the end of the night, this intention of theirs was changed from the potential to the actual; and they threw the whole of Sultān Ibrāhīm's army into disorder. Jalāl Khān and some other Amīrs, who had made promises of a junction with 'Ālam Khān, and were looking for an opportunity, joined him. Sultān Ibrāhīm with some of his own tribesmen stood ready in his pavilion, and did not till the rising of the sun, stretch out his hand to fight nor move a step in the way of flight. As the followers of 'Alam Khān believing

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Badāonī says very briefly that 'Ālam Khān proceeded to Dehlī by order of Bābar and encountering Sultān Ibrāhīm made a night attack on his army, etc. As we have seen 'Ālam Khān marched towards Dehlī, in spite of the opposition of Bābar's officers.

[1] Very metaphorical language used to express the fact that the secret friends of 'Ālam Khān and his confederates in Sultān Ibrāhīm's army would be ashamed to desert it in daylight, but would be quite ready to do so under the veil of darkness.

[2] According to the Tuzuk-i-Bābari, they mounted their horses at noon, and continued mounted till the second or third watch of the night, without going either back or forward, etc. etc. (Elliot, IV, p. 213).

in their own strength and in the defeat of the enemy, and greedy of pillaging and plundering the wealth and the property of the latter, had dispersed in all directions, when, at the break of day, the veil of darkness was removed, not more than a few men remained with him. Sultān Ibrāhīm seeing the small number of the enemy attacked 'Ālam Khān, with the body of men who were with him, placing an elephant in front of his men, and with the very first onset put him to flight. 'Ālam Khān's men, who were engaged in plundering, at once fled from the places where they were. The confederate Amīrs became scattered in all directions. 'Alam Khān coming into the Doāb, took the way to Lahore. When he arrived at Sarhind, and heard the news of the arrival of the victorious standards of the Bādshāh, in the neighbourhood of Siālkot, and of the capture of the fort of [1] Milwat, dismay and consternation seized that wrong doer and his companions; and they all ran away in different directions. [2] Dilāwar Khān who had been among those, who were the well-wishers of His Majesty, and who had only submitted to 'Ālam Khān, on account of the violence of the hostile party and mistakes of judgment, having heard with delight of the arrival of the lofty standards, became anxious to kiss the imperial threshold, and making forced marches with a few companions, attained to that good fortune; and the excuses for his outward union with the enemies having been heard, the rites of forgiveness and grace of the shadow of God were carried out in respect of him. [3] 'Ālam Khān in company with Hājī Khān sought shelter in the fort of Kinkuta which is a very high fortress situated on the peak of a hill among the dependencies of Milwat. [4] By accident Nizām-ūd-dīn 'Ali Khalifah, who was the Vakīl-us-Saltanat, separated himself from the

[1] A fort in the Dūn, also called Malot.

[2] The Tuzuk-i-Bābarī says "Dilāwar Khān who had always been attached to my interests and who had been detained three or four months in prison on my account, separated from the others, came on by way of Sultānpūr and Kochi and waited upon me in the neighbourhood of Milwat, three or four days after the taking of that town."

[3] The Tuzuk-i-Bābarī says "'Ālim Khān and Hājī Khān having passed the river Satlet (Sutlej) at length reached Kinkūta the name of a strong castle hill between Dūn and the plain and threw themselves into it."

[4] Bābar does not give the name of the leader in the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī, but

bādshāh's army with a small body of Hazāras and Afghāns, and was roaming about at the foot of the hills. When they reached the neighbourhood of that fort, they tied the noose of their ambition on the pinnacle of its height and with very great effort and exertion stretched out their hand for warfare, so that the besieged were reduced to great straits and the fort was about to be taken. As the action took place at the close of the day the veil of night came before the life of the besieged, and the much-desired success did not shew her face; and [1] 'Ālam Khān turning his face from battle, with a harassed group of his adherents, came out of the fort on one side with a thousand troubles, and falling and rising, with their feet placed in the field of perplexity, and their heads in the desert of confusion. The next day they saw no way of escape and no means of safety, except by asking for protection in the world-protecting presence, where alone there was help and safety for those who had fallen down in the forest of disappointment, and where there was pardon for those who were wandering about in the wilderness of sin and guilt. Necessarily, therefore, putting their trust in the innate mercy of His Imperial Majesty, they placed their face of humility on the dust of his threshold. At the time, when he ('Ālam Khān) waited on His Majesty, the Dweller in Paradise, the latter according to his usual custom conferred a robe of high honour on him, and did not at all open his miracle-speaking mouth in the way of reproof. At the time of his coming into the sublime assembly, everyone stood up, and afterwards again the assembly arranged itself.

At this time the messengers who had taken the *farmāns* for summoning the great nobles who were in Lahore, brought the news of their arrival in the neighbourhood of the victorious camp. The

says "one of my detachments consisting of Afghāns and Hazāras coming up blockaded them."

[1] The reader will notice that from the beginning of the history of the Mughal dynasty our author has commenced to write in a more flowery and metaphorical strain, than he did in the previous portions of his work. Bābar in the Tuzuk-i-Bābari gives a more matter-of-fact account of what happened. Following the sentence I have quoted in the preceding note he goes on "and had nearly succeeded in taking the castle, strong as it was, being only prevented by the approach of night. These noblemen then made an attempt to leave it, but some of their horses having fallen in the gateway, they could not get out.

next day the victorious standards moved to the town of Pursarur, [1]Mīr Muhammad 'Ali Jang Jang and Khwājah Husain, the superintendent of the revenue department, with a body of brave warriors surpassed the others in attaining to the good fortune of kissing the imperial stirrups. In accordance with orders, a body of men came to inquire about the state of things with Ghāzī Khān, who was stationed in the direction of Lahore on the bank of the river Rāvī. On the [2]third day they returned and informed His Majesty that the enemy having heard of the arrival of the imperial troops had fled in great haste. Couplet:

The atom with the sun does n't seek for war!
Nor does the sparrow open its claws to fight the hawk!

They had waited up to this time, because they were not sure of the arrival of the great world-conqueror. On receiving this news His Imperial Majesty, making forced marches with great rapidity, with the object of pursuing that ill-starred crew encamped in the neighbourhood of [3]Kalānūr. At this place the great Sultāns, Muhammad Sultān Mirza and 'Ādīl Sultān with all the Amīrs from Lahore arrived and placed the face of loyalty on the high threshold, and having offered tributes were made fortunate with kindnesses and favours in accordance with their ranks and grades. The next day they marched from Kalānūr, and *farmāns* that had to be obeyed, were issued that [4]Amīr Muhammadī Kokiltāsh and Amīr Ahmadi Barwānji, and

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Some elephants that were along with them were pushed forward, and trampled upon and killed a number of horses....." They left the place during a dark night on foot and after incredible sufferings joined Ghāzī Khān, but not getting a friendly reception from him, waited on Bābar and tendered him their allegiance.

[1] This agrees with the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī, which however omits the word *Mīr* before the name of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang; and the translator says in a note that these noblemen had been left with a body of troops to defend the Punjab.

[2] The Tuzuk-i-Bābarī says that Bujkah with his party was sent out to reconnoitre; and they returned about the end of the third watch of the night, (apparently of the same day) and reported that the enemy had fled away in consternation.

[3] Kalānūr lies halfway between the Ravi and the Biyah, 17 miles west of Gurdāspūr town.

[4] Bābar says in the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī "marching before daybreak from

Amīr Qutlaq Qadam, and Amīr Wali Khāzin and most of the Amīrs should pursue the fugitives with a great army, and guard the neighbourhood of the fort of Milwat in such a way that no one should be able to come out of it, nor should the treasures and other valuables in it be lost. The real purpose of taking these precautions was to secure the arrest of Ghāzī Khān.

[1]The next day His Majesty encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort of Milwat; and ordered the great Amīrs to besiege the citadel in such a way that the enemy might be reduced to great straits. The following day Ismā'il Khān, son of 'Ali Khān, who was the son of Daulat Khān came out, and reported that Ghāzī Khān was not in the fort, and it appeared from what he said, that Daulat Khān and 'Ali Khān, and the whole of the rebel tribes were in it. His Majesty sent him back into the citadel with mingled promises and threats of favour and punishment. With firm determination he ordered the batteries to be advanced nearer. As on account of the prowess of the victorious army, the enemy could not plan any action, nor could they remain where they were, Daulat Khān with great meekness and humility begged for quarter, and the imperial mercy was shewn to him, and his sins were pardoned. He was, in accordance with orders, brought into the common hall of audience with [2]two swords suspended from his shoulders. When he came near, an order was given for removing the swords, so that he might make his salutation, as it should be made. His Majesty, by way of great tenderness towards a weak man, [3]gave him a place near himself, and drew the pen of pardon over his sins. Couplet:

Kalānūr, we discovered on the road certain traces that Ghāzī Khān and the fugitives were not far off. Muhammadi and Ahmadi with several of the Begs about my person, whom I had recently at Kabul promoted to the rank of Beg were detached to pursue the fugitives without halting."

[1] This seems to contradict what was previously said about the conquest of the fort of Milwat.

[2] This is explained by what Bābar says in the Tuzuk-i-Bābari: "I therefore sent Khwājah Mir Mīrān to confirm him (Daulat Khān) in his resolution and to bring him out..... In order to expose the rudeness and stupidity of the old man, I directed him to take care that Daulat Khān should come out with the same two swords hung round his neck, which he had hung by his side to meet me in combat."

[3] According to the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī and Ferishtah before he was allowed to

It's mercy, the favour that the generous to a sinner shews ;
To friends, the generous show favour alone always.

A *farmān* was issued that Daulat Khān and his children and dependents should have quarter, but all his property should be taken into account, and should be distributed among the soldiers of the victorious camp ; and Khwājah Mīr Mīrān, the judge, was appointed to guard and protect his family and children. When the fort came into the possession of His Majesty the Dweller in Paradise, [1] 'Ali Khān came and waited on him, and brought a quantity of gold *mohurs* as tribute or offering. About the end of the day, he came out of the fort, after collecting together the wives and other members of their families. Horsemen drove away the people from a distance, and conveying all of them to the house of Khwājah Mir Mīrān, made them over to him.

The next day His Majesty having ordered arrangements to be

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sit down he was compelled to make obeisance by Bābar's directing somebody to push his legs and making him bow. Ferishtah says چون در باب زانوزدن تعلل میکرد دست بر گردنش نهاده خواهي نخواهي زانو زدن فرمودند, i.e. as in the matter of kneeling down, he made some delay he was made to kneel down whether he liked it or not by hands being put on his shoulders. The actual words which I have translated as great tenderness to a weak man are از روي کمال ذرة پروري. Badāonī's account agrees with that of our author.

[1] According to Ferishtah the evacuation of the fort was not carried out as quietly as our author says. He says چون عوام الناس بر قلعه هجوم آوردة شروع در تاراج نمودند و بمنع امرا ممنوع نشدند, آنحضرت بجهت حفظ ناموس افغانان خود بنفس نفیس سوار شدة ; چند تیر بجانب ایشان انداخته, اتفاقاً تیري بر مقتل یکی از مردم معتبر شهزادة همایون آمدة خلایق متنبه گردیدند ; و اهل و عیال افغانان بسلامت از قلعه بر آمدند . فردوس مکانی بحصار درون رفت, و از اموال و جواهر تحفه نفیسه انقدر خوشوقت نگردید, که از کتابخانه غازي خان ; چه که غازي خان از علم بهرة تمام داشت و شعر خوب مي فهمید from which it will be seen that it was with difficulty that the honour of Daulat Khān's family was saved. The author of the Tabaqāt makes no mention of Ghāzī Khān's library, but it appears from Ferishtah and the Tuzuk that there was such a library. Bābar says "I examined Ghāzī Khān's library and found in it a number of valuable books," but he goes on to say that there was also a number of theological books, but I did not, on the whole, find so many books of value, as, from their appearance I had expected. Ferishtah does not say much about the contents of the books, but he says از همه قسم کتابهای نفیس صحیح خوشخط جمع کردة بود .

made for guarding the fort left Amīr Sultān Juneid Birlās, and Amīr Muhammadi Kokiltāsh, and Amīr Ahmadī Barwānjī, and Amīr 'Abdul 'Azīz, and Amīr Muhammad 'Ali Jangjang and Amīr Qutlaq Qadam, and certain other Amīrs for taking charge of the treasure and the property in the fort. As it now became known that Ghāzī Khān was not in the fort, the royal standards moved off in search of him. Daulat Khān, and 'Ali Khān, and Isma'el Khān and others of that faithless band were ordered to be imprisoned, and were ordered to be kept well guarded in the forts of Milwat and Bahera which were among the strongest of the forts in that neighbourhood. On the way [1] Doulāt Khān died. After that His Majesty the Dweller in Paradise started on a march with the object of looking and searching for Ghāzī Khān and awarding to him the [2] punishment for his (evil) deeds, and having traversed a rough country, made his august encampment in the valley of the Dūn, which is a lofty hill appertaining to the Siwalik range. Here he detached [3] Tardī Beg, with a body of soldiers, with the order that he should make a complete search of the hills and forests, and should seize Ghāzī Khan, who had gone astray; but as that luckless man, had for fear of his life, gone into that hilly and wild country, and had gone away to a great distance, [4] he could not be captured.

After His Majesty had gone one or two stages from the Dūn, Shāh 'Imād-ud-dīn Shirāzī came to the foot of the victorious throne, and submitted petitions from [5] Durmush Khān and Maulānā Muhammad Mazhab, who were among the Amīrs and learned men in the army of Sultan Ibrāhīm, containing inducements to him to come,

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[1] Col. Ranking says: (Note 6, p. 438 of his translation of Badāonī) that Ferishtah does not mention the death of Daulat Khān. As a matter of fact both he and Col. Briggs mention it (see p. 43 of Vol. II of Brigg's translation).

[2] Two of the MSS. have بجزای instead of بسزای

[3] Bābar says he sent Tardika with Barrin Deo Mahirhat (in a note Māhrūn and Diu Mllhas in Jaghatāī) to seize and bring Ghāzī Khān back as prisoner.

[4] According to Ferishtah he was closely pursued and harassed, and was not allowed to rest anywhere; but he succeeded in making his escape, and joined Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī.

[5] The name is Durmush Khān in one MS. and in the lith. edn., پیش خان in other MSS., and ارس خان in one MS.

and [1] expressions of their support and good wishes from a distance. His Majesty granted a favourable, royal mandate on [2] one of the messengers of Shāh 'Imād-ud-dīn and sent him back to them. From this stage he sent a certain quantity of money and various articles with Amīr Bāqī Shaghāwal, who had been honoured with the government of Dibālpur, for the *faqirs*, *darweshes* and students of Balkh. He also sent to Kabul for his sons and dependants, and all those who were waiting for him, various delicacies and rich fabrics, and presents in cash. From these stages also, scouts and Cossacks of the victorious army penetrated into the hilly country, captured many forts and places, and brought vast quantities of plunder into the victorious camp.

From that place the victorious camp moved by two stages to the neighbourhood of [3] Sarhind; from Sarhind the victorious army arrived, by two stages, to the town of [4] Sanur and encamped on the bank of the river Ghāghar. When starting from there, the victorious standards were raised in the neighbourhood of Sāmānah and Sūnām, the scouts reported that Sultān Ibrāhīm having heard of the arrival of the imperial standards, had marched from the neighbourhood of Dehli, where he had been stationed after the defeat of 'Ālam Khān, and had arrived near. A wise Solomon-like *farmān* was issued that Amīr [5] Kitteh Beg should go to the neighbourhood of Sultān

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[1] The words used are غایبانه اظهار دولتخواهی.

[2] It is not clear whether Shāh 'Imād-ud-dīn waited on Bābar in person, or only sent messengers. Ferishtah says Shāh 'Imad-ud-dīn was sent by Maulānā Muhammad Mazhab, and the Khān-i-Khānān of Sultān Ibrāhīm; but he does not say what Bābar did to him or to his messenger.

[3] Bābar gives the names of the different stages from Dūn, first Rūpār, where it rained incessantly, and was very cold; and many hungry and starving Hindustānis died, then Kāril (Karnūl. Jagh.), opposite to Sirhind.

[4] The name is Bānūr in one or two MSS. Bābar says he "halted on the banks of the stream of Banūr and Sanūr..... They call it the stream of Kāgar." Col. Ranking, according to the index of his translation of Badāonī, seems to think that the Kāgar or Ghāgar is the modern Gogra, one of the rivers that flows through Oudh, and joins the Ganges about half-way between Baxar and Patna. But this can scarcely be the river mentioned here. It is more probably the Cāgar, which flows past Ambala and disappears in the desert of Bikānir.

[5] The account of the despatch of Kitteh Beg to reconnoitre the army of

Ibrāhīm's camp and ascertain the state of that army, as far as might be possible for him, and should return with all speed. In the same way Maumin 'Ali Atkah was sent to reconnoitre and find out the condition of the army of Hamīd Khān Khāsah-Khail of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who was advancing after collecting a force at Hisār Firoza. Both the men who had been sent returned to the camp in the [1] town of Ambālah and submitted reports about the condition of the road, and the condition of the enemy, and their advance. At the same stage Baban Afghān, who after his apostacy and revolt had returned to his allegiance, and had been granted safe conduct, was made happy with the honour of kissing the imperial seat.

When it became clear to the world-conquering imperial mind that Hamīd Khān had advanced two or three stages from Hisār Firoza, he passed an order, that Shāhzādah Muhammad Humāyūn Mirza should move his steed of determination towards him; and [2] Amīr Khwājah Kalān Beg and Amīr Sultān Muhammad Dūldī, and Amīr Wali Khāzin, and Amīr 'Abdul 'Aziz, and Amīr Muhammad 'Ali Jangjang, and Amīr Shāh Mansūr Birlās and Amīr Muhib 'Ali son of Mīr Khalīfah, and other expert and brave warriors should accompany the victorious stirrups of the mighty Shāhzādah. They traversed the distance by forced marches, and when they came to the neighbourhood of the hostile army, [3] two hundred selected and well

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Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī given in the text agrees with that given in the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī and in Badāonī and Ferishtah. As regards the reconnaisance of Hamīd Khān's army Bābar's account agrees with that in the text, but Badāonī and Ferishtah omit all mention of the despatch of Maumin Atkah and say that Shāhzādah Humāyūn was sent with some Amīrs against Hamīd Khān's army and defeated it. As a matter of facts the Shāhzādah was sent after the return of Maumin Atkah.

[1] Bābar says that he had marched from Ambālah on Sunday, the 13th of the first Jumāda, and had halted on the margin of a tank, when Kitteh Beg and Maumin Atkah both returned on the same day.

[2] These names are not given in the translation of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī though they are in the original. Badāonī gives the name of Khwajah Kalān Beg, and adds other notable Amīrs. Ferishtah gives four of the names given in the text and has Jān Beg and Khusro Beg and Hindu Beg instead of the others. There are differences in the names in the MSS. also.

[3] Bābar gives an account of the battle (Tuzuk-i-Bābari, Elliott, IV, p. 249) which is more matter of fact and less rhetorical, but agrees in the main

tried horsemen were made into an advanced guard and were sent forward.

The first detachment of the Shāhzādah's army, which came up to the enemy's army, engaged the van guard of the latter, and commenced to slay them till the main body of the Shāhzādah's army came up, and the hostile army also came up on the scene and [1] the fire of battle raged high and they fought together, when suddenly a breeze of victory and triumph blew round the victorious army and the Afghāns were routed and nearly two hundred of those humiliated men were taken prisoner, and others were slain: Couplet:

Although the enemy's army might be strong,
The breeze of the Imperial Standard like a storm would blow it off.

The letter containing the news of the victory was brought by Mirak Maghūl at the same camp at which the victorious Shāhzādah had bade adieu (to his father) bringing with him eight elephants of gigantic size and the prisoners seized, from the Afghan army and the heads of the chiefs who had been killed in the battle, and had the good fortune of kissing the imperial feet. [2] The prisoners were, in accordance with the imperial order, made over to Ustād 'Alī Qulī to become the aim of his cannon and muskets. [3] The Sarkar of Hisār Firoza and its dependencies, the revenue of which amounted to one *kror*, together with another *kror* in cash, was conferred on the great Shāhzādah as his reward.

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with that given in the text. Badāonī and Ferishtah don't give any details. The former says بطریق ایلغار رفتند و محاربه عظیم واقع شد و شکست بر حمید خان افتاد و جمعی کثیر بقتل و اسیر رفتند. The latter says و بعد از جنگ حمید خان را گریزانیده مظفر و منصور بخدمت پدر آمد.

[1] Bābar however says that as soon as the main body of Humāyūn's army appeared, the enemy took to flight.

[2] Bābar confirms this. He says, he ordered Ustād 'Alī Qulī and the matchlockmen to shoot all the prisoners as an example.

[3] This agrees exactly with what Bābar says. Badāonī makes the revenue of Hisār Fīroza two *Krors*. Ferishtah says that as this was Humāyūn's first battle, he received حصار فیروزه و اقطاع جالندهر. Bābar also says that this was Humāyūn's first expedition and the first service he had seen, and it was a good omen, but he does not say that Hisār Firoza was conferred on him on that account.

After this, the victorious army advanced two stages beyond Shāhābād, and encamped on the bank of the river Jumna. News now came in succession of the approach of Sultān Ibrāhīm, with a powerful army, with the intention of giving battle; and the imperial army had advanced two stages from Shāhābād, when Haidar Qulī, a servant of Khwājah Kalān Beg, who had, in accordance with order, gone to collect information, came back and reported to His Majesty, that [1]Dāud Khān and a body of other Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm had crossed the Jumna with five or six thousand horsemen, and were halting, three or four *Karohs* in advance of Sultān Ibrāhīm's army. In order to destroy that body [2]Saiyad Mahdī Khwājah, and Muhammad Sultān Mirza, and 'Adil Sultān and Sultān Juneid Birlās and Shāh Mīr Husain, and Amir Qutlaq Qadm, and 'Amīr Unus 'Ali and 'Amīr 'Abdullah Kītābdār, and Amīr Muhammadī Barwānjī, and Amīr Kitteh Beg were appointed. [3]These brave warriors

[1] Bābar says that Dāūd Khān and Hāitim Khān with 6,000 or 7,000 men had been sent across the Jumna, and were encamped 3 or 4 *kos* in advance of Ibrāhīm's army. Badāonī's account is identical with that in the text. Ferishtah however increases the number of horsemen under Dāūd Khān to 27,000. This does not appear to be a mistake of the lith. edn. I have given, as Briggs in the translation gives, the same number.

[2] There are some variations in these names in the MSS. and lith. edn. Bābar says he despatched Amīr Taimūr Sultān with the whole of the left wing commanded by Sultān Jūneid,..... as well as part of the centre under Yūnus 'Ali.....Badāonī does not give all the names but his account agrees generally with that in the text. Ferishtah follows Bābar generally. A very pompous and florid account of the action is given in an extract from the Tabaqāt-i-Bābarī by Sheikh Zain or Zain-ud-dīn who was Bābar's secretary in Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 296 et seq.

[3] Bābar's account is; "next morning about the time of early prayers they arrived close upon the enemy, who put themselves in some kind of order and marched out to meet them; but our troops no sooner came up than the enemy fled, and were followed in close pursuit, and slaughtered all the way to the limits of Ibrāhīm's camp. The detachment took Hāitim Khān, Dāūd Khān's eldest brother, and one of the generals, with seventy or eighty prisoners, and six or eight elephants, all of which they brought in, when they waited upon me. Several of the prisoners were put to death, to strike terror into the enemy." Badāonī's account is very general. According to Ferishtah there was an obstinate conflict (جنگ سخت) and Hātim Khān fell in the battle (بقتل امد).

crossed the Jumna, and fell suddenly on the army of the enemy and the latter opposing them, as far as they were able, did not make any default in bravery, activity and steadfastness, but in a moment the lion-hearted heroes of the emperor's army, drove them before themselves and slew a number of them. Couplet:

When fortune befriends the king, and prosperity doth him guide,
Victory and triumph are slaves of his troops on the day of strife.

A number of them were made prisoners and the troops, thirsting for their blood, hotly pursued them, and made them run. The few that by means of a thousand artifices escaped with their lives, fled into Sultān Ibrāhīm's camp, and created great confusion and uproar there. A few of the leaders of Sultān Ibrāhim's army and a body of the other prisoners, and ten elephants were brought to the foot of the victorious throne. A *farmān* was issued for the execution of the prisoners, in order to exercise the imperial punishment and to strike vengeful terror.

And as the army marched from this station the [1] right and left wings and the centre were correctly arranged in compliance with the orders, which were ever to be obeyed and were brought before the Imperial eyes; and orders were passed in accordance with the rightly-guiding intellect of the shadow of God that gun-carriages should be provided for the whole army, and eight hundred of them were made ready in the course of a single day. Ustād 'Alī Qulī was ordered, that like the 'Turkish artillery, the [2] gun-carriages were to be tied to each

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1 جرانغار, left wing; برانغار, right wing; غول or قول, the centre of the army.

2 ارابه, or gun-carriage. Badāonī has عرابه M. de Courteille the translator of Bābar's memoirs from the Jaghatāi has chariots wherever gun-carriages are mentioned in this passage. The translator of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī says, that Bābar ordered that the gun-carriages should be connected together with twisted bull-hides as with chains. Ferishtah also has بریسمان خام گاو استوار بستند which Col. Briggs translates, "linked together with leather ropes made of raw cow-hide." But both our author and Badāonī say, that the gun-carriages were tied together with *chains as well as raw cow-hide ropes.* This is very probably incorrect.

other with chains and raw cow-hide thongs, twisted into the form of a [1] whiplash; and between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven [2] sacks (filled with earth) should be placed; so that the match-lockmen might on the day of battle, be able to shoot in safety from the shelter of the gun-carriages and the sacks (of earth). The army halted for five or six days at one station for collecting these articles and completing these arrangements.

After that, all His Majesty's well wishers thinking of plans for a battle of such a small band with such a numerous hostile army, imprinted on the pages of their minds the meaning of the merciful text of "the few prevailed over the many by the decree of God"; and it was decided [3] that they should march forward and take up a position with the town of Pānīpat in their rear; and keeping the line of gun-carriages in front, make them a shelter for the troops; and the latter, both cavalry and infantry, should fight with their arrows and matchlocks from behind it. Other horsemen were also to come out from the two flanks, to fight with and attack the enemy; and if the latter should press against them with any strength, should retire behind the gun-carriages. The august arrival of the army took place at the city of Pānīpat at a distance of six *karohs* from the army of the enemy on Thursday, the last day (the 30th) of Jamādī-ul-ākhir. The number of Sultan Ibrāhim's army was [4] one

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[1] ارقمچی or ارقمچي Col. Ranking says that Pavet de Courteille, (dict. Turk-Oriental) has not got the word. اردقمچي in the end of a whip, i.e. the lash.

[2] توبرہ I have translated as a sack. The word is now used to mean a nose bag. The text of Badāonī has توبرہ پر خاک, while one MS. omits خاک and another has خاک تفنگ. Bābar has Tūrās or breast-works and Ferishtah says the gun-carriages tied together formed a حصار for the protection of the match-lockmen. Col. Ranking says توبرہ is incorrect, and adds sacks filled with gun-powder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen. Bags filled with sand however, formed a most effective shelter during the late war.

[3] Bābar says he called together a council of war and it was settled that the city of Pānīpat with its buildings should cover the flank of the army and its front should be covered by Tūrās or covered defences and cannon and the match-lockmen and infantry should be placed in the rear of the guns and Tūrās. Badāonī agrees generally with the text. Ferishtah makes no mention of these arrangements.

[4] These numbers are apparently very rough guesses, though they are put

hundred thousand horsemen and a thousand elephants, and the number of the Imperial army was estimated at fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry. During the time the army halted at Pānīpat, [1] small parties went to the edge of the enemy's encampment, and fighting with large bodies of the hostile troops, defeated them. Verse :

[2] To the king, whom the grace of God doth befriend,
What fear, e'en if the world should be full of malignant foes.
God's victory gives a hanberk to his breast,
His mercy to his head, a helmet gives.

Time after time, they brought to the victorious encampment the heads of the enemies hanging from their saddle bows. Although there were repeated attacks on them from the imperial army, the enemy made no movement at all, and they did nothing, which might indicate that they were going either to advance or to retire.

At last some of the Hindustāni Amīrs who had become partisans of the emperor, thought it advisable that a night attack should be made in order to put an end to this state of inaction, and this proposal met with the approval of the world-adorning intellect. In accordance therefore with an auspicious *farmān* [3] Mahdi Khwājah and Muhammad Sulaimān Mirza, and 'Ādil Sultān and Khusro Beg

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down as perfectly accurate, while the number of Bābar's troops is given by estimate only. Bābar gives the same number as regards Sultān Ibrāhīm's troops, but he is careful to say that the numbers are only estimates. He does not give the number of his own troops. Badāonī gives the same numbers for the two armies. Ferishtah says that Sultān Ibrāhīm did not have less than 1,00,000 men and 1,000 elephants, while Bābar did not have more than 12,000 troops.

[1] This appears to be incorrect and is only an attempt to magnify the bravery of Bābar's army. Badāonī says something like this, هر روز سپاهیان بابر بادشاه از گوشه و کنار سپاه افغانان تاخته سرها می اوردند. Bābar, however, only says "during the seven or eight days we remained in Pānīpat, a very small party of my men, advancing close up to their encampment and to their vastly superior force, discharged arrows upon them." Ferishtah does not mention any of these raids.

[2] I have left these lines in the order in which they are in the lithographed edition. The MS. have them in the order of lines 3rd, 4th, 1st and 2nd.

[3] The following lines contain a laboured and not very successful attempt

Kokiltāsh and Shāh Amīr Husain, and Amīr Sultān Juneid Birlās, and Amīr Muhib 'Alī Khalīfah, and Amīr Wali Khāzin, and Amīr Muhammad Bakhshi, and Jān Beg, and Amīr Qarā Qūzī, with five or six thousand horsemen advanced on Sultān Ibrāhīm's encampment. By accident they reached it towards morning, and getting among the troops fought bravely; and some of them made great onsets on the outskirts of the encampment, and reduced a host of the men to a condition of destruction, and they all returned in safety and neither any of the imperial troops received any injury, nor were the enemy dispersed, but stood firm and steadfast.

[1] In short on Friday the [2] 8th of the honoured month of Rajab

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at glozing over a totally unsuccessful attack. Badāonī of course follows suit, Bābar is, however, candid enough to say, that the detachment did not assemble properly.... marched out in confusion and did not get on well. The day dawned, yet they continued lingering near the enemy's camp till it was broad day light, when the enemy, on their side, beat their kettledrums, got ready their elephants, and marched out upon them. Although our people did not effect any thing, yet in spite of the multitude of troops that hung upon them in their retreat, they returned safe and sound without the loss of a man. Muhammad 'Ali Jang Jang was however wounded with an arrow but not mortally. Ferishtah not having the fear of the Mughals, or rather of the descendants of Bābar, before his eyes also gives a straight forward account. He says و پنج هزار کس برسم شبخون بر سر اردوی پادشاه ابراهیم رفتند و چون غنیم واقف بود کاری نه ساخته برگشتند i.e., and five thousand men went to the camp of Pādshāh Ibrāhīm to make a night attack, but as the enemy became aware of it, they returned without doing anything.

[1] Neither our author, nor Badāonī, nor Ferishtah mentions any of the incidents that occured between the unsuccessful night attack and the battle of Pānīpat. Bābar, however says that he sent Humāyūn's detachment to cover the retreat of the men who had been sent to make the night attack, and to bring them back in safety; and he himself drew out the remaining army to meet the enemy. The latter however did not advance. He also says that that night there was a false alarm, and there was great confusion and dismay.

[2] Badāonī gives the same date, but Ferishtah erroneously makes it the 10th. The army arrived in the neighbourhood of Pānīpat on Thursday, the 30th Jumādī-ul-ākhir and next Friday when the battle took place would be the 8th and not the 10th. The name of the month is given as رجب المرجب Rajab-al-Murajjab; it is so called, because in the time of ignorance, it was held in special honour, in as much as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful; see Lane, s. v. رجب.

of the aforementioned year (April 18th 1526, A.D.), the hand of the angel of death, seizing the life of Sultān Ibrāhīm by the neck, brought him with his army in front of the imperial army, which held success in its grasp, and the latter mustered army stood fast and firm, in the field of bravery, like a brazen wall, dressed in garments of steel and adorned with the ornaments of victory and triumph; and raised its victorious standards. His Solomonlike Majesty stationed himself in his own splendid person in the centre, like the soul in the body, and arranged the centre and the right and left wings in beautiful order ready to fight and slay. When the two armies approached near, and looked at each other with the eye of hostility, a *farmān* having the force and currency of fate was issued [1] that Amīr Qarā Qūzī and Amīr Shaikh 'Alī, and Amīr 'Al Abu Muhammad Neza-bāz. and Shaikh Jamāl from the left wing, and Wali Qizil and Bābā Qushqāh, with the whole of the body of Mughals, making themselves into two bodies, should fight from behind the enemy's army.[2] In front, the whole of the Amīrs commanding the right and left wings, and from the special troops those under Amīr Muhammadi Kokiltāsh and Amīr Ūnus 'Ali, and Amīr Shāh Mansūr Birlās and Amīr Ahmadi Barwānji and Amīr 'Abd-ul-lah Kitābdār should engage in the conflict. When the enemy advanced and pressed on the right wing, 'Amīr 'Abd-ul-'Āzīz, who

[1] What is meant is clear from what Bābar says, viz. that these two bodies should form *tulughmah* or flanking parties with instructions that in case the enemy approached sufficiently near, they should make a circuit and come round upon their rear. The names of the different amīrs is differently given in the various histories. Bābar only names Qara Qūzi and Wali Qizil among those who were placed in charge of the left and right divisions. Badāonī places the left wing under Amir Qarā Qurchi (evidently a mistake for Qara Qūzi; he is called Kara Kūzī in the translation of the Tuzuk-i-Bābari) and Amīr Shaikh 'Ali with certain other amīrs and the right wing under Wali Qizil and Baba Qushqah. Ferishtah says the right flanking party was commanded by Qāsim Beg and the left by 'Ali Bahādur.

[2] The meaning of the passage is not very clear but I think I have got the correct meaning. Bābar says the right division was under Humāyūn, etc., the left division under Muhammad Sultān Mirza; and the right of the centre under Chīn Taīmūr Sultān, etc., the left centre under Kalifah, etc. The advance was led by Khusro Gokultāsh; and 'Abdul 'Aziz had the command of the reserves. There were, besides, the two flanking parties mentioned in the preceding note.

had been left in charge of the reserve, was ordered to reinforce it. [1] When those lion-hearted roamers in the wilderness of warfare received permission to fight, they made their fast steeds gallop from front and rear and right and left, so like blood drinking arrows, that the bodies of the enemies seemed to grow wings; and it appeared as if their souls, like birds, should take their flight into the other world; but as their wings and feathers were shorn by the scissors of the double-tongued swords, the probability of their fight was negatived; and the heads of the turbulent ones were made soft by heavy maces, and the mart of death became busy in the ranks of the enemy. Verse:

Such streams of blood in the wilds of battle flowed,
That like a flood, they carried one off one's feet,
The breeze, that came in the morning, from that place,
Brought the smell of the heart's blood to one's brain.

At last under the auspices of God's mercy, and by the help of the grace eternal, the ill-doing and evil-fated enemies were broken and routed. The majority of them were slain, and the few who, wounded and half-killed, hoped to escape by fleeing into the wilderness, became food for crows and ravens. Sultān Ibrāhīm, unrecognised, was slain with the blood-shedding sword, in the wilderness (of the battle field) with a number of his immediate adherents. At last when he was recognised his head was brought to the presence, which is the refuge of kings. Nearly five or six thousand soldiers were killed in one spot near Sultān Ibrāhīm; and altogether in the battle [2] some thou-

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[1] I think the author has excelled himself in this sentence in the use of pompous language and confused metaphors, but there is very little of the actual incidents of the battle in it, or in the following sentences. Badāonī writes in a similar strain and has similar metaphors and the identical lines of verse. Ferishtah gives some account of the position of the troops, but does not say much about the actual battle. Bābar has the most connected and intelligent account of the battle. It is too long to quote here, but see Elliott, Vol. iv, p. 254 et. seq.

[2] All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have چند or چندین هزار, some thousands. Badāonī is still more hazy. He says از کشته پشته پشته شد, which may be translated somewhat freely as the slain lay in heaps. Ferishtah is more definite. He says و از قرار تحقیق دران روز چه در تمام معرکه و چه در حین تعاقب شانزده هزار کس افغانان شربت فنا چشیدند i.e., according to careful inquiries

sands drank the *sharbat* of death. His Majesty brought the words "Praises to God, who has guided us to this" on the tongue of praise and thanksgiving, and raised the standard of Divine [1] praise. And on the same day, letters announcing the victory were sent to the cities and provinces, and the army marched towards the metropolis of Dehlī; and that most auspicious of cities was illuminated by the rising of the imperial effulgence. On Friday the public prayers for greatness and empire were read in the great and renowned name of that monarch,[2] the master of the auspicious conjunction, from the pulpits and the Jāma' mosque.

An auspicious *farmān* was now issued, that the Shāhzādah of all the inhabitants of the world [3] Muhammad Humāyūn Mirza, and Amīr Khwājah Kalān, and Amīr Muhammadī Kokiltāsh, and Amīr Unus 'Ali, and Amīr Shāh Mansūr Birlās, and a number of others should proceed by forced marches towards Agra, to take possession of that fort and to guard the treasures in it from being appropriated either by the nobles or by the common people. His Majesty, also, following them, turned the bridle of his determination towards Agra, and made a grand entry in that city. To each one of the needy retainers of the footstool of his sovereignty, he allotted a suitable residence, and opening his hands which were generous and overflowing like the sea, scattered gems for [4] largesse and benefactions.

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during that day, either in the battle, or in the course of the pursuit, 16,000 Afghāns drank the *sharbat* of death. Bābar says "We reckoned that the number lying slain in different parts of the field of battle amounted to 15,000 or 16,000 men."

[1] Some of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have صحامد یزدانی Divine praise, others have صجاهد یزدانی Divine or religious warfare.

[2] صاحبقرانی a title usually given to Taimūr, but here to Bābar.

[3] Bābar says he directed Humāyūn to proceed with all speed towards Agra, and Mahdi Khwājah to set out with equal speed towards Dehlī. He also describes his own march and says that he visited the mausoleum of Nizām (or Nizām-ud-dīn) Auliyā, circumambulated the tomb of Khwājah Qutb-ud-dīn, the tomb and palaces of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Khilji and his minaret, the Shams tank, the royal tank, the tombs and gardens of Sultān Bahlol and Sultān Sikandar, after which he returned to the camp, and went on board a boat, and drank *arak*.

[4] These gifts and largesse are not mentioned by any other historian in such

awarded twenty *lakhs* to the Shāhzādah, of the people of the world, Muhammad Humāyūm Mirza, and granted to each one of the Amīrs ten lakhs, and eight lakhs, and five lakhs according to the gradations of their ranks. Verse:

Who in the field of battle, his life doth sacrifice,
With liberality thy gold on him bestow;
If there are men with hearts so brave and bold
E'en they won't fight, if they no tendance get and care.

And all bold warriors, and servants and retainers received ample rewards from the money and treasures which were seized. Every one of the chief men in the army, and Saiyads, and Shaikhs and students, and all retainers and [1] merchants, and the tradesmen of the markets, and low and high each one received an ample allotment and a complete share. Presents were allotted to the ladies of the chaste harems, of fine jewels and rare fabrics and of precious metals, both red and white. And for all singers and musicians of the court, and all who eagerly waited for the imperial benefactions, gifts were sent to Samarqand, and Khurāsān and 'Irāq and Kāshghar. Offerings were also sent to Mecca the revered, and Madina the sacred, and to all the auspicious tombs. To all the inhabitants of Kābul and Khost, and Badakshān, the residents of which are distinguished for their piety and purity, each man and woman received the gift of a *Shāhrukhī*. For conveying and distributing these gifts trustworthy men were appointed. Of the needy attendants of the court of Solomon-like grandeur, there was not a single person, whether present or absent, who did not receive a portion of the plundered riches of Hindūstān.

As the noble and pure mind (of His Majesty) was altogether

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detail, but Ferishtah has a list of them, though it is different from that in the text; according to him Humāyūn received 3,50,000 rupees, and one treasury with closed door, and Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā got 4 qabās, and a belt and jewelled sword and two lakhs of rupees. No other amounts are mentioned The gift of one *Shāhrukhī* appears, according to Ferishtah, to have been made only to each of the inhabitants of the city of Kabul, and not to those of the whole country and of Khost and Badakshān, as in the text.

[1] Ferishtah makes it clear that only the merchants who accompanied the army received these gifts.

bent on improving the condition of the inhabitants of the towns, and giving pleasure to the hearts of the men in possession of the forts, *farmāns* of encouragement were sent in all directions; but owing to their total want of docility and friendship, the unfortunate Indians were so savage and unfriendly, that they totally refused to make their submission, and fleeing to the forests and hills, trod the paths of destruction; and those who held the forts, shutting the doors of affluence on themselves, prepared the things required for guarding them, and except the forts of Dehlī and Agra, which were rendered victorious by the noble imperial steps, all the other forts had the foundations of hostility well-established and the basis and ground work of estrangement firm and strong. Qāsim Sambalī held the fort of Sambal. Nizām Khān that of Biānah; [1] Hasan Khān Miwāti had strengthened the fort of Alwar in the province of Miwāt; and Tātār Khān Sārang Khānī that of Gwāliār; Husain Khān Lohānī guarded Rāprī, Qutb Khān, Itāwah; [2] 'Ālam Khān, Kālpī. The city of Kanouj and all the cities on that side of the Ganges were in the possession of the rebel Afghāns, who even in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm did not own allegiance to him, and who, after the rising of the Sun of the imperial greatness, and the lowering of the Afghan standard, had taken possession of many other provinces, and had raised the son of Bahādur Khān on the throne, and given him the title of Sultān Muhammad; and Nāsir Khān Lohānī and M'aruf Farmulī, and many other of the Afghān chieftains had sworn allegiance to him; and were creating disturbances. It had become such a custom of denying allegiance (to the emperor), that a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm of the name of Marghūb had fortified the city of Mahāwan, which was situated within a distance of twenty *Karohs* from Agra, and refused to make his submission.

It so happened that that year the [3] heat was so excessive in

[1] Bābar calls him Rājā Hasan Khān and says that that *infidel* was the, prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections.*

[2] Besides the names given in the text of the men who held the various forts Bābar mentions Muhammad Zaitūn as in occupation of Dholpūr. Ferishtah says 'Ali Khān Farmūlī was in Miwāt. He does not mention Hasan Khān or Rājā Hasan Khān of Alwar.

[3] No mention is made in the text that on account of the great heat Bābar's Begs, as he calls them, lost heart and objected to remain in Hindustān. Bābar,

India, that large numbers of the people of the country died of it. On account of this, His Majesty, the shadow of God, kept his victorious army in that city of peace Agra, for a time, in repose and comfort, under the shadow of the imperial kindness. When the violence of the heat of the atmosphere had abated, and the hot *simoon*-like gusts had been changed to the temperate breezes of the monsoons, and half of these soul-relieving breezes had also passed away, the renowned amīrs started in all directions for the conquest of the kingdoms, cities and forts, and the gates of success became opened by the smallest attention. The standards of God's mercy were so raised above the heads of the agents of the imperial government, that all those who had fled and lay forlorn and helpless, and all those who had lost all hope and given up their hearts to despondence, were brought under the effulgence of benevolence and hope, and the shadow of the curtains of pardon and grace. Many who had gone away came again under the shadow of the imperial safety; and Fīroz Khan, and Sārang Khān, and Shaikh Bāizīd, brother of Mustafa Farmūlī, and [1] Shaikh Habīb and other Afghān amīrs placed their faces of submission on the threshold of the court which was as lofty as the sky, and were honoured with stipends and *jāigīrs*. [2] Shaikh Khuran with all the quiver-bearers or archers of the Doāb

however, expressed his determination not to relinquish a kingdom which he had acquired after undergoing so much toil and trouble, but he told the Begs that such of them as did not like to remain might go back. They, however, all agreed to remain, except Khwāja Kalān, who was allowed to go back; as he had a large retinue he was sent in charge of the presents which Bābar was sending to Kabul, etc. Badāonī does not even mention the excessive heat. Fersihtah mentions it, and after noting all the circumstances says that as Bābar had gained many of his victories through the exertions of Khwāja Kalān, and the latter had suffered a great deal of illness and other injury in Hindustān, Bābar sent him back, and conferred the government of Kābul and Ghaznī on him. Ferishtah also says that when the Afghān amīrs saw that Bābar was not going back like Taimūr, but intended to remain in India, they thought it right to submit to him.

[1] His name is given as Shaikh Habil, and Shaikh Jith, and Shaikh Wajih, etc., in the different MSS. and in the lith. edn. I cannot find his name in any other history, but he may be identical with Qāzī Habīb mentioned by Ferishtah.

[2] According to Badāonī he از امرای مردم هند و از ظرفای ایشان بود ، و در

hastened with all truth and sincerity to the sublime court, and his sincerity being acknowledged he became distinguished as one of the most powerful amīrs.

When the noble mind (of the emperor) was freed from the business of distributing rewards from the overflowing treasuries, his high attention was engaged in allotting the *parganas* and the rich *sarkārs*. Each one of the provinces appertaining to his (recently) acquired kingdom was conferred on one of the renowned sultāns and the successful amīrs. The province of [1] Sambal was allotted as the fief of the noble Shāhzādah Muhammad Humayūn Mīrzā. At this time petitions of supplication came from Qāsim Sambali to the court, which is the asylum of all the peoples, that the [2] miscreant Baban, who had fled from the imperial camp, and had gone to the neighbourhood of Sambal, had collected a force and had besieged that fort. An imperial *farman* was issued that Amīr Kittah Beg and Mulla Qāsim, brother of Bābā Qushqāh, the Mughal, with his brothers, and Maulāna Afāq and Shaikh Khuran with the quiver-bearers of the Doāb and Amīr Hindu Beg should proceed against him by forced marches. Immediately the amīrs, in accordance with the

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فن موسيقي ثانی نداشت i.e. he was one of the amīrs of the Indian people and one of their most accomplished men, being unrivalled in the art of music. Ferishtah calls him Shaikh Ghuran, and says he was the first to come with two or three thousand followers from the Doāb to Agra, and to enter Bābar's service. Col. Ranking incorrectly translates با تمامی جمیعت میان دواب امدہ دید "came with his whole followers and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb," whereas the following came from the Doāb, and the meeting was at Agra.

[1] There is no mention of the transactions connected with Sambal in the trans. of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī given in Elliot's history. Badāonī says that Sambal was granted to Humāyūn, as in the text, and the amīrs seized Qāsim Sambali and sent him to the bādshāh. Ferishtah says that Baban Afghān besieged Sambal. Qāsim Sambali sent representations to Bābar, declaring his allegiance to the latter, and asking for help against Bāban. Muhammadi Kokaltāsh was sent against the latter who was defeated and fled. Qāsim made over Sambal to Muhammadi Kokaltāsh and became a partisan of Bābar; and Sambal was conferred on Humāyūn. Our author, it will be seen, gives a more detailed and coherent account.

[2] The actual adjective used is حرام خوار, the eater of unlawful or forbidden food, and is a term of abuse.

farmān, proceeded to cross the Ganges, when Malik Qāsim, with his brothers, hastened before the rest of the victorious army, and reached Sambal with about one hundred and fifty followers, at the time of early prayers; and Baban also having collected a body of men came and confronted him. Malik Qāsim began a fight without delay or hesitation, and in a moment drove the enemy before him, routing them completely and making a great slaughter, and capturing some elephants and horses and other property. On the morning of the following day, when the other amīrs arrived at Sambal, Qāsim Sambali, being released from the state of siege, hastened to join the amīrs, and spread the bed of gratitude and submission, but delayed the surrender of the fort from day to day, making a (new) excuse each day. The Amīrs taking counsel about the course to be adopted by them, one day Shaikh Khuran brought Qāsim to the assembly of the amīrs, when the soldiers of the victorious army suddenly entered the fort, and sent Qāsim with his dependants to the foot of the throne, that was as grand as that of Solomon.

About the same time a force was sent to conquer Biānah, and Nizām Khān, who was there, [1]postponed the acceptance of the orders (for the surrender of his fort) making requests the granting of which, considering his condition and status, was impossible. At this time also Rānā [2]Sānkā, who was amongst the most powerful Rājāhs of Hindustān, issued from his own kingdom, and besieged the fort of [3]Kandār, which was held by Hasan, son of Makan, and began making disturbance and trouble and laid the foundation of rebellion and hostility. In a short time Hasan, son of Makan, surrendered the fort on certain conditions. At this time Bābar ordered that Amīr Sultān Juneid Birlās, and 'Ādil Sultān, and Amīr Muhammadī Kokaltāsh, and Amīr Shah Mansūr Birlās, and a large body of renowned Sultāns

[1] The meaning of the sentence is not very clear. I have given the translation which appeared to me to be the best.

[2] He is called Rānū Sānkā, Rānā Sānkā and Rānā Sangā at different places. He was the ruler of Udaipūr who had enlarged his dominion by many conquests in Malwa and had made the principal Rajput States dependant on him. His proper name was Rānā Sāngrām Sinha.

[3] It is called Kandhār in the translation of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī, and according to a note to it, is a strong hill-fort a few miles to the east of Rantambhor. Badāonī calls it Khandhār. Ferishtah does not appear to have mentioned it.

and Maliks, who had taken the fort of Dhūlpūr from Muhammad Zaitūn, and placed it in charge of Amīr Sultān Juneid Birlās, should proceed to attack Nizām Khān who held the fort of Biānah, and should make every effort to conquer the fort, and totally destroy Nizām Khān's power.

After the destination of the mighty army had been determined upon, the [1] wise amīrs were directed to [2] assemble at the foot of the throne which was like that of the Caliph, and after they had assembled, and a council had been held for inquiry and deliberation, it was ascertained that as the Luhānī rebels who mustered about fifty thousand horsemen had advanced beyond Kanauj, and were about to create a disturbance; and Rānā Sānkā was, after taking the fort of Kandār, bent on turbulence and hostility from another direction, and the rains, which had up to this time prevented the marching of troops, were abating, it was right and proper that the troops should march in one of the two directions. As the strength of Rānā-Sānkā's troops was not known, and his power, in the shape in which it afterwards became known, appeared to be remote, the members of the council represented that Rānā Sānkā was at a distance from this province, and his advancing near was improbable, it was right and proper that the crushing of the Lūhānīs who were very near, should be taken up in the first instance. His Majesty approved of the opinion of the amīrs, and it was decided that His Majesty in his own person should march towards the East, and crush the enemies who were there. At this time His Highness the great prince Muhammad Humāyūn Mīrza represented that if the world-conquering wisdom of His Majesty should decide on making over this duty to him, he had hopes that by the strength of the armies of the royal power, even the absent help of His Majesty, the shadow of God, would be sufficient for destroying these enemies. This request was thoroughly agreeable to the saintly mind of His Majesty, and it was settled that the amīrs who had been nominated for the conquest of Dholpūr should proceed towards the East, following the stirrups of

[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. edn. have امراء صاحب رای. I think صاحب is a mistake for صایب.

[2] I cannot find any mention of the assembling of such a council in any other history.

the successful Shâhzâdah. Saiyad Mehdî and Khwâjah Muhammad and Muhammad Sultân Mîrza, who had been nominated for the conquest of Itâwah, were also directed to follow the great Shâhzâdah. His Highness collected these Amîrs at Jalesar, one of the dependencies of Agra, and after staying there for a few days for the coming together of the aforementioned Sultâns[1] marched towards the east; and after conquering all those provinces and cities made his prosperous halt at that abode of pleasure Jaunpûr.

At this time, [2] Râná Sânkâ having gathered strength marched to attack the imperial dominions at the instigation of Hasan Khân Miwâti and other wicked men of that country. Nizâm Khân, the ruler of Biânah, becoming aware of his wickedness, sent petitions to the imperial court. As he was known to be a believer in Islâm, and the fact of his not having submitted to Râná Sânkâ became known, [3]Mir Saiyad Rafi'-ud-dîn, traditionist, Safvî, who was one of the most learned men of the age, became his intercessor, and having

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[1] There is no mention of this expedition in Badâonî, but he says that Bâbar, when he was marching to meet Râná Sânkâ wrote to Humâyûn to return from Jaunpûr. He does not, however, say why or when the latter went to Jaunpûr. Ferishtah is also silent about the expedition, but he says that Humâyûn, after defeating the Afghâns at Jaunpûr, returned to Agra.

[2] Bâbar says Râná Sânkâ was joined by Hasan Khân Miwâtî. Badâonî says that Râná Sânkâ and Hasan Khân Miwâtî raised a son of Sultân Sikandar Lodi to the throne, giving him the title of Sultân Mahmûd, and advanced to Fatehpûr, otherwise called Sîkrî. Ferishtah gives a more detailed account. He says Râná Sânkâ had about a *takh* of Rajputs under his standard and many of the Amîrs of Ibrâhîm Lodi joined him, and Mahmûd Khân, son of Sultân Sikandar Lodi, went to him, with two thousand horsemen, and the Râjâ of Mârwâr, and Râjâ Baramdeo, and Râjâ Narsingh Das, and Medinî Rây, Râjâ of Chandari, and Râvaldas, son of Dâûd Singh, and the Râjâ of Dangârpûr, and Rây Chandrabhân and Mânikchand Chauhân, and Rây Dilip with 50,000 or 60,000 Râjput horsemen, came under his command, and Hasan Khân Miwâti with 15,000 horsemen joined him; so they with about two *lakhs* of horsemen marched towards Agra with the object of freeing India (from Bâbar's rule).

[3] He is called Saiyid Râfi' in the translation of the Tuzuk-i-Bâbarî Badâonî calls him میر سید رفیع الدین صفوي که از اکابر سادات بلخ و اعظم محدثان اندیار بود ; and says he came to India in the reign of Sultân Sikandar Lodi, and received the title of ت مقدسه

induced him to surrender the fort of Biānah to the servants of the imperial court, brought him to have the fortune of kissing the imperial feet, and great favours were shown to him. At this time Tātār Khān Sārang Khāni who held the fort of Gwāliār, seeing that Rānā Sānkā had taken the fort of Kandār, and had arrived in the vicinity of Biānah, and some of the Rāys and Rājās and Zamindārs of Gwāliār and some Musalmans had combined together, and were preparing to capture Gwāliār, became distressed with the outcries and tumult created by them, and, agreeing to surrender Gwāliār, sent messengers to the threshold, which was the asylum of all the people of the world. His Majesty the Khāqān sent Khwāja Rahīm-dād, having made him the commander of a body of Khurāsāni and Indian troops, and [1]Shaikh Tunqatār with him, having promoted the latter for the excellence of his service, to take over the Government of Gwāliār, and Maulānā Afāq and Shaikh Khuran were also appointed to help and re-inforce them. When they arrived at Gwāliār the views of Tātār Khān had undergone a change, and he declined to make his submission. At this time [2]Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, some account of whom is narrated elsewhere in this book, having become a partisan and well-wisher of His Majesty [3]gave information to the imperial troops, that it would

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[1] This name is variously given in the different MSS. He does not appear to be mentioned by any other historian. Bābar says (vide translation of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī) he sent Rahīmdād with a party of Bakrah men and Lahoris. Badāonī says Khwāja Rahīmdād and Shaikh Khuran and a body of others were sent to Gwāliār.

[2] Badāonī says that Bābar's troops entered Gwāliār by the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority in the science of Dāwat-ul-asmā, by some skilful stratagem. Ferishtah says that, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus who was a *Darvesh*, and had many disciples and was in the fort, sent a man to Rahīmdād, telling him to enter the fort by a stratagem, after which it would be easy to manage Tātār Khān. Bābar (translation of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī) does not mention Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, but says that Rahīmdād sent in a notice to Tātār Khān, that he was afraid to remain outside the fort for fear of the *Kāfirs*, and after much entreaty was allowed to enter with a few followers, after which he managed to get all his troops in by the Hastiapol or Elephant-gate.

[3] داشت اعلام according to several MSS. and the lith edn, and نمود اعلام according to other MSS.

be right, if by a stratagem a small number of men belonging to the victorious army should get into the fort, and thus achieve their object. As the above-mentioned Shaikh was perfect in [1]the science of the invocation of the great names of God, it is evident that in the matter of the conquest of the fort, he must have invoked with one of the names of God; and it is clear that the arrow of his prayer should have reached the mark of acceptance.[2] In any case whether it was, by the stratagem of the far-seeing intellect, and the daily increasing royal fortune, or by the prayer of that pure minded *darvish*, when the amîrs sent a message to Tātār Khān, that the object of the coming of the renowned troops was the suppression of the disturbances caused by the *Kāfirs*, and not the taking of the fort, and as there was a fear of a night-attack (by the *Kāfirs*), it appeared to them, that if a large body, nay even a small number of them might get into the fort, and the remainder remain near it under its shelter, so that, when the time for action came, they might all combine and coming out of the fort, might act in concert, in extinguishing the flames of the heathens. Tātār Khān, after a great deal of entreaty, accepted this proposal and allowed Khwājah Rahīmdād to enter the fort, with a few men. The latter, after entering the fort, left a few men near the gate of the fort, who finding an opportunity during the night opened it, so that the men who were outside, entered the fort with ease and comfort, and they opening the gate during the night admitted the whole army, so that, Tātār Khān was made entirely powerless about the surrender of the fort, and it was wrested out of his possession, whether he liked it or not. So he surrendered it to Khwājah Rahīmdād, and sought the asylum of the citadel characterised by strength and the protection of the daily-increasing pomp and affluence.

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[1] علم دعوت اسماء اعظم الهي and دعوت اسماء الهي are terms used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Musalmans. For a full account of it, see Hughes (Dict. of Islām) article دعوة page 72 (quoted from a note of Colonel Ranking's translation of Badāoni's Munt.-ut-Tawārīkh).

[2] It is clear that our author had not much faith in the efficacy of the incantation of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus; and it is clear that Rahīmdād owed more to the stupidity of Tātār Khān, than either to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus's prayers, or to Bābar's daily-increasing good luck.

Muhammad Zaitūn also being completely powerless, surrendered the fort of Dhūlpūr, and obtained the high honour of kissing the threshold, which is the nest or abode of the angels.

Verse :—The earth, by the grandeur of the world-ruler's destiny,
Became like the field of paradise and the garden of heaven.
From all sides came to him the tidings of victory,
At all places the heart heard the cries of peace!

In short, when Rānā Sānkā reached the confines of Biānah, and commenced to stretch his hand against the imperial dominions, and the violences of his inroad, and the number and multitude of his troops increased from day to day. His Majesty the King was at his capital of Agra with a small army. He had sent the rest of his victorious forces in all directions. Orders which must be obeyed were issued for summoning the great Shāhzādah Muhammad Humāyūn Mīrza, from the eastern provinces, with the direction, that he should leave the Metropolis of Jaunpūr with certain *amīrs* and *sardārs*, and should himself return with all promptitude. This auspicious *farmān* reached the Army of the Shāhzādah, when having conquered the eastern enemies, he was in possession of the kingdom of Jaunpūr, and he became aware of the exact state of things. At this time news reached him, that [1]Nasīr Khān was intending to cross

[1] The account of the attack on Nasīr Khān (Luhānī) is not very clear. In the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī Bābar says "Humāyūn, who had proceeded against the rebels of the east, having taken Jaunpûr, marched expeditiously to Ghāzīpur, for the purpose of attacking Nasīr Khān." It is added in a note that the Jaghatai here adds, "He being apprised of the danger which threatened him crossed over the Ganges, upon which Humāyūn proceeded from Ghazīpūr to Khairābād." Badāonī says شاهزاده کامگار ولایت حرند و بهار را از نصیر خان نوهانی منخلص گردانید; which means that, the great prince "freed the province of Harand and Bihar from Nasīr Khān Nūhānī." The readings in the lith. edition and MSS. vary. The former has نصیر خانرا از غازي‌پور راه فرار میدود نمود و ادب فرمودة خیر اباد و بهار را بغارت و تاراج زیر و زبر کردة. The MSS. have, with some variations, نصیر خان از غازي پور فرار نمودة و او را ادب بلیغ فرمودة خرند وبهار را بغارت etc., as in the lith. ed. It appears to me that the reading of the lith. edition is the correct one. The prince could not very well have punished Nasīr Khān after the latter should have fled; and as between Kharand or Kharīd and Khairābād, the latter, has at least the merit of being found in the Jaghatai of the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī. Ferishtah does not mention this matter

the Ganges, and escape from Ghāzīpūr. The great Shāhzādah turned the bridle of his determination in that direction and having prevented Nasīr Khān from escaping from Ghāzipūr, severely punished him and having pillaged and devastated Khairābād and Behar, moved his victorious standards towards Jaunpūr. In accordance with the imperial orders he then placed Khwājah Amīr Shah Hasan, and Amīr Sultān Juneid Birlās in charge of the government of Jaunpūr, and turned towards the sublime court. Knowing however, that it was necessary and advisable to settle the matter of 'Ālam Khān[1] the governor of Kālpī, who was one of the great chiefs among the Āfghāns, either by peace or by war, the great Shāhzādah marched his victorious army towards Kālpī, and by the violence of the fear, caused by his army, having brought 'Ālam Khān into the band of the servants, of the imperial court, made him accompany his victorious stirrups to serve His Imperial Majesty, and on arrival was exalted by various imperial favours. On the same day, that model of the noble and the great[2] Khwāja Dost Khāwind arrived from Kabul.

As the strength of the victorious army for the destruction of Rānā Sānkā was under discussion, orders were issued that the artillery should be amply provided and should be brought under the eye, which turned everything it looked upon, to gold. Ustād 'Ali Qulī, busied himself in arranging it in such a way, that he became the recipient of great favours. On the next day great pavilions were erected in the neighbourhood of the city of Agra for carrying on the holy war against Rānā Sānkā. At this station, in-

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of Nasīr Khān. It appears however, that Kharīd was the name of the country on both sides of the Ganges near Sikandarpūr and thence on the left bank down to the Ganges (see Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 283 note 2): so that Kharīd may after all be the correct reading.

[1] There is no mention of Kālpī or 'Ālam Khān in the extracts from the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī given in Elliot's history. Badāonī says briefly براه کالپی امده عالم خان حاکم انجا را چه بجنگ وچه بصلح در سلک سایر بندگان اورده. Ferishtah also says و چون بکالپی امد عالم خان حاکم کالپی ملازمت او دریافته در رکابش باگره امد.

[2] The name is variously given as خواجه دوست خاوند , خواجه دوست نهاوند , خواجه دوست جاوید and خواجه دوست خداوند in the lith. edition, and in the MSS. He is called خواجه خاوند نقشبندی by Badāonī.

formation of the great strength of the army of the *Kāfirs* came in succession; and it was known that, that [1]wicked *Kāfir* with an army, more numerous than ants and locusts, had arrived near Biānah. At this station a halt was made for collecting the troops, and Sazāwals (officers) were appointed so that they might collect the warriors, and might sound the drums and trumpets for the march, in the six directions; and the din of the kettledrum and the trumpet rose to the sky. After a certain distance had been traversed, the army encamped in the neighbourhood of the town of [2]Mandhākar. On the following day in accordance with the advice of the wise amīrs the imperial camp was pitched in the vicinity of Kol Sīkrī which has now become celebrated as Fatehpūr, and scouts were appointed. They first brought the news of the arrival of the enemy at the town of Basāwar. In the same way they brought correct intelligence of the arrival of the hostile army from stage to stage, till at last, coming close to the victorious army, the latter encamped at a distance of two or three *Karohs*.

His Imperial Majesty now summoned together the great and powerful amīrs, and all men in positions of trust, and in fact many of the ordinary men, and convened a council for deliberation. The opinion of the majority was to the effect, that some of the forts should be [3]strengthened, and His Majesty should in his own exalted person, with the greater portion of the army retire to the Punjab,

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[1] The actual words are اغور or اغور کافر ان. I could not find اغور in any dictionary; اعور is said to mean weak, timorous, corrupt. I have thought it best to translate it by the word wicked.

[2] The name is مندهاکر or مندهاکر in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. I have not been able to find it in either Badāonī or Ferishtah.

[3] And of course should be left with strong garrisons. Badāonī says قلعی اگرہ را استحکام دادہ با جمعی سپردہ *i.e.* having strengthened the fort of Agra, and leaving it in charge of a body of men; while Ferishtah says قلاع بزرگ را بامردم معتمد سپردہ, i. e. "entrusting the great forts to trustworthy men", Bābar himself should retire to the Punjab. Bābar himself does not mention this particular advice, but he says that a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a manly opinion, but he adds that during the whole course of this expedition Khalifa (Nizām-ud-dīn 'Ali) conducted himself admirably.

and should there wait for some supernatural favour. His Majesty the conqueror of empires, having heard the words of everyone, after considerable delay commenced speaking with his gem-scattering tongue; and said; [1] "What would the Bādshāhs of Islām, who are in the different quarters and regions of the earth, say, and how would they remember me. And leaving aside the words, and the satire and the reproaches of the people of the world, to-morrow on the field of resurrection what excuses shall I make to the intercessor of the day of the rising of the dead, that I as a Bādshāh of Islām should give up such a kindgom, and should abandon such a large body of men, who had shared in the same faith with me, and had made me the master of a kingdom, to slaughter; and that to-day I should seek a path of retreat from before such a *Kāfir* without waging a holy war, and without gaining the smaliest part of the excuse required by the law of the prophet; and leave the inhabitants of this land to suffer from the hands of these *Kāfirs*. Alas! It is time that we should lay our hearts on martyrdom." And he gave a shout of "Jihād." Verse:—

As life at last needs must the body leave!
Better it is that it should with honour leave!
The end of the world is this, and nothing else!
That after death a man should leave a name behind!

From the effect of these [2] soul-inflaming words, a fire fell into each heart; and everyone opened his lips with "We have heard and and we obey" and said [3] "Oh lodestar of our desires and aspirations let our lives be sacrificed for thee. Whatever thou orderest, we obey thy behests." At last to bind themselves to act with one mind

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[1] Both Badāonī and Ferishtah give the substance of the Emperor's speech and quote the verses with which it ends. Bābar's own words, according to the translation of the Tuzak-i-Bābarī, are "Noble men and Soldiers! Every man that comes into this world is subject to dissolution.....How much better is it to die with honour than live with infamy.....Let us then, with one accord swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues till his soul is separated from his body."

[2] The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. have جانسوز i.e. life-burning or heart-inflaming. One MSS. has جانگداز i.e. life or soul-melting.

[3] The actual words are ای قبله مراد .

and heart they brought the holy book before themselves, and by swearing on the Divine word had greater trust in one another; and relying on God's favour they arranged the centre and the wings, the right and the left, and having sought for help in gaining victory and triumph by repeated prayers placed their feet in the field of a holy war in the way of God. [1] The lions in the forest of bravery and the heroes in the field of courage, fought with such delight and pleasure that it was more like a time of mirth than one of war. Specially the illustrious Shāhzādah Muhammed Humāyūn Mīrza went with unexampled bravery repeatedly into the infidel army and achieving wonderful deeds, by the help of the great and holy God, secured a victory for the bādshāh who was the asylum of Islam; and routed and broke the *Kāfirs*. It is certain that an unseen army helped the troops of Islām. In this battle [2] Hasan Khān Miwātī, who had adopted the path of perverseness and had joined that infidel leader, was struck with an arrow on his face, and in spite of the fact that he had thirty thousand horsemen of his own there, they left him on the spot where he fell, and fled.

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[1] It will be seen that the account in the text, of the battle itself and of previous and subsequent engagements, is very meagre. There is a somewhat detailed account of the engagements preceding the actual battle, in the translation of the extracts from the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī in Elliot, IV. pp. 266–272. As regards the actual battle Bābar, instead of writing anything himself, inserted what he calls the official dispatch announcing the victory, as composed by his secretary, Shaikh Zain. This is not given in Elliot, but is described there as a long and elaborate document in a grand style. Badāonī does not say aything about the battle. Ferishtah gives a list of the names of the men who commanded the different parts of Bābar's army. He also gives the names of the Rajput princes, who were slain; and says that Rānā Sānkā himself fled with the utmost difficulty from the field of battle.

[2] There are some variations between the lith. edn. and the MSS. about this incident of Hasan Khān Miwātī. I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be correct. Badāonī says that Hasan Khān Miwātī was struck by an arrow on the forehead, and men threw him into a well: and adds in his bigoted way that he fell into the well of hell. He also adds that long afterwards in 959 A.H. (1552 A.D.), a Miwātī raised a rebellion in Miwāt, and called himself Hasan Khān. Ferishtah says that Hasan Khān Miwātī was killed by a musket ball (بضرب تفنگ) Ahmad Yādgār in the Tārikh-i-Salātīn Afāghana (Ell. v. p. 36–7) gives a curious account of the circumstances under which Hasan Khān was killed.

After this victory, gained with supernatural help, His Majesty the shadow of God, bowing down his head in thank-offering, raised the standard of a holy war, and sent official despatches announcing the victory to the various regions and quarters of his kingdom; and his noble mind being now completely freed from all anxiety about the conquest of the country of Hindustan, he engaged himself day after day in arranging for the administration of the government; and completely purified the country from the thorns and weeds of the men who created troubles and disturbances.

And on the date....of the year [1]937 A.H. (1530 A.D.,) the

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[1] The date is not given in any of the MSS. or in the lith. edn. The latter and several MSS. have در تاریخ سنه سبع و ثلثین و تسعمائه while the other MSS. have اثنا درین. The truth is that Bābar had repeated attacks of illness and it was not very easy to give a particular date. The battle with Rānā Sānkā took place on the 13th Jamādī-ul-Ākhir 933 A.H. (25 March 1526 A.D.) It is curious that no account of the events that occured between this date and Bābar's illness and death in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.) is given either by our author, or by Badāonī. It appears from the Tuzuk-i-Bābarī and Ferishtah that during this interval, Bābar subdued Miwāt in 933, spent six months in internal administration and then advanced against and took Chanderi in 934; and also fought a battle with the Afghāns at Kanauj which was however not well contested; and then in 933, he went to Gwāliār, and then advanced into Behar and afterwards returned to Agra. The Tuzuk ends abruptly on the 3rd Muharram 936 A.H.

It is curious that Humāyūn's dangerous illness, which became the immediate cause of Bābar's death is not mentioned in the Tabaqāt or by Badāonī or Ferishtah. The way in which Bābar devoted his own life to save that of Humāyun has been described by Elphinstone in pp. 426-7 of his history (9th edn. 1911). He does not give any authorfty, but his account is apparently based on that given in the concluding supplement of Bābar's memoirs, appended to Leyden and Erskine's memoirs of Bābar. No authority is given there also. Another account is given in the Akbarnāma (Bibliotheca Indica, Eng. trans. vol. I, pp. 275-276). It appears from that, that it was Mīr Abū Baqā, who is described as having been one of the most distinguished saints of the age, who suggested te Bābar, that in cases of illness when physicians were at a loss, the remedy was to give in alms, the most valuable thing one had, and to seek cure from God. Upon this Bābar said "I am the most valuable thing that Humāyūn possesses. Than me he has no better thing I shall make myself a sacrifice for him. May God the Creator accept it." His ministers attempted to dissuade him, but he persisted, and retired to his oratory and having performed such special rites as befitted the occasion, he

auspicious person of Bābar Bādshāh, the protector of the faith, was attacked by an illness, and on the 5th of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year he passed away, from the house of trouble of the earth to the sacred world. The period of the reign of this world-conquering Emperor extended over thirty-eight years, out of which he ruled over India for five years. His rule began when he was twelve years of age and, he left the world in his fiftieth year. Verse :—

The sky hath ne'er an art except of tyranny ;
'Tis its work, that at each moment, it makes a heart to bleed.
To the tulip it gives not the crown of nobility,
Till it tramples to death the head of a crowned King
This pleasant mansion appears so cold and bleak ;
That as thou mak'st thy place warm, it sayeth rise !
The sky no habit has but of barbarity,
Faith has no place in the creed of this faithless one !

Some of the peculiar characteristics of this bādshāh, the asylum of the world, are among the strangest of deeds. Among them one is that with his [1] feet in stockings he used to run jumping along the turrets of a fort, and sometimes he jumped from one turret to another carrying two men under his arms. He had invented a style of penmanship which has been named the Khat-i-Bābarī. He sent a copy of the Qurān which he had written in this style, to Mecca. He composed beautiful verse in Persian and Turki, and he patronised wise and learned men much. He wrote a book in Turkī Verse on Rhetoric and on Law according to the Hanafis which was named the *Mubin*, and his treatises on prosody are famous. He wrote the events of his life in Turkī, and did great justice to his eloquence.

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walked thrice round his Highness Jahānbāni Jinnatāshiyānī. When his prayer had been heard by God—Glory be to His name ! he felt a strange effect and cried out 'We have borne it away, We have borne it away.' Another account which agrees mainly with the above but differs in some minor particulars, is given in Mrs. Beveridge's "Memoirs of Babur," Sec. III, pp. 701 and 702. The references are to Gul Badan's Humāyūnnāma and the Akbarnāma.

[1] The actual words are بموزۂ دو پاشنه.

HAZRAT KHĀN SA'ĪD HUMĀYŪN BĀDSHĀH, SON OF BĀBAR BĀDSHĀH GHĀZĪ

As in the language of this great dynasty that king, the asylum of the world, has been called Jinnat Āshiānī (the nestling of paradise), this weak one also has paraphrased the illustrious name of this successful bādshāh, by the same phrase.

[1] In short when Bābar Bādshāh, the dweller in paradise, passed away in Agra, from this mortal earth, to the paradise ever-lasting, at that time, the father of the author of this history, Muhammad Mūqīm Harawī (i.e. of Herat) had a place among the attendants of Bābar Bādshāh, the dweller in paradise, and had the honour of holding the post of superintendent of public buildings. [2] As Amīr Nizām-ud-dīn

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[1] The extracts from the Tabaqāt given in Elliot, Vol. V, begins with the accession of Humāyūn. I have however thought it best to make an independent translation, instead of quoting the previous translation.

[2] I have not been able to find any reference to this attempt on the part of Amīr Nizām-ud-dīn Khalifa to supplant Humāyūn, and place Mahdi Khwāja on the throne in any other history. Badāonī says Humāyūn came by forced marches from Sambal و باستصواب امیر خلیفه که وکیل و وزیر مطلق بود بر تخت سلطنت نشست i.e. and with the consent of Amīr Khalīfa, the agent and prime minister, ascended the throne. Ferishtah begins by giving some description of Humāyūn's personal qualities and scientific attainments, and then goes on to mention his treatment of his brothers and his march to Kālinjar. Ahmad Yādgār in the Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghana (Ell. Vol. V, pp. 42-4›) gives some account of Bābar's selection of Humāyūn to be his successor, but he does not mention Amīr Khalīfa's attempt to supplant him. I see that Elphinstone refers to this matter (see his history 9th Edn. pp. 427-428.) His account is based on the concluding supplement of the memoirs of Bābar, and neither he nor the author of the supplement knew the name of the historian, from whom the information was obtained, though they knew the name of his father, Muhammad Mokim, as the former calls him; while the latter gives him the name of Muhammad Mokim Hervi (of Herat). That is of course the name of the father of the author of the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, so that the story is of course derived from his work. Mrs. Beveridge in her "Memoir of Babur," Sec. III, pp. 702–708 discusses the matter with great ability and in considerable detail. I venture to think that her conclusions are correct. She is of opinion (1) that it was not a plot of Amīr Nizām-ud-dīn Khalifa at all, but that Bābar himself, had probably discussed the matter with him, and had decided thal his sons should have kingdoms outside of India viz., Humāyūn, the territories beyond Badakhshān further on to Samarkand; Kāmrān, Qandahār; Sulaimān, Badakhshān; if

Ali Khalifa, on whom the charge of the affairs of the empire entirely devolved, had, for some causes which happen in the business of the world, fear and suspicion of the illustrious Shāhzādah Muhammad Humāyūn Mīrza; and did not wish that he should succeed to the throne, and disliking the succession of the eldest son, he did not also wish that any of the younger sons should succeed; and as Mahdī Khwāja the son-in-law of His Majesty, the Dweller in paradise, was a young man, liberal and extravagant, and was bound by ties of attachment to Amīr Khalifa, the latter decided that he should raise him to the throne, and he spoke of this to people. So every one went to salute Mahdī Khwāja; and the latter having

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Humāyūn could secure a footing beyond it; (Mrs. Beveridge does not say what 'Askari and Hindāl were to have), and (2) that it was not Mahdī Khwājah at all, but Muhammad Zamān Mirza who was intended by Bābar and Khalifah to be Bābar's successor in his Indian kingdom. Her arguments are (*a*) that Mahdi Khwājah was not a young man (juvān) at the time of the alleged plot, as he is described to have been in the Tabaqāt, and (*b*) what is of much greater importance he was not a *dāmād* or son-in-law of Bābar, but only a *yazna* or brother-in-law, being the husband of his sister Khān-Zāda Begum. On the other hand Muhammad Zamān Mirza was (*a*) a direct descendant of Taimūr being the grandson of Sultān Husain Mirza, was really the *dāmād* or son-in-law of Bābar, being the husband of Bābar's daughter Māsuma, who was probably the only one of Bābar's children who was a descendant of Taimūr, both on the paternal and the maternal side, and (*c*) Bābar gāve him ruling status, and bestowed on him royal insignia including the umbrella-symbol of sovereignty in Sha'bān 935 A.H. April, 1529 A.D. This was done after the Mirza had raised objections to his being sent to Behar. The objections were overcome, but for military reasons, he was withheld from taking up that appointment, but his next appointment was to Jaunpūr, the capital of the fallen Sharqi dynasty. It was Humāyūn's illness, which necessitated his being brought from Sambal to Agra and Bābar's illness which upset the plan. Elphinstone remarks that it is curious that Khalifa disappears after Humāyūn's accession. He does not however say anything about Mahdi Khwājah's disappearance also. On the other hand if it was Muhammad Zamān Mirza who was to have succeeded Bābar, his subsequent conduct and history lend support to the theory that it was he, who was intended to succeed Bābar in India. He rebelled against Humāyūn, but was taken prisoner and sent to Bianah and was ordered to be blinded, but his eye sight was saved and he was allowed to escape by his jailor or his servants. He escaped to Gujrāt, and was apparently treated there with much respect (see note 5, p. 125), and it was Sultān Bahādur's refusal to surrender him that was the direct cause of Humāyūn's invasion of Gujrāt.

become apprised of this, commenced giving himself the airs of a bādshāh.

[1] It happened that one day Mīr Khalifa went to see Mahdī Khwāja, and the latter was in a pavilion, and there was no one in that pavilion except Mahdī Khwāja and my father Muhammad Muqīm and Mīr Khalifa; and when the last named had sat there for a moment. His late Majesty in the severity of his illness sent for him, and he went out of Mahdi Khwāja's pavilion. [2] Mahdi Khwāja followed him to the door of the pavilion and stood there. The author's father, out of respect for him, remained standing behind him; and as Mahdī Khwāja was characterised by a tinge of insanity, he forgot that my father was there; after bidding farewell to Mīr Khalifa he drew his hand over his beard and said "God willing! I will first have thee flayed!" Immediately after saying this, he saw my father, and becoming excited, caught hold of my father's ear, and said "Oh Tājik!" (hemistich) "the red tongue[3] gives the green head to the wind." My father took leave, and came out, and quickly went to Mīr Khalifa, and told him, that while in spite of there being suitable and accomplished princes like Muhammad Humāyūn Mīrza and his brothers, you have shut your eyes to the claims of the salt you have eaten, and are trying to transfer this greatness to a strange family, the result of your act cannot but be this; and he repeated what Mahdī Khwāja had said. Mīr Khalifa immediately sent some one to

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[1] Some of the MSS. have a sentence here which does not appear in the lith. ed., and in one of the MSS., and apparently also not in the MS. the translation of which is given in Elliot. The sentence runs thus (در زمان استمداد اشتشداد مرض حضرت فردوس مکانی روزی مهدی خواجه بدربار بادشاهی امده بود (in one MS. و منع و تمطران عجبی (in one MS. طمطراقی عجبی) کار اورده بود; which means at the time of the duration (or severity,) of the illness of His Majesty one day Mahdi Khwāja came to the court, &c. and showed great pride and hauteur (?).

[2] My translation here and elsewhere differs considerably from that in the Extracts in Elliot, Vol. V. This may be due to differences in the texts from which the two translations have been made or to mistakes made by myself, or the other translator (Prof. John Dowson, M.R.A.S.).

[3] This probably means that a blabbing tongue is frequently the source of its owner's death; and contains a very distinct threat.

The translation in Elliot is "the red tongue uses its sharp point to no purpose," the meaning or appositeness of which is not at all clear to me.

summon Muhammad Humāyūn Mirza with all possible speed; and also sent orderlies to communicate this order to Mahdi Khwāja, that His Majesty had given orders that he should retire to his own house. At this time the latter was sitting down to his dinner. The orderlies coming up to him sent him to his house, whether he liked it or not. After that Mīr Khalifa ordered that a proclamation should be made, that no one was to go to the house of Mahdī Khwāja, and should not pay their respects to him, and he should not also come to the Royal Presence.

As His Majesty Bābar Bādshāh left this fleeting world, Muhammad Humāyūn Mirza arrived from [1] Sambal, ascended the throne of the empire and sat on the carpet of greatness on the [2] 9th of Jamīd-ul-āwwal 937 A.H. (29 January, 1530 A.D.) at Agra, by the exertions of Amīr Nizām-ud-dīn 'Ali Khalifa, the Prime Minister; and made Agra the envy of the [3] world. The date of his accession to the throne is *Khair-ul-Muluk*. The rites of offerings and gifts were duly carried out; and the Amīrs and high officers were honoured with royal favours. The ranks and offices which had been held by men in the service of this Majesty the Dweller in Paradise were confirmed to them, and the heart of each one of them was gladdened by fresh favour and innumerable kindnesses.

At this time Mirza Hindāl arrived from Badakhshān, and received various favours, and had two treasures, out of the many treasures belonging to the ancient Sultāns, which had fallen into the Bādshāh's hands [4] conferred on him; and as the gold was distributed

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[1] There is no mention in the Tabaqāt of Humāyūn's going, or being sent to Sambal, after the defeat of Rāna Sānkā. It appears however from Ferishtah that in Rajab 936, when Bābar became ill, he recalled Humāyūn who was then besieging Kālinjar to Agra, and appointed him his successor. Ahmad Yādgār however in the Tārīkh-i-Salātīn i-Afāghana (Ell. Vol. V. p. 42) says that Humāyūn was sent to the Sūba of Sambal with a large force, at the time that Bābar declared him to be his successor.

[2] He was born on the 4th Zi-Q'ada 916 A.H. (6th Feby. 1511 A.D. Akbarnāma Vol. 1, p. 149), so that he was about 19 years of age at the time of his accession.

[3] The lith. edition has رشک ارم, the envy of paradise. The MSS. have رشک عالم, the envy of the world.

[4] The meaning of the sentence is somewhat doubtful. The actual words are میرزا هندال از بدخشان رسیده بانواع الطاف نوازش یافت و بانعام دو خزانهای

in *Kishtis* (coffers), the date of the grant was denoted by the words *Kishti-i-zar*. In short the provinces were distributed (among the princes.) [1] Miwāt was conferred as a *jāigīr* on Mīrza Hindāl; and the Punjab, and Kabul, and Qandahār became the *jāigīr* of Mīrza Kāmrān; and Sambal was conferred on Mīrza 'Askari; [2] and every one among the Amīrs, was honoured with additions to his [3] *jāigīr* and possessions.

After regulating the affairs of the empire, the royal standards moved towards [4] the fort of Kālīnjar.

The Rājā of the place, however, behaved with humility and devotion; and joined the ranks of the supporters and well-wishers of the throne. As at that time, Sultān Mahmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, had, in concert with Baban Bāizīd and (other) Afghān amīrs, raised the standard of hostility, with great strength and violence, and had subjugated the country of Jaunpūr, and that neighbourhood; the world-conquering standards marched from Kālīnjar; for the purpose of crushing and destroying them, and

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سلاطین سلف که بدست افتاده بود مباهی گشت و چون زر را بکشتی تقسیم کردند کشتی زر تاریخ شد, the meaning of which is that two treasures were conferred on Mīrza Hindāl. The translation in Elliot V. p. 188 is also to the same effect as it is, "he was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures or the former kings." It is not likely however that all the treasure should be given to Mirza Hindāl. It was more likely that it should be distributed to the princes and Amirs; and the words تقسیم کردند also indicate this. The translator in Elliot refers to Badāoni and says, that the latter also says that coffers full of gold were distributed as gifts. He does not however notice the difference between the grant of all the treasure to Mirza Hindāl, and a general distribution to him and others. Badāoni's words are و چون وقت جلوس کشتهای پر زر انعام داد کشتی زر تاریخ شد.

[1] Abul Fazl says Alwar, which amounts to much the same thing. (Note quoted from the translation in Elliot.)

[2] 'And Badakhshān to Mīrza Sulaimān' Akbarnāma Vol. I, p. 151 (note quoted from the translation in Elliot.)

[3] The readings are various. The lith. ed. has جاگیر و الکه. الکه I find is a Turki word meaning province, dominion. Some of the MSS. have جاگیر و ملک which would mean fiefs and possessions.

[4] As we have seen (see note 1, p. 44) Humāyūn was recalled by Bābaf from the siege of Kālīnjar, when he was declared to be the latter's successor.

were marked with victory and triumph, and returned to [1] Agra accompanied by victory, and with success and grandeur. On arrival there, a great festival was held, and every one of the amīrs and the great officers of State were honoured with valuable robes, and horses, swift as the wind. They say that in this grand assembly [2] twelve thousand persons were honoured with rewards of robes of honour, and among these two thousand persons were specially distinguished by gifts [3] of outer garments and jewelled and gold-embroidered belts. Couplets:

The king over his foe has a powerful hand
If his troops are pleased and contented in mind;
If to his warriors, he is stingy with his gold,
Hard they find to carry their hands to the sword!

Among the strange events of that time, one was that Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, son of Badī'-uz-zamān Mīrzā, son of Sultān Husain Mīrzā [4] Bāqrā, who had formerly come from Balkh and taken shelter with the Dweller in Paradise (Bābar) tried to set up hostility. He was taken prisoner, and was sent to the fort of Biānah under the charge of Yādgār Taghāi; and orders were given for drawing

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[1] Leaving Sultān Juneid Birlās as governor of Jaunpūr. Akbarnāmā Vol. I, p. 152, (note quoted from the translation in Elliot).

[2] The lith edn. reads, دوازدہ ہزار کس بہ بالا پوشہا تکمہ مرصع زردوزی شرف بانعام خلعت ممتاز شدند و ازانجملہ دو ہزار کس اختصاص یافتند, omitting the words دو ہزار کس between دوازدہ ہزار کس and بہ بالا پوشہا, and the words و کمر between the words تکمہ and مرصع. The translator in Elliot evidently follows the readings in the MSS. but he translates بہ بالا پوشہا تکمہ و کمر مرصع by "with outer garments of gold brocade with gilt-buttons." تکمہ I find means buttons, so if the word کمر is left out then the translation in Elliot would be correct.

[3] The word actually used is بالا پوشہا تکمہ. The word بالا پوش does not now appear to be much used up-country, and in Hindustānī. In Bengal a bālāposh is a wrap made up of two pieces of thin cotton or silk stuff of a bright colour sewn together with a thin layer of cotton between them. Up-country it is usually called a rezāī.

[4] This word is variously given in the lith. ed. and the MSS. as با اقرا, با یعر and با یقرا. The translator in Elliot has Babakrā. Badāonī has simply Sultān Husain Mirza, Ferishtah has باین قوار.

a pencil over his eyes and making him blind. The servants of Yādgār Beg saved the pupils of his eyes from injury by the pencil. In a short time he escaped from imprisonment, and took shelter with Sultān Bahādur Gujrāti. [1] About the same time Muhammad Sultān Mīrza with his two sons Ulugh Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza fled to Kanauj, and commenced hostilities there. The Nestling of Paradise (Humāyūn) sent an affectionate letter to Sultān Bahādur Gujrāti, and demanded the return of Muhammad Zamān Mīrza. Sultān Bahādur out of his arrogance and pride sent a [2] harsh reply, and showed insubordination and hostility. Pride and royal dignity came into motion, and a strong resolution was formed in (Humāyūn's) inspired heart to march to Gujrat, and punish Sultān Bahādur.

The victorious standards were immediately advanced towards Gwāliār, and two months having been spent in excursions and in hunting they returned to Agra. It so happened that at this time Sultān Bahādur had besieged Chitor, with the armies of Gujrāt and Mālwa, and was carrying on a war with [3] Rānā Sānkā. [4] Incited

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[1] The lith. edn. omits the sentence about Sultān Mīrza and his sons, and instead of بهادر سلطان بجانب کس انحضرت has محبت مکاتبت اشیانی جنت گجراتی. Ferishtah says, Sultān Mīrza collected 5,000 or 6,000 men, Mughals, Afghāns and Rajputs.

[2] Col. Ranking in note 6, p 452 of his trans. of the Muntakhabāt-ut-tawārikh says that for the text of this reply, and an account of the circumstances under which it was written, a reference may be made to Bayley's History of Gujrat, pp. 377 to 380.

[3] The lith. edn. of Ferishtah which I have has بهادر شاه عازم تسخیر قلعه چتور گردید حاکم آنحصار برانا بکرماجیت تاید آورد which means Bahādur Shāh resolved to conquer Chitor; and the governor of that fort sought the protection of Rānā Bikramājit and asked for his aid. The next sentence however says that Humāyūn started from Dehli, intending to chastise Bahādur Shāh and help the Rānā, but after going as far as Gwāliār, and spending two months there returned to Agra. The Rānā being hopeless of receiving any help from Humāyūn gave a crown of jewels and other valuable presents to Bahādur Shāh and thus induced him to raise the siege.

[4] The words in the original which I have translated "incited by his great bravery and pride" are از روی کمال دلیری و زیاده سری. I think this phrase refers to Bahādur Shāh and not to Tātār Khān Lodī. The translator in Elliot apparently thinks otherwise, as he says of Tātār Khān Ludi "one of his chief noble and a very brave officer."

by his great bravery and pride, he sent Tātār Khān Ludī, who was one of his powerful Amīrs, to subjugate the fort of Biānah and the neighbouring country; and the latter took possession not only of Biānah, but stretched his hand as far as Agra. Humāyūn nominated Mīrza Hindāl to attack and crush him; and most of his soldiers, on hearing the news of the approach of Mīrza Hindāl deserted him and dispersed. He with the [1] three thousand men, who remained with him, advanced to oppose the imperial army, fell on the Mīrza's own troops, and after a severe fight, was slain with all his companions; and Biānah and its dependencies came again into the possession of the imperial government. Sultān Bahādur on hearing this news was much perplexed and confounded.

At this time the Nestling of Paradise (Humāyūn) making the punishment of Sultān Bahādur the special object of his lofty spirit started from Agra with a [2] correct determination. At this time Sultān Bahādur had come a second time from Gujrāt and was engaged in beseiging Chitor. During the same year Mīrza Kāmrān marched from Lahore to Qandahār and conquered it. The details of this brief statement are, that when [3] Shāh Tahmāsp transferred the government of Hirāt from Aghrwār Khān and nominated Sufiān Khalifa to it, Aghrwār Khān making Sām Mīrza brother of Shāh Tahmāsp his leader, carried him to Qandahār, so that by the [4] pretext of conquer-

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[1] The translator in Elliot makes the number 300. Badāonī has سیصد three thousand. Col. Ranking says in a note "one" MS. has ششصد six hundred. Ferishtah makes the number ten thousand.

[2] The words are بعزم درست. I wonder, whether there is a covert hit at the previous expedition, which ended in two months' sight-seeing and hunting.

[3] The translator in Elliot V. has not translated the part which refers to Kāmrān's victory of Qandahār; but only has the words, victory of Prince Kāmrān at Qandahār, within brackets. Badāonī only refers to it briefly in the following words و هم درین سال میرزا کامران از لاهور بقندهار با یلغار رفته سام میرزا برادر شاه طهماسپ را که خواجه کلان بیک را محاصره داشت شکست‌داده و این مصرع تاریخ شده, ع, زده پادشاه کامران سام را. I cannot find any reference to the incident in Ferishtah. Who Aghrwār Khān and Sufiān Khalifa were I cannot find out.

[4] The actual words are بهانه فتح قندهار. It is clear however that he would not be able to secure an asylum for himself merely by the *pretext* of the conquest of Qandahār, though he would have one by actually conquering it.

ing that place, he might secure a place of asylum for himself. Khwājah Kalān Beg who was the governor of Qandahār, under Kāmrān Mīrza entrenched himself. Sām Mīrza and Aghrwār Khān besieged the fort for eight months; but as Khwājah Kalān Beg was very brave and experienced, the Qazlbāshes were unable to achieve anything. Kāmrān Mīrza marched from Lahore to reinforce the Khwājāh, and he had a battle with Sām Mīrza, in the neighbourhood of Qandahār; and he gained a victory through the skill and bravery of Khwājah Kalān Beg. Aghrwār Khān was taken prisoner in the battle and was slain, and Sām Mīrza fled to the Shāh, broken-hearted and in great distress. The following hemistich gives the date of this event. Hemistich. Bādshāh Kāmrān smote (defeated) Sām.

When Sultān Bahādur became cognisant of the march of the world-conquering standards, he had a [1]consultation. Most of his officers said that they should raise the siege. Sadr Khān who was his greatest amīr said, "we are besieging the *Kāfirs;* if at this time a Musalman *bādshāh* should attack us, he would be helping the *Kāfirs*, and this would be spoken about among Musalmans up to the day of the resurrection. Better it is that we should remain where we are. For it is probable, that His Majesty would not attack us at such a time." When His Majesty the Nestling of Paradise arrived in Sārangpūr, one of the cities of Mālwah, and these words reached his ears, he remained there for this reason. Sultān Bahādur, with his mind completely at rest, continued the siege, and captured the fort by force of arms, and acquired much booty. In thanksgiving for this victory he gave a great feast, and distributed the whole of the treasures he had obtained, among his soldiers. He then turned towards the Nestling of Paradise; and the latter also after he had heard of the con-

[1] The translator in Elliot and Badāonī and Ferishtah all agree generally. Badaonī merely says that Humāyūn thought, that it would be a matter of reproach for him, if he would attack Bahādur Shāh at such a time, and so waited at Sārangpūr. Ferishtah says that there was an interchange of verses between Humāyūn and Bahādur; and then there was a conference, of Sultān Bahādur's generals, in which the majority were in favour of raising the siege, while a minority were in favour of continuing it, as they argued that Humāyūn would not attack them at such a time. Neither Badāoni nor Ferishtah mentions Sadr Khān by name.

quest of Chitor, marched towards Sultān Bahādur; and the two armies approached each other, in the neighbourhood of [1] Mandu, one of the dependence of Mālwah. They had not yet pitched their tents, when [2] Saiyyad 'Alī Khān and Khurāsān Khān who were the commanders of the advance guard of Sultān Bahādur's army, being defeated by the onset of the powerful (imperial) army united with Sultān Bahādur. The Gujrātī army much discouraged, halted, and Sultān Bahādur had a conference with his amīrs about the battle. Sadr Khān said that they should have a regular battle on the following day, as the troops were in great spirits, on accounts of the capture of Chitor, and they had not yet cast their eyes on the Mughal army. Rūmī Khān who was in charge of the artillery of Sultān Bahādur, said, "in a pitched battle guns and muskets do not come into action. We have collected much artillery, for none but the [3] Qaisar of Rūm has artillery like ours. It is advisable that a [4] trench should be excavated round the army, and battles should be fought every day. When the Mughal troops would come in front of us, they would most of them be killed by discharges from the guns and muskets." Sultan Bahādur approved of this view, and ordered a trench to be dug round his camp, and for a period of two months the two armies faced each other; and many times, brave warriors came out, and fought for name and fame; and the Mughal soldiers came rarely in front of the guns and muskets.

[1] The translator in Elliot calls it Mandisor; and he, adds in a note on the banks of a large tank.—Akbarnama Vol. I, p. 160.

[2] Neither Badāonī nor Ferishtah mentions the defeat of Sultān Bahādur's advanced guard and the subsequent council of war. The former only says در نواحي مندسور از توابع مالوه با پادشاه محاربه تا مدت دو ماه نمود. The latter says بهادر شاه كه توپخانه بسيار جمع نموده بره نموني رومي خان كه صاحب اختيار توپخانه‌اش بود دور لشكر خندق زده و ارابهاى اتشبازي گرد اردو كشيده باستظهاران مدت دو ماه در برابر لشكرچغتائى نشسته هر روز جنگ مي انداخت *

[3] The Emperor of Constantinople. Rūmī Khān is said to have been a Turk of Constantinople.

[4] Abul Fazl says 'a barricade of carriages (hisār-i-āraba) with a ditch outside.'—Akbarnāma vol. 1, p. 161 (quoted from a note in the translation in Elliot). As we have seen, according to Ferishtah, see note 2 above, a ditch was dug and carts containing fireworks were placed round the camp.

The Nestling of Paradise [1] detached troops, to make a blockade round Sultān Bahādur's army, to prevent the bringing in of grain and grass and firewood. When some days passed in this way, there was scarcity in Sultān Bahādur's camp; grain could not be obtained, and the fodder that was in the neighbourhood was exhausted. The badly armed Gujrātis could not go to any distance for bringing fodder, for fear of the armour-piercing arrows of the Mughals. Large numbers of horses and camels and men died of want of food; and the Gujrāti army completely lost heart. When Sultān Bahādur knew that if he remained there any longer, he would be seized, he came out of the rear of his pavilion with [2] five of his trusted nobles, one of whom was the governor of Burhānpūr, while another was Qādir Shāh, the ruler of Mālwah, and fled towards Mandu. When the soldiers knew of the flight of the Sultān, each one fled any way he could. The date of this event (942 A.H.) has been found in the words Zill-i-Bahādur, (the disgrace of Bahādur).

In short, when Humāyūn became aware of the flight of his enemy, he mounted with the object of pursuing him, and came up to Sadr Khān, who with a large body of men was retiring towards Mandu; and believing that it was Sultān Bahādur himself, attacked him. He did not have more than three or four thousand men with him; the rest of the troops being engaged in plundering. Many of the Gujrāti troops were slain; and Humāyūn continued the pursuit to the fort of Mandu. [3] Sultān Bahādur stayed in

[1] Ferishtah says پنج شش هزار کس مغل تیر انداز جنگ دیده قزاق شده اطراف و جوانب لشکر گجرات را تاخت و تاراج نمایند و نگذارند که غله و علف بایشان برسد. There is a somewhat different account in the Akbarnāma, vol. 1, pp. 302-3.

[2] Ferishtah gives Mubārak Shāh Faroqi, as the name of the governor of Burhānpūr; and he says that he and Qādir Shāh and Sadr Jahān Khān were three of the five men, who fled with Sultān Bahādur. Briggs however says that Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Khandesh and Qādir Khan who afterwards became ruler of Mālwah and his own general Sadr Jahān Khān and two servants were the five men that accompanied Sultān Bahādur. It would appear, however, from what follows in the text, that if Sadr Khān or Sadr Jahān Khān was one of the five men, who fled with Sultān Bahādur, he soon got separated from him.

[3] Badāonī also says that Sultān Bahādur was asleep in the fort of Mandu, when it was captured. He says محمد همایون بادشاه اورا تعاقب فرمود

the fort, and the siege went on for some days. At last one night the victorious troops entered the fort. Sultān Bahādur was asleep at the time. When the noise and turmoil rose high, the Gujrātīs in great distress fled in all directions. Sultān Bahādur took the way to Gujrāt with five or six horsemen. Sadr Khān and Sultān 'Ālam took shelter in the fort of Songadh, which was the citadel of the fort of Mandu; and after one day they came out. Sultān 'Ālam and Sadr Khān, who was wounded, were brought before Hazrat Jinnat Āshiānī (Humāyūn); and by his order Sadr Khān was imprisoned, and Sultān 'Ālam had his [1] sinews cut off. Afterwards Sadr Khān was taken by Humāyūn into his own service.

لشکریان مغول شبی بہادر را در خواب گرفتہ نزدیک بود کہ دستگیر سازند Ferishtah goes into greater detail. He says کہ او با پنج شش صد سوار راہ فرار بجانب گجرات گرفت. بہادر شاہ گجراتی حصاری شد و زمان محاصرہ مغل امتداد یافت جنت اشیانی مورچل قسمت کردہ بمحاصرہ پرداخت و بعد از چندگاہ شبی سي صد مغل بقلعہ بر امدند گجراتیان کہ خوف تمام بر ضمایر ایشان از مغلان راہ یافتہ بود بی انکہ معلوم نمایند کہ چند کس میباشند راہ فرار پیش گرفتند بہادر شاہ نیز چون سراز خواب برداشتہ حال دگرگون دید او نیز راہ فرار پیمودہ با پنج شش هزار سوار طرف چمپانیر کہ درانوقت پای تخت گجراتیان شدہ بود بدر رفت. This generally agrees with the account given in the text, but according to the latter, Sultān Bahādur fled with five or six horsemen, but Badāonī says he fled with five or six hundred, and Ferishtah says he fled with as many thousands. Col. Briggs makes it five thousand.

[1] The words are سلطان عالم را پی بریدند. پی means sinews, tendons. I suppose he was hamstrung. Both the translator of the Tabaqāt in Elliot v., and Col. Ranking have mistranslated the word پی; the former says "an order was given for cutting of the foot of Sultān Ālam" and the latter "they cut off his feet" پی does not mean foot or feet, the correct word for foot is پا. This man, Sultān 'Ālam, otherwise known as 'Ālam Khān Ludī was sent by his father to Bābar in Kābul. He afterwards joined Bābar's army of invasion. Later on he left Bābar's army, and proclaimed himself as Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, but finding himself unable to fight Sultān Ibrāhīm in a pitched battle, made a night attack on his army, but was defeated. He was afterwards sent by Bābar to Badakhshān, but with the aid of Afghān traders he escaped from Qila' Zafar, and came to Afghānistan, and thence to Beluchistān and finally reached Gujrāt. Sadr Khan or Sadr Jahān Khān, as Ferishtah calls him, was a very brave man. According to Ferishtah, he saved the life of Bahādur Shāh, when he was hotly pursued by Humāyūn, at the imminent risk of his own life. Humāyūn took him into his own service.

After three days His Majesty left the fort, and advanced towards Gujrāt. [1]Sultān Bahādur took with him all the treasure and gems, which he had in the fort of Champānīr, and went towards Ahmadābād. His Majesty arrived at the fort of Champānīr, and then advanced towards Ahmadābād. Sultān Bahādur, unable to meet him, went from Ahmadābād towards Kambāyat (Kambay), and the city of Ahmadābād came into the possession of the Mughals, and was sacked and pillaged; and an enormous quantity of plunder was taken; and again His Majesty started very quickly in pursuit of Sultān Bahādur. When the latter arrived at Kambāyat he quickly changed his tired horses for fresh ones, and went to the fort of [2]Dīū. His Majesty arrived, at Kambāyat, the same day that Bahādur left. At the close of the following day, a [3]person came and stood on the road in the manner of a seeker for justice and stated that the people of the country in the neighbourhood intended that night, to make a night attack. His Majesty inquired of him, "What is the cause of this kindness on your part for this army?" He replied, "My son is a prisoner in this army, I wish to establish a claim upon you, and thus effect my son's release." His Majesty passed that night with very great watchfulness. Towards the morning five or six thousand [4]men on foot made the attack. The troops who had already been apprised came out of the tents and [5]assembled outside the camp; and whatever was in it was destroyed

[1] There is a footnote in Elliot, v. p. 193, to the effect that Bahādur Shāh set fire to the town before leaving Champānīr.—Akbarnāma vol. I, p. 169. In the translation of the Akbarnāma in the Bibliotheca Indica, the account of Humāyūn's campaign in Gujrāt is given in vol. I pp. 293–325. It is mentioned there, that Bahādur Shāh ordered the city to be set on fire, but Humāyūn on his arrival ordered the flames to be extinguished.

[2] Written as Dīb or Dīp in the MSS. but as Dīu in the lith. Ed. The translator in Elliot, v. has a note here, having previously burnt a hundred war *gharābs*—Akbarnāma 1,164; which does not make much sense. The corresponding note in the Akbarnamah I have got is "after setting fire to a hundred war-ships (gharāb), which he had prepared against the Portuguese, lest the soldiers of the sublime army should embark on them and pursue him" which contains a lot of information of great interest.

[3] An old woman, according to the Akbarnāma.

[4] Bhīls and gawārs, according to the Akbarnāma.

[5] This was a most senseless thing to do. According to the Akbarnāma

and plundered. When the morning dawned the Mughals surrounded the Gujratis from all directions, and slew a large number of them, Jām Firoz, who was formerly the ruler of Thathah, and having been defeated by the army of the Arghūns had come to Gujrat and given his daughter to Sultān Bahādur in marriage, and had at the time of the defeat of Sultān Bahādur been taken prisoner by his Majesty's army, was put to death during the night by his guards, under the supposition that he might make his escape. In the same way [1] Sadr Khān Gujrātī, who had come into the service of his majesty, in the fort of Songadh was killed during this night.

The next day the victorious army marched towards the fort of Champānīr and besieged it; and Ikhtiyār Khān, who had charge of it, performed the duties of defending it. One day the emperor was walking round the fort, when his eye fell on a group of people, who came out of the jungle, and on seeing the army became suspicious, and again entered the jungle. The emperor ordered a body of men to pursue them; and some of them were caught. It then became known, that they were carrying grain and [2] oil, with the help of the Zamīndārs of the neighbourhood, to the fort. At this place, the hill was very [3] lofty and perpendicularly precipitous

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many rare books which were Humāyūn's real companions were lost. It appears also from the Akbarnāma, that this night attack was arranged by Malik Āhmad Lād and Rukn Dāūd, who were officers of Sultān Bahādur, and leading men in Koliwāra. It appears to me that we have not got a correct account of what actually happened. It is most improbable that after receiving intimation of the intended attack the troops would assemble outside the camp, as if to see a *tamāsha*, and leave the camp entirely unguarded so that even Humāyūn's tent would be plundered, and it would be found necessary by the men who guarded Jām Firoz to kill him, so that he might not escape. Evidently there was a surprise attack and a great deal of confusion.

[1] It is not clear whether he was killed by Humāyūn's troops or by the men who attacked the camp.

[2] The word is روغن ; it is translated in Elliot, and in the Akbarnāma as butter. I think oil is the more correct translation.

[3] The adjectives used are بلند. بلند یک انداز و تیغه دار is of course high, lofty; یک انداز is said to mean perpendicularly precipitous, but I do not know why it should mean that; تیغه دار is not in the dictionaries, but I suppose, it may mean, having a sharp edge like a sword, or having, or being crowned by a peak.

and crowned by a peak. The emperor in his own person went to the place, from which they were drawing the grain up; and after examining the place with great care returned. It occurred to his saintly mind, that the minds of the men in the fort would be free from all anxiety about the safety of the fort on this side, on account of the strength and inaccessibility of the hill, and they would therefore not be likely to be very vigilant and watchful there. Having prepared a large number of steel spikes, they commenced an attack on the fort during the day, and at night the emperor went to that place with [1] three hundred men, and having fixed the steel spikes strongly, right and left, they climbed up. As the mind of the garrison was perfectly free from anxiety about this side of the fort, they remained completely ignorant of what was happening there. After thirty-nine persons had climbed up, [2] Bairām Khān being the last among them, the [3] emperor also in his sublime or elegant person did so. [4] Verse. :—

Bravery is just the jewel of a man!
It shows the mettle of the man!
To play with life shows the glory of a man!
For brave men to make a shield of their heads.

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[1] The translator in Elliot, v. makes the number 600; but all the MSS. and the lith. ed. and Ferishtah have 300. No number is mentioned in the Akbarnāma, and Badāonī's account is very brief and contains no details. He also calls the place جانپانیر Jānpānīr.

[2] All the MSS., the lith. ed., Badāonī, and Ferishtah read the name as Bīrām Khān. Col. Briggs transliterates it as Bīram Khān. Col. Ranking has Baīram Khān in one place and Baīrām Khān in others, and the translator of the Tabaqāt in Elliot v. and of the Akbarnāma have Bairām Khān.

[3] The Akbarnāma says thirty-nine persons had ascended when his Majesty himself wished to climb up. Bairām Khān begged him to delay till the men ahead had got higher up; and saying this he himself stepped up. His Majesty Jahānbānī followed him, and was the 41st. According to the text he was the 40th.

[4] These lines have not been translated in Elliot. There are different readings of the last line. One MSS. has وسد پر دلانرا سر افراختن; another the same, but the first word is distinctly رسد; the third has زیر سر پر دلانرا سر برافراختن the fourth has سر دلانرا سپر ساختن; which is also what the lith. ed. has: The meaning of none of these is quite clear.

By the earliest morning, all the three hundred men got into the fort. In this place there were heaps of grain, stores of oil, and all kinds of necessaries for the garrison. When it became light, the soldiers immediately turned to the fort; and his majesty, crying Allahu-Akbar, came down to the gate of the fort, and opened it for the rest of the army; and that strong fort was taken. Ikhtiyār Khān took shelter in the inner citadel, which is celebrated as [1] Mūliyā, and a large number of the garrison were slain, and [2] many women and young men threw themselves down from the fort and were killed. Ikhtiyār Khān, receiving assurance of safety, came out; and rendered homage As he was distinguished, among the [3] wise men of Gujrāt, with excellence, he was kindly received by the emperor and became a member of the special assembly of his courtiers. The treasures, which the Sultāns of Gujrāt had amassed in the course of long years, came into the emperor's possession, and he distributed the gold among the soldiery and the goods and fabrics of Rūm and Firang (Constantinople and Europe generally) and Khata (China) and other quarters of the earth, which had been collected in the treasuries of the rulers of Gujrat, were also looted.

As immense quantities of gold and chattels came into the hands of the soldiers, no one that year paid any attention to the collection of revenue in the country, and the raiyats sent a man to Sultān Bahādur with a message that as there was no *gumāshtah* (agent) of

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[1] In Jarrett, II, 256, the upper fort is called Pāwah, but according to Hill's Bombay, S. T. I., 1321 (reprint) the proper spelling is Pavanagada, wind fort, (taken from a note in the Akbarnāma).

[2] زنان و جوانان. The translation in Elliot, v. is (their) "wives and children." The Akbarnāma is silent about them.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma he possessed besides practical knowledge (*dānish*) and a knowledge of State affairs, a knowledge of sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy. He was also skilled as a poet and a composer of enigmas. That is what I find in the translation of the Akbarnāma that I have seen, vol. I, p. 312. There is however a note in Elliot, v. p. 194, in which it is said the Akbarnāma vol. I, p. 168 says Iktiyār Khān was a descendant of the Kázis of the town of Naryād, (also written Nārīād and Nādīād) and was a man of great knowledge and experience. He had a high reputation as a statesman, and was an accomplished geomatrician and astronomer. He was of some repute also as a poet.

the Mughals in most of the parganas, if he should send an army, they would pay the revenue that was due from them. Sultān Bahādur sent a slave of his, of the name of [1] 'Imād-ul-Mulk,' who was noted for his bravery. He began to collect troops and as he arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād, a large army, consisting of soldiers and zamīndārs, collected round him, so that (people) estimated their number to amount to 50,000 horsemen. They encamped in front of Ahmadābād, and began to collect the revenue.

When this news reached the emperor, after the conquest of Champānīr, he distributed a second time much gold out of the plunder of Gujrāt among his soldiers, and entrusted Champānīr to Tardī Beg, and himself turned towards Ahmadābād. He placed the advance guard in charge of Mīrza 'Askarī and Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, and Mīr Hindu Beg, and directed them to precede him by one march. In the neighbourhood of Mahmūdābād, which is twelve *karohs* from Ahmadābād, 'Imād-ul-mulk had a battle [2] with Mīrza 'Askari and was defeated; and a large number was slain on either side. This infirm person has heard from his father, who was at the time the *vazīr* of Mīrza 'Askarī, that at midday, when the air was exceedingly hot, the Gujrātīs came from Ahmadābād, with great rapidity; and Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir had encamped about half a

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma, none of Sultān Bahādur's officers was willing to accept the responsibility of collecting the revenue except 'Imād-ul-mulk, who undertook to do so, on condition that there should be no questioning afterwards, as to any land, or any authority that he should give to anyone, in order to carry out the work of collection. In the translation in Elliot, v. the number is given as 50,000 horse and foot and it is said in a note that according to the Akbarnāma I. 169, Mujāhid Khān of Jūnāgadh joined 'Imād ul-mulk with 12,000 cavalry. In my copy of the translation of the Akbarnāma it appears that 'Imād-ul-mulk started with 200 horse, that when he came to Ahmadābād, he had collected 10,000 cavalry, that in a short time he had 30,000 cavalry and that Majāhid Khān, governor of Junāgadh, joined him with 10,000 horse. There is no mention of any foot soldiers.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, the battle took place between Narīād and Mahmūdābād (which is now a station on the B.B. and C.I. Railway) and Mīrza 'Askarī was defeated, until Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza, Qāsim Husain Khān and Hindu Beg arrived, when the Gujrātis were defeated. This is stated in most high-flown language, and it is added that 3,000 to 4,000 of the enemy were slain.

karoh to the right of Mīrza 'Askarī; and Amīr Hindu Beg was at the same distance to the left of Mīrza 'Askarī. The Gujrātīs advanced with such swiftness, that the Mīrza had no opportunity for arranging his troops, and so with a small number of men he went and stood in a brake of thorny trees. The Gujrātīs did not engage the Mīrza but turned their attention to plunder, and having obtained much loot dispersed. At that time Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir and Mīr Hindu Beg appeared with their troops in battle array. The Gujrātīs fled. Mirza 'Askarī also came out of that thorn brake and shewed his standard and kettledrum. They pursued the Gujrātīs as far as Ahmadābād. More than two thousand men were slain in that battle.

In short, after the victory his Majesty [1] Jinnat Ashiānī granted Ahmadābād with all its dependencies in *jāigīr* to Mīrza 'Askarī, Nahrwāla Pattan to Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, and Broach to Mīr Hindu Beg. Champānīr remained with Tardī Beg, and Baroda was conferred on Qāslm Husain Sultān. Khān Jahān Shirāzi and other Amīrs were left to reinforce them. Jinnat Ashiānī then returned with success and good fortune, and arrived at Burhānpūr and thence went to Mandū.

After some time, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Bahādur, who was in the direction of Nausārī, which is near Surat, discovered a place of strength, began to collect men and took possession of Nausārī, and having brought about an understanding between [2] Rūmī Khān who was at the port of Surat and [3] Khān Jahān, advanced on Broach and Qāsim Husain Sultān being unable to withstand them, fled to

[1] The Akbarnāma, vol. I, p. 317 has a different distribution of the districts of Gujrat.

[2] This was the common title given to Osmanli Turks, who were in high repute, as engineers and gunners, but it was not confined exclusively to them. This Rūmī Khan is not the same as the Rūmī Khān Khudāwand Khān who left Sultān Bahādur after his defeat at Mandū, and directed the siege of Chunār for Humāyūn (note taken from p. 197 of Elliot v.) This Rūmī Khān was the builder of the fort of Surat, and had the name of Safar. (Akbarnāma, vol. I, p. 119.)

[3] Apparently the Khān Jahān Shirāzī, whom Humāyūn appointed to reinforce the different Amīrs, to whom he entrusted the various districts of Gujrāt.

Champānīr. In the same way, the Gujrātīs commenced hostilities on all sides; and from every side came the news of a new disaster.

It so happened, that one night Mīrza 'Askarī, in a state of drunkenness, in a convivial feast, said, "I am the bādshāh, and the shadow of God." Ghazanfar, who was [1] one of the foster brothers of Mīrza 'Askari and the brother of Mahdī Qāsim Khān said in a low voice [2] 'thou art, but thou art very drunk.' His companions laughed. The Mīrza, noticing the laughter, became angry; and cast Ghazanfar into prison. After a few days, he escaped from prison, and going to Sultān Bahādur persuaded, and tempted him to advance on Ahmadābād. He said, "I know the counsels of the Mughals, who have all settled upon flight; and are only waiting for an excuse. Do you place [3] me under arrest, and march against them. If they attempt to fight, punish me." Sultān Bahādur collected forces, in concert with the Zamindārs of the province of [4] Surat, and advanced on Ahmadābād.

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[1] That is the correct meaning of از کوکهای میرزا و برادر مهدي قاسم خان (see note 2 Akbarnāma vol. I, p. 319). In the translation of the Tabaqāt, in Elliot, v. p. 197 he is described as one of the companions of Mīrza 'Askarī and fosterbrother of Kasim Khān. In the Akbarnāma he is described as a servant of Yādgār Nāsir Mirza; and he is said to have deserted with 300 horse.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. edn. have two readings (1) خوش مستي "Thou art very drunk," and (2) خویش نیستي i.e. "not thyself" or "not for thyself." In the lith. ed. of Ferishtah, which I have got the second reading is given; and the translator in Elliot, v. has adopted it also, translating Ghazanfar's words as "so thou art but not for thyself." I am however in favour of the first reading, as it is a good deal more witty and more suited to a convivial meeting. The similarity of sound between مستي and هستي gives a point to it, which the other reading has not got.

[3] In Elliot, v. this passage is translated as 'He advised him to make the Mirza prisoner and march against the Mughals.' This is manifestly incorrect. It is not at all clear how Mīrza 'Askari was to be made a prisoner, before Sultān Bahādur would march against, and defeat the Mughals. It is clear that Ghaznafar was offering himself as a hostage, for the truth of his assertion that the Mughals would not fight, but would abandon Gujrat.

[4] The translator in Elliot v. transliterates the word here as Sūrath and says it is one of the divisions of Kathiwār and must not be confounded with the town of Surat, though the names are no doubt identical. As however it is called the ولایت سورت it cannot be confounded with the town.

At this time, Amīr Hindu Beg tried to persuade Mīrza 'Askarī, to have the public prayer read and coin struck in his own name, and to raise the standard of sovereignty; and reported to him, that the soldiers, in hopes of preferment, would be prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service. Mīrza 'Askarī did not agree to this proposal, and to act in concert with him. In the end, after a great deal of talk and discussion, it was decided that Mīrza 'Askarī and Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, and Amīr Hindu Beg and other amīrs should leave Ahmadābad, and should encamp behind [1] Āsāwal opposite to [2] Sarkaj. Sultān Bahādur also encamped at Sarkaj and stood ready to oppose them. By chance a cannon ball shot from the army of Mirza 'Askarī threw down the pavilion of Sultān Bahādur. The latter, in great distress, summoned Ghazanfar into his presence; and was about to punish him. Ghazanfar said "postpone my punishment, till the time when the armies will be arrayed for battle," for he had received information that Mīrza 'Askarī would take to flight in the course of the night. When night came, the Mīrza in concert with the amīrs, started for Champānīr [3] leaving behind superfluous tents; and halted within ten *karohs* of it. Sultān Bahādur pursued them and came up to them. At this time Mīrza 'Askarī and the amīrs, mounted their horses to give battle to Sultān Bahādur; but after making a faint show of fighting returned.

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[1] According to a note in p. 198, Elliot, vol. v. Asāwal was a suburb of Ahmadābād.

[2] This name is variously given as سوكج Sarkaj, هوكج which may be anything, سوكنج Sarkānj, or Sarganj and, سوخج Sarkhej. In Elliot, v. it is called Sarganj; in the translation of the Akbarnāma Sarkej. Col. Briggs writes it as Surkech. Badāonī does not mention it at this place, but mentions it, as the place where Shaikh Ahmad Khattu or Kattheu, a learned and renowned *darvish* who had an interview with Taimūr, and got him to release the hosts of prisoners, whom he was taking with him when returning to his own country, is buried. Col. Ranking, in his trans. of Badāoni spells the name as Surkes in the index, Sarkhez in the text, p. 357, and Sarkhej in note 4 in the same page.

[3] The words in most of the MSS. and in the lith. edn. are چادر هاى زيادتي گذاشته; one MS. has چادرها instead of چادرهاى; and in one چادرهاى has been crossed through and اسباب written in its place. The translator in Elliot, v, has "leaving everything superflous behind them."

When they arrived near Champānīr, Tardi Beg laying the foundation of hostility and insurrection against them, shut himself up in the fort, and sent notice to the emperor Jinnat Ashiānī, that Mīrza 'Askarī had decided upon hostility, and had determined that he should betake himself to Agra; and there raise the standard of sovereignty. Before Mīrza 'Askarī had fled from Ahmadābād *quid nuncs* and adventure-seekers had written to the emperor Jinnat Ashiānī, so much about the matter as referred to the proposal made by Mīr Hindu Beg to him about his becoming the bādshāh, and that although he had not accepted it, he still intended hostility towards him.

In short the emperor Jinnat Ashiānī started. in great haste from Mandū for Agra. On the way Mīrza 'Askarī attended on him; and informed him of the true state of affairs. In the meantime Sultān Bahādur took possession of Champānīr from Tardī Beg, by amicable settlement. At the beginning of the year, Shāh Tahmāsp advanced to Qandahār to take revenge on behalf of Sām Mīrza. Khwāja Kalān Beg evacuated the fort, and [1]went to Lahore. They say that Khwāja Kalān Beg had built a [2]Chinese house (or a house of Chinese clay) with elegant decorations. At the time of his flight, he left it adorned with beautiful carpets, and fine ewers and other utensils. The Shāh was exceedingly pleased with it. He left Qandahār in charge of his amīrs, and went to 'Irāq. After that Mīrza Kāmrān advanced from Lahore towards Qandahār. The Tarkumāns being unable to withstand him, came out when the place was besieged, after receiving safe-conduct, and went away to 'Irāq; and Qandahār again came into the possession of the emperor.

In short when his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī arrived in Agra, he stayed there for a year, and passed the time in pleasure and enjoyment. Formerly, when Sultān Bahādur was being defeated, he had sent Muhammad Zamān Mīrza to Hindustan (*i.e.* northern

[1] It is said in the Akbarnāma that when Khwāja Kalān Beg came to Lahore, Mīrza Kāmrān would not for a month allow him to pay his respects to him, and said 'Why could you not have waited till I arrived!'

[2] The Chinese house is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma, but it is said there that Khwāja Kalān Beg put all the wardrobes, pantries and other offices in order and sent the keys of the store houses and of the fort to the Shāh.

India), [1]that he might create trouble there. He came, and during the time when Mīrza Kāmrān had gone to Qandahār, besieged Lahore. When he heard of the return of his Majesty, the Emperor, he went back again to Gujrat.

As Shīr Khān Afghān had, during the time that his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī was in Gujrat and Mālwah, taken possession of the provinces of Bihar and Jaunpūr, and the fortress of Chunār; and had acquired great power and strength; his Majesty considering that it was extremely necessary, that the disturbances created by him should be put down at once, turned his attention, with well equipped armies to the destruction of Shīr Khān, on the 14th of the month of Safar in the year 942 A.H. (12th August 1535 A.D) When the world-conquering standards arrived in front of the fort of Chunār, Rūmī Khān who had left Sultān Bahādur, and had entered the service of the emperor, and had been received with favour, was appointed to conquer it. The Emperor gave him full powers, and ordered that whatever he might ask for, for the capture of the fort should be supplied to him. Rūmī Khān having reconnoitred all sides of the fort, found out that the parts of the fort which were on the side of the land, were extremely strong, and that he could not make any arrangements for the capture of the fort from that direction. For this reason, he had a large boat constructed on the river and began to erect a [2]battering ram on it, and as the

[1] In a note in p. 199, Elliot, v. the translator says that according to Abul Fazl, Muhammad Zamān Mīrza went to Sind, but was stopped and turned aside by Shāh Husain, son of Shāh Beg Arghūn. He then went, and invaded Lahore during Kāmrān's absence, but fled as soon as Kāmrān returned, and having no other resource went back to Gujrat. In the copy of the Akbarnāma, which I am referring to, it is said that Shāh Husain did not give him a place in his own territory, but pointed out Lahore to him, when Kāmrān had gone towards Qandahār, and suggested that as such a rich country was unprotected, he should go there.

[2] The word used is مقابل کوب. It is translated in Elliot, v, as a scaffold; but a scaffold by itself would not be of any use whatever, and کوب is from کوفتن to hit, to strike, to ram. So I think مقابل کوب was something in the shape of a battering ram, and not merely a scaffold. The readings of the passage are slightly different. The lith. edn. and several MSS. have بر بالای ان شروع در ساختن مقابل کوب نمود. One MS. has کشتی in place of ان; and another omits ان or کشتی.

ram rose higher, and one boat was unable to bear its weight, another boat was brought to one side of the first boat, and lashed to it, and a third boat was similarly lashed to the other side of it, and the battering ram was raised higher, and in the same way, each time, a boat was found to be unable to carry the weight, a second was brought to reinforce it, till at last the [1] top of the ram was erected, and the battering ram was brought close to the fort; and it was taken. When the commandants of the garrison found that the matter had gone beyond their power [2] they evacuated the fort by

[1] This is called the سرکوب, no distinction is made in the translation in Elliot, v. between the مقابل کوب and the سرکوب. The account given in the Akbarnāma is different. It is said there that Rūmī Khān constructed a covered way (Sābāt) upon boats and arranged a roof (Satha) with strong partitions (?) on the top of a platform of planks, and he carried such mines under the walls, that when they were fired Time and the Terrene (Zamīn wa Zamān) were shaken. The translator of the Akbarnāma says that Nizām-ud-dīn's account is more detailed and more intelligible. I think however that it is defective, inasmuch as it does not explain how the fort was actually captured. The translator of the Akbarnāma says that Nizām-ud-dīn's account shows how the spoilers were able to get to the walls under cover, but they would not be able to take the fort by simply getting to the walls, and the مقابل کوب and the سرکوب indicate, that the walls were battered down, but 'Abul Fazl says (if his bombastic language means anything at all) that they were blown down by the mines. Jauhar gives a different account of the siege and capture of the fort. He says Rūmī Khān had a faithful negro slave of his, called Kelāfāt (sic). Having been cruelly flogged, the man succeeded in getting into the fort, and said that he had been unjustly flogged and had deserted. He minutely examined every part of the fort, and then escaped and reported every thing to his master. Rūmī Khān then brought his great guns to bear on the portion near the river; and appointed other officers to the different batteries round the fort. The guns, however, did not make proper impression on the fort; and seeing this he had his floating battery constructed. It was taken across the river and anchored close to the fort and then a general attack was commenced; but the besieged defended themselves, so that the floating battery was injured and 700 of the besiegers were killed, while but little impression was made on the fortress. The next morning the work of repairing the battery was commenced, but the garrison on finding that Humāyūn was determined on taking the place, and they had no prospect of being relieved, agreed to surrender on condition of their lives being spared. So that Abul Fazl's statement about Zamīn and Zamān being shaken by the firing of Rūmī Khān's mines may be taken for what it is worth.

[2] According to Badāonī it was Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who afterwards became Salīm Shāh who was the governor or commandant of Chunār.

night, and escaped in boats by the river. [1] Rūmī Khān received various favours from the emperor. The gunners who were in the fort had their [2] hands cut off, by a noble order (Hukm-i-Ashraf), (apparently of Humāyūn).

Shir Khān Afghān was at this time waging war with the [3] ruler of Bangālah. The latter fled from him in a wounded condition, and came to the court, which was the asylum of the world. His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī started towards Bangālah by successive

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[1] Abul Fazl says, that the fort was made over to him, but in a few days he became, by destiny, an object of envy to the world; and passed away poisoned, (Akbarnāma Vol. 1, p. 332). The meaning of this is not very clear, but according to note 3, p. 200 of the translation of the Tabaqāt in Elliot v. another version of the Akbarnāma Vol. I, p. 184 says he was made governor of the fortress, but died a few days afterwards, poisoned out of envy at his promotion. Beg Mīrak succeeded him as governor of Chunār. According to Jauhar, Rūmī Khān was not made governor, of Chunār, but he recommended that Beg Mīrak should be made governor, as the only officer who was fit for the post. His advice so incensed other aspirants, that they conspired together, and had him poisoned.

[2] There is some discrepancy about the author of this barbarity. According to the text it was perpetrated by Humāyūn's order; but the Akbarnāma says that about 2,000 persons were admitted to quarter and though his Majesty had ratified Rūmī Khān's promise and had pardoned (?) them, yet Mu'ayyid Beg Dūldāi, who was one of the confidential officers, added to the order that their hands should be cut off, and represented that this was the king's command. Such was the usurpation of authority that he displayed. His Majesty Jahānbānī censured him for this. It is added in notes that Mu'ayyid Beg was a son of Sultān Muhammad; and Dūldāi was a division of the Barlās tribe. Jauhar who is perhaps the most to be trusted, as he was with Humāyūn at the time, says that Rūmī Khān caused the hands of 300 artillery men, selected out of the men who had surrendered, to be cut off; and that Humāyūn was very angry with him on this account.

[3] "Saiyyad Mahmūd Shāh (or Sultān Mahmūd). Abul Fazl calls him Nasīb Shāh, but he was dead, see Vol. IV, p. 353." I have quoted this from note 5, p. 250 of the translation of the Tabaqāt in Elliot, Vol. V; but not only Abul Fazl, but Badāoni also says, that it was Nasīb Shāh who came to Humāyūn, (see p. 487 of Col. Ranking's translation and p. 348 of the Persian text). Ferishtah however says that it was Sultān Mahmūd who came to Humāyūn and asked him for help against Shīr Khān. Jauhar also says that it was Sultān Mahmūd and he came to Humāyūn when he was encamped at Muneah (Monghyr ?).

marches. Shīr Khān sent his sons Jalāl Khān and [1] Khawās Khān to defend the pass of Garhi which is situated on the road to Bangālah. This Garhi is a place of great strength, having on one side of it, a high hill and dense jungle of great strength. So that it was quite impossible, in any way, to pass over it, and on the other side the river Ganges is close to it, [2]Garhi is the connecting link (واسطه) between Bihar and Bengal.

His Majesty appointed Jahāngīr Beg Maghul to attack Garhi. [3] Hindāl Mīrza who had attended the victorious stirrups as far as Monghyr, was sent from that place to Agra, to put down [4]Muhammad Sultān Mīrza and Ulugh Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza who had fled from his Majesty, and were creating disturbances in that country. As Muhammad Zamān Mīrza was unable to effect anything in Gujrat, he sent emissaries to the emperor and begged for quarter, and having obtained assurances of safety started for the court. When Jahāngīr Beg reached Garhi [5] Jalāl Khān, the son of Shīr Khān and Khawās Khān came by forced marches; and having arrived

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[1] Khawās Khān was not a son of Shīr Khān. Badāonī calls him «مشهور غلام شیر خان» which Col. Ranking translates as "a well known servant of Shīr Khān."

[2] Abul Fazl calls it the gate of Bengal. It is the Terriagarhi or Telliagarhi of the maps.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, vol. I, pp. 334-5, Hindāl who had been appointed to Tirhut and Purnīyā was at his own request, permitted to depart from Colgong to his new fief, so that he should come from thence with a proper equipment to Bengal. He subsequently went towards Agra in the height of the rains, without permission, and arriving there commenced his rebellious proceedings. Jauhar says nothing about these, except that Humāyūn, on reaching Agra after his defeat at Chunār, pardoned him at the request of Kāmrān.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, Muhammad Sultān Mīrza returned before the march to Chunār, and Muhammad Zamān Mirza returned during the march. Abul Fazl describes in great detail the great honour which was shown to him on his arrival. According to Jauhar, prince Hindāl and Yādgār (Nāsir) Mīrza were sent to Dehli and Agra while Humāyūn himself invaded Bengal. He does not say that Hindāl was specially sent to put down Muhammad Sultān Mīrza's rebellion.

[5] Jauhar says that Jalāl Khān was entrenched in a strong position near the pass, and when Jahāngīr Beg was engaged in exploring a road through the hills, Jalāl Khān made a sally and defeated him; so he retreated and joined the main army at Colgong.

just at the time of his arrival, defeated him. He being wounded came back to the emperor, who then set out and arrived at the foot of the gate or Garhi. Jalāl Khān and Khawās Khān being [1]unable to withstand him took to flight; and the emperor passing through Garhi entered Bengal. Shīr Khān, not having the strength to meet him, went by way of Jhārkhand to Rhotas. [2]His Majesty remained in Bengal for three months; and gave the name of Jinnatābād to the city of Gaur.

In the year 743 A.H. (1536 A.D.), Mīrza Hindāl finding an opportunity, and guided by turbulent people commenced hostilities in Agra. He put [3] Shaikh Bahlol who was one of the (great) Shaikhs of the age, and was distinguished in the [4] science of the invocation of the names of God, and for whom his Majesty had great love, and in whom he had much faith, to death at the instigation of the men, who were engaged in the intrigue, and who [5]wanted to make the breach

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1 According to Jauhar, Humāyūn had to halt for several days at Colgong on account of very heavy rain; and sent forward Hājī Muhammad Beg to procure further intelligence. The Hājī found that Shīr Khān had written to Jalāl Khān that all the treasures of Bengal had now been secured and he might evacuate the passes, and allow the Mughals to enter Bengal, where some means might be devised for surrounding and entrapping them; and he accordingly at once commenced his retreat; so that Jalāl Khān's and Shīr Khān's retreats were both parts of a preconcerted plan.

2 Abul Fazl says Humāyūn found the climate of Bengal agreeable, and sat down to enjoy himself. Jauhar is even more explicit. He says, he very unaccountably shut himself up for a considerable time in his *haram*, and engaged himself in every kind of indulgence and luxury.

3 The translator of the Tabaqāt in vol. v. of Elliot says that Abul Fazl (see note 9) calls Shaikh Bahlol Shaikh Phūl. In the translation of the Akbarnāma, which I have, he is called Sheikh Bahlol. It appears from what is said in the Akbārnāma, that Shaikh Bahlol was sent by Humāyūn to dissuade Hindāl from following his traitorous designs; that the latter received him with respect and listened to his words, but his evil advisers insisted on his putting the Shaikh to death.

4 See note 1, p. 33.

5 The readings of this passage are different, and none of them seems to be quite correct. The lith edn. has میرزا را نزد حضرت اشیانی نکردهٔ سازند. It is the word نکردهٔ that is doubtful and difficult. The MSS. have بد سازند, بکرد سازند, and یک نسازند. It appears that مکروهٔ سازند would be a correct reading.

between the Emperor and him wider, on the pretext that Shaikh Bahlol was conspiring with the Afghāns. He then had the Khutbah (public prayer) read in his own name. When this news reached the ears of his Majesty the Emperor, he entrusted the government of Bengal to Jahāngīr Beg leaving 5,000 selected troops with him; and himself turned towards Agra. At this time [1] Muhammad Zamān Mīrza, son of Badī'-uz-Zamān Mīrza, returned in great shame from Gujrat to attend on his Majesty; and the latter pardoned his offences, and did not utter a single word (of reproach). On account of the length of the journey, and of the bad climate of Bengal, most of the troopers' horses had died; so the army arrived in Chausa in a great state of disorder. The amīrs who had been left in Jaunpūr and Chunār and Audh came and attended on his Majesty. Shīr Khān who was aware of the confusion and distress of the Mughal army, came to the neighbourhood; and the emperor halted opposite to him, and they remained in front of each other for a period of three months.

Mīrza Kāmrān after his return from Qandahār, came to Lahore, and heard of the hostility of Mīrza Hindāl (to Humāyūn), and of the return of the Emperor (from Bengal), and of the strength and power of Shīr Khān. He started towards Agra. When Mīrza Hindāl arrived near Dehli, (he found that) Mīr [2] Fakhr 'Ali had taken Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza with him, and shut himself up in the fort of Dehli; and although he exerted himself, he was unable to take it. At this time Mīrza Kāmrān arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehli, and Mīrza Hindāl

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Muhammad Zamān Mīrza returned from Gujrāt some time before this, while, in fact, Humāyūn was marching towards Chunār; (see note 4, page 65).

[2] He is called Mīr 'Faqr 'Ali in the translation of the Akbarnāma. Ferishtah calls him Fakhr-ud-dīn 'Ali Kotwāl. It appears that Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza and Mīr Fakhr 'Ali were in Kālpī when they heard of Hindāl's rebellion, and they came to Dehli by forced marches via Gwāliār; and took measures for strengthening the fort of Dehli, and held it against Hindāl. When Kāmrān arrived there, Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza continued to hold the fort; and Kāmrān was induced by Mīr Fakhr to go on to Āgra, while Hindāl went away to Alwar; whence he was summoned by Humāyūn on his return to Agra, after his defeat at Chausa, at the intercession af Kāmrān, and was pardoned.

[1]found it necessary to see him. Mīr Fakhr 'Ali also came out of the fort, and saw Mīrza Kāmrān, and told him "Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir refuses to surrender the fort of Dehli, it is best that you should go on to Agra. If that province [2]comes into your possession, Dehli would also belong to you." Mīrza Kāmrān had therefore to proceed towards Agra, and in that neighbourhood Mīrza Hindāl separated from him, and went away towards Alwar.

When the news of the hostility of Mīrza Hindāl, and of the arrival of Mīrza Kāmrān at Dehli reached Jinnat Ashiānī at Chausa, it became the cause of an increase of the distress of his mind. Shīr Khān sent a *darvīsh* of the name of [3]Shaikh Khalīl, whom he called his spiritual guide to attend on the emperor: and made proposals of

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[1] The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. have ملاقات نمود ; ناچار باوی one MS. has خواہ مخواہ instead of ناچار.

[2] Several MSS. and the lith. edn. have بدست افتادہ or بدست افتاد. Two MSS. have بدست شما اید. This appears to me to be a better reading, and I have adopted it. It is not stated distinctly either in the Tabaqāt or in the Akbarnāma, that Kāmrān had hostile intentions against Humāyūn, at least at this period; but it is clear from what Mīr Fakhr 'Ali told him that he, like Hindāl, wanted to take possession of Dehli, and Agra for himself. Ferishtah says distinctly that Kāmrān had his eye on the *bādshāhi*. He says میرزا کامران نیز بفکر بادشاهی دهلی افتادہ با دہ هزار سوار ببهانه معاونت بادشاہ از لاهور کوچ بر کوچ بطی مسافت مشغول شد لیکن چون بدهلي رسید و هندال میرزا که انرا قبل داشت بدو پیوست او هم در صدد تسخیر این بلدہ شرایط محاصرۂ بتقدیم رسانید. so that according to him, they were both engaged in besieging Dehli. Then when Fakhr 'Ali told them Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza would not surrender Dehli, they proceeded towards Agra. In the vicinity of that city, they fell out and Hindāl went away towards Alwar; and Kāmrān came to Agra, and proclaimed himself King. The Akbarnāma does not say that Kāmrān proclaimed himself King. It says that Mīr Faqr 'Ali induced "M. (Mīrza) Kāmrān to proceed to Agra and M. Hindāl not having the resolution to remain there, (whatever that may mean) went off to Alwar. M. Kāmrān after he came to Agra, desired.... Dildār Āghāca Begam to soothe M. Hindāl, and to recall him to obedience. That matron brought M. Hindāl from Alwar, and introduced him to M. Kāmrān with his shroud (futa) round his neck."

[3] It appears from Badāonī and Jauhar that he was a descendant of Shaikh Farīd Ganj Shakar. He is not named in the Akbarnāma though it is said there that Shīr Khān sometimes sent influential persons with proposals of peace. Badāonī and Ferishtah agree with the Tabaqāt in saying that he was sent

peace. It was determined, that he should relinquish all the country except Bengal, and he confirmed the terms by an oath on the Qurān, and agreed that the public prayer and the coin should be in the name of the Bādshāh (Humāyūn). The Emperor then became composed in his mind. On the morning of the following day, Shīr Khān made an attack on the imperial troops [1]when they were quite unprepared for it, and had no time to put themselves in array of battle; and they were defeated. The Afghāns had forestalled the imperial troops in advancing to the [2]bridge and demolishing it, [3]and getting into boats they remained on the river, and [4]whenever they found any one belonging to the imperial army on the water, they plunged them into the sea of destruction, with their armour-piercing spears. Muhammad Zamān Mīrza was drowned. His Majesty plunged his horse into the water, was half drowned, when by the help and assistance of a [5]water-carrier he got out of the water and turned towards Agra.

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by Shīr Shāh to Humāyūn, but Jauhar says that he was sent by Humāyūn to Shīr Khān for the purpose of settling the treaty.

[1] Some particulars of the attack and of the utter unpreparedness and confusion, and want of discipline in the Mughal army can be found in the Akbarnāma, and in Jauhar's memoirs. The Akbarnāma narrates how various officers were slain in attempting to rescue Hāji Begam (daughter of Yādgār Taghāi uncle of Humāyūn's mother), who was in her youth his chief wife and was much revered by Akbar. She could not be rescued but Shīr Khān (or Shāh) eventually sent her to Humāyūn in Afghānistān, when the latter returned from Persia. The confusion and want of discipline appear most clearly from Jauhar's account.

[2] It is not clear what bridge is meant. Humāyūn, it appears, was having a bridge of boats built, but it was not yet finished. It is not clear therefore why Shīr Khān considered it necessary to demolish it.

[3] The readings here are various. The lith. edn. has و بکشتی‌ها در امدہ بر روی دریای پہن شدہ از اهل لشکر هر کرا دراب میافتند بتہ پل اوردہ غریق بحر فنا میکردند. The MSS. have و کشتیها بر کشتیها پر توپچی و تیر انداز بر روی دریا روان ساختہ از اهل لشکر هر کرا بروی دریا میبافتند غریق بحر فنا میکردند، and بکشتیها در امدہ بروی دریا بر شدہ از اهل لشکر هرکرا در یافتند نیزہ زدہ غریق بحر فنا میکردند؛ and توپچی و تیر انداز بر روی دریا روان ساختہ از اهل لشکر هر کسی بروی دریا میامد غریق بحر فنا ساخت. There is not much to choose among these; I have adopted the reading of one of the MSS.

[4] According to Ferishtah 80,000 Mughals besides Hindus were drowned.

[5] The story of the water-carrier has been told by different historians; by Abul Fazl in his high-flown and bombastic language, and by Jauhar in his

Kāmrān Mīrza had before this come to Agra; and [1]Hindāl Mīrza, was in these days, passing his time in shame, in [2]Alwar, and saw in himself the truth of the couplet:

Couplet. For very shame I cannot raise my head,
If they ask me, what I have gained from life.

When his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, with a few horsemen, who had accompanied him in his forced marches, and one of whom was the father of this writer, arrived at Agra Mīrza Kāmrān had indeed no information of his approach. His Majesty suddenly entered the pavilion of Mīrza Kāmrān, and the Mīrza, having obtained the honour of kissing his feet, the two brothers had their eyes filled with tears. Mīrza Hindāl also, after his sins had been forgiven, came and did homage. Muhammad Sultān Mīrza and his sons also, who had for a long time, acted with hostility adopted means (for a reconciliation), and came and did service. Consultations were held. [3]Mīrza

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more homely style. The latter says that Humāyūn urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event a water-carrier who had distended his leathern bag (musack) with air offered it to his Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river. On reaching the northern bank, he asked the man his name; he said "Nizām"; the King replied "I will make your name as celebrated as that of Nizām-ud-dīn Aulia, and you shall sit on my throne. Soon after the king had remounted his throne, the water-carrier paid his respects; and his Majesty remembering his royal promise seated him for two hours upon the throne, and desired him to ask for whatever he wished. Abul Fazl says he sat on the throne for half a day.

[1] But see latter part of note 2, p. 68, from which it appears, that according to the Akbarnāma he had already come to Agra from Alwar.

[2] The lith. edn. has بمحافظت, i.e. in security; and this is translated in Elliot, v; but clearly this reading is not correct. The MSS. have بخجالت, in shame; and the subsequent words and the couplet, which however are not translated in Elliot, v, show that this is the correct reading.

[3] Abul Fazl, as usual has a hazy cloud of words, but it appears that Kāmrān proposed, in the first instance, that he should command the army (which would include his own troops, which were quite fresh), which would be sent against Shīr Khān, while Humāyūn should rest in the capital; and when the emperor did not agree to this, he proposed that he should be allowed to go away to his own government. Jauhar is silent about this matter. Badāonī uses almost the same words as we have in the text, but he adds that Kāmrān, in the first instance, asked to be allowed to command the army against Shīr Khān, and when Humāyūn did not agree to this, then he showed a desire to return to the

Kāmrān at this time showed a desire for returning to Lahore, and shewed that he had unlimited expectations. His Majesty agreed to all his requests, excepting (that about) his return. [1] Khwāja Kalān Beg exerted himself to procure the return of Mīrza Kāmrān. These conversations dragged on for six months. In the meanwhile Mīrza Kāmrān became ill with a [2] complication of diseases, and believing the words of interested persons that this disease was caused by poison, which had been administered to him, under the orders of the emperor, while yet suffering from it he turned towards Lahore. He had sent Khwāja Kalān Beg in advance. He had also agreed that he should leave the greater part of his troops at Agra, to reinforce (the imperial troops); and contrary to that agreemeent he took them all away with himself, and left only two thousand at Agra under the command of [3] Sikandar.

Punjab, و توقعات بی اندازه مینمود که رنگ تکلیف مالا یطاق داشت which Col. Ranking translates, "and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance." Ferishtah says that Kāmrān Mīrza در مقام صفا و راستی نشده سر رشته نفاق از دست نمیداد و عناد و ناساز گاری بیش گرفته رخصت مراجعت لاهور را وجه همت اعلی میساخت.

[1] It will be remembered that he was one of Bābar's generals, who was allowed by him to go back to Kābul. He had now returned to Hindustān with Mīrza Kāmrān.

[2] امراض متضاده lit. diseases of opposite tendencies i.e. diseases, the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate another. As to the nature of the illness, Ferishtah says ناگاه کامران میرزا از اشتهای کاذب و ادخال متعاقب و ناگواری ماکول و مشروب بیحضور گشته منجر بسوء البقیه شد Col. Briggs has; "Kāmrān was suddenly seized with dysentery owing to too great indulgence of his appetite". Badāonī adds صعب to امراض متضاده and says that it was ascertained that the disease was caused by a poison, and he was led by the words of evil-speakers to entertain suspicion against Humāyūn.

[3] He is called Sikandar in the MSS. and in Badāonī, but in the lith. edn. he is called Iskandar. Probably he was the Iskandar Sultān, who had charge for Mīrza Kāmrān, of some estates in Kālpī (see Akbarnāma vol. 1, p. 345); and who with Qāsim Husain Sultān Uzbek and Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza defeated a force which Shīr Khān had sent under his son Qutb Khān, and slew the latter. In the Akbarnāma, Mīrza Kāmrān is said to have left 3,000 men under Mirza 'Abd-ul-lah Mughal and not 2,000 under Sikandar, as in the other histories.

[1] Mīrza Haidar Dūghlāt Kashmīrī, who had been with Mīrza Kāmrān, remained with his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī; and received favours from him. Mīrza Kāmrān also took away a large number of the Agra troops with him.

On account of these dissensions, which took place, Shīr Khān became emboldened; and came to the bank of the Ganges, and sent a force across the river against Kālpī and Itāwah. Qāsin Husain Sultān Uzbek, in concert with Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza, and Iskandar Sultān fought with the Afghāns in the neighbourhood of Kālpī, and slew a [2]son of Shīr Khān, who was the commander of that army, and a large number of others, and sent his head to the service of the emperor at Agra. The latter then came towards the bank of the Ganges with the object of crushing Shīr Khān, and crossing the river opposite to Kanauj, sat down for the period of a month opposite to the enemy. At this time the [3]number of the imperial troops

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[1] In several of the MSS. he is called ميرزا حيدر دوغلات مشهور بكشميري, i.e. Mīrza Haidar Dūghlāt known or celebrated as Kashmīrī. He is called in the Akbarnāma, Mīrza Haidar, son of Mīrza Husain Gūrgan or Kūrkan (i.e. son-in-law), who was the cousin (Khālā-zāda, i.e. maternal aunt's son, his mother being the younger sister of Bābar's mother) of his Majesty Gītī-Sitāni Firdaus Makānī (i.e. Bābar). His name has been very incorrectly given in Badāonī. In the Persian text it is said ميرزا حيدر وغلات كشميرى نيز در آگرة ماند from which it is not clear whether one or two persons are meant though the verb is in the singular. In the English translation he undoubtedly becomes two persons, Mirza Haidar the Mughul and Dughlāt Kashmīrī. According to the Akbarnāma, he only consented to remain, after Humāyūn had exhorted him with great earnestness. According to Col. Briggs Mīrza Haider Dūghlāt ascended the throne of Kashmīr, and is the author of the most authentic history of that principality.

[2] Viz. Qutb Khān.

[3] According to Badāonī Humāyūn had about a *lakh* (1,00,000) horsemen, though one MS. has fifty thousand, and Shīr Khān did not have more than 5,000 horsemen. Ferishtah also gives a hundred thousand horsemen to Humāyūn, but he increases the number of Shīr Khān's cavalry, to the more probable number of 30,000. According to the Akbarnāma, one engagement took place when the two armies faced each other at Bhojpūr, in the Farrukhābād district, 31 miles north-west (upstream) of Kanouj. Then the armies marched down to Kanouj, when the desertions from the imperial army commenced. The two armies entrenched themselves and daily skirmishes occurred, after which the decisive battle took place. According to Jauhar, in this battle Hindāl commanded the right flank

amounted to one hundred thousand cavalry; and the Afghān army did not amount to more than fifty thousand. Under these circumstances, Muhammad Sultān Mīrza and his sons acted treacherously; and a second time fled from the emperor's army without any cause; and the force which Mīrza Kāmrān had left behind to reinforce (the imperial troops) also fled; and this becoming the fashion, a large number of troops became dispersed, and fled to different parts of Hindustān. Then the rains came, and showers fell frequently, and the place where the army was encamped became filled with water. It was then decided, that the troops should march from that place and encamp at an elevated position, and this was done.

[1]At this time Shīr Khān, having arranged his army, began a battle. This occurred on the 10th of the month of Muharram in this year (947 A.H., 17th May 1540 A.D.). Most of the troops of evil destiny fled without fighting; and a small number of brave warriors went into the battle; and as matters had gone beyond control, the army of Jinnat Ashiānī was routed. The emperor, who became separated from his horse in the river, came out of the water, by the

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and was opposed by Jalāl Khān; 'Askarī the left, and was opposed by Khawās Khān; while Humāyūn himself commanded the centre. Hindāl defeated the Afghāns opposed to him; but 'Askarī was compelled to retreat. Then when the army was defeated, Humāyūn crossed the river on an elephant, after wounding the *Māhūt*, who said that the elephant would not cross the river, and whom the eunuch, who was with him suspected to be treacherous. When Humāyūn came near the opposite bank he was unable to climb to the top, till some of the camp colour men (?) who were on the lookout for him, tied their turbans together and threw an end of it to him, and he was then able to reach the top of the bank, after which a horse was brought to him, and he was able to ride away towards Agra. This account is partly corroborated by Abul Fazl, who says that Humāyūn crossed the river on an elephant, but does not say anything about the suspected treachery of the *Māhūt*. He also differs from Jauhar about the way in which he was pulled up to the top of the bank. He says it was Shams-ud-dīn who pulled him up the bank. Badāonī's account agree generally with that in the text. Ferishtah does not say, how Humāyūn crossed the river.

[1] That is, when Humāyūn's army was moving from one camping ground to another. This is stated more distinctly by Abul Fazl and Badāonī and Ferishtah. There is a good account of the battle in the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī of Haidar Dughlāt (Elliot, v. pp. 130 et seq).

help of [1]Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghaznavī, who afterwards became the preceptor or foster-father of his Majesty, Khalifah-i-Ilāhī, and was honoured with the tittle of Khān-i-U'zma. [2]They say that when Shīr Khān heard of the flight of his Majesty Jinnat Ashianī, he said with sorrow "I had intended that he should perish, but he has escaped."

[3] When they arrived near (Agra), he (Humāyūn) did not stay there, but started towards Lahore, and in the beginning of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of this year, all the Chaghatāi Sultāns and amīrs assembled at Lahore. Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, and his sons, who had come to Lahore,

[1] Col. Ranking says in note 5 p. 464 of his translation of Badāonī that "Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Atka Khān (was) son of Mīr Yār Muhammad Ghaznavi (Āin-ī-Akbarī Blochmann I, p. 321)." He also says in the same note that "the word *atka*, *atīkā* or *atākā* is a Turkī word, signifying precepteur, instituteur, père de lait (Pavet de courteilles)" and that "the wife of Shams-ud-dīn was appointed *anakah* or wet nurse to Prince Akbar at Amarkot." According to Badāonī, Shams-ud-dīn was made اعظم خان A'azam Khān.

[2] This passage occurs in the lith. edn. but not in any of the MSS. except one, where however it is written incorrectly, immediately after the sentence about the commencement of the rains. It is however given in the translation in Elliot, v.

[3] Ābul Fazl and Jauhar have accounts of the journey to Agra, and of the subsequent journey to Lahore, and it appears that Humāyūn and his attendants were attacked by the villagers at Bhangāpur (according to Abul Fazl) and Bhyngang (Bhongāon) before they reached Agra; and some unseen person shot arrows at them, when they were at Fatehpur Sīkrī; and there were various acts of insubordination and insolence (according to Jauhar) by his own men in the latter part of the journey. Abul Fazl, however, does not mention the incidents which happened between Agra and Lahore, but he says that the garrison of Rohtak shut the gate of the city in Humāyūn's face, but in a short time they were chastised. At Lahore Kāmrān proposed that he should take their families to Kabul; and placing them in safety there, return and join the others. Hindāl and Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza proposed, that they should conquer Bhakkar (Sind) and Gujrāt, after which it would be easy to reconquer the rest of India. Mīrza Haidar proposed that all the Mīrzas should settle down after securing the slopes of the mountains from Sāhrind to Sāran (i.e. the Sārangzai country) i.e. the lower hills between the Indus and Kashmir i.e. from Sahrind in the S.E. to Rāwalpindi in the N.W. and he engaged that he would be able with a small force to get possession of Kashmir in two months. Abul Fazl says that Kāmrān sent his *Sadr*, Qāzī Abdullah, to Shīr Khān in order to establish friendly relations with him.

fled from there, and went towards Multan; and Mīrza Hindāl and Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir found it advisable to go away towards Bhakar and Thatha. Mīrza Kāmrān was planning that this assemblage should disperse quickly, so that he might go away to Kābul. Hemistich;

A devotee of some thing thinks,
and a lover dreams of something else.

To be brief when it became clear to his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, that agreement among his brothers, and the Amīrs, whose minds were given to the winds, was impossible, his auspicious mind became very sad. After much consultation, [1]Mīrza Haidar was sent towards Kashmīr, with a body of men, who had accepted service there; and it was decided, that Mīrza Kalān Beg should also follow him. When Mīrza Haidar arrived in [2]Naushahar, and Khwājah Kalān Beg went to Siālkot, news came to Jinnat Ashiānī, that Shīr Khān had crossed the river of Sultānpūr (the Biās), and was within thirty *Karohs* of Lahore. On the 1st of Rajab of the aforementioned year his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī crossed the river of Lahore (the Ravi). Mīrza Kāmārn after breaking his strong and repeated oaths, that he would not diverge in any way from whatever might be agreed upon, accompanied him with a special purpose and object, as far as the neighbourhood of Bahīra. Khwājah Kalān Beg, having heard this news, came by forced marches from Siālkot and joined the [3] camp.

Mīrza Haidar entered Kashmīr, and a body of the Kashmīrīs, who had hostilities among themselves, came and interviewed him, and by their help and strength, Kashmīr came into Mīrza Haidar's possession, without any fighting or dispute; and on the 22nd of Rajab he became the ruler of Kashmīr, as is narrated in the section about that country.

Mirza Kāmrān and Mīrza Askarī separated from his Majesty

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[1] The expedition to Kashmīr was made in accordance with Mīrza Haidar Dughlāts's advice (see note 3, p. 74).

[2] The lith. edn. and several of the MSS. have نو شهر. The place is called Naushahr in the translation of the Akbarnāma and also in Elliot, V; but several of the MSS. and Badāonī and Ferishtah call it Naushara and Col. Ranking in a note says Naushahar.

[3] It is not clear from the text, whose camp he joined; but it appears from the Akbarnāma, that instead of accompanying Humāyūn to Kashmīr as he had promised, he joined Kāmrān.

Jinnat Ashiānī in the neighbourhood of Bahira, and went away towards Kabul, in concert with Khwājah Kalān Beg. [1] Jinnat Ashiānī turned towards Sind. Mīrza Hindāl and Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir were in attendance on him. After going some stages [2] they showed a spirit of contrariety; and for twenty days they wandered about aimlessly after separating from his Majesty; and afterwards again, in accordance with the direction of [3] Mir Abul Baqā they came to attend on him. On the bank of the river Indus, when there was famine in the camp, and no boats could be obtained for crossing the river, [4] Bakhshū Lankāh sent many boats filled with grain, and received much favour. The army crossed the river and started for [5] Bhakkar; and the town of [6] Lūhrī became the halting ground of the auspicious camp. Mīrza Hindāl crossed the river Sind, and went to the town of [7] Pātar, as all the necessaries for the army could be obtained there with ease. The distance between Lūhrī which is near Bhakkar, and Pātar is 50 *karohs*.

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[1] The Akbarnāma says, that Mīrza Hindāl, Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza and Qāsim Husain Sultān succeeded by importunity in taking his Majesty Jahān Bānī off to Sind, though his intention had been to march to Kashmīr.

[2] Several of the MSS. omit the words اظهار خلاف نمودند.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, this man had left Kāmrān and joined Humāyūn. It appears also that one day, when Humāyūn and his companions were wandering about, they heard the sound of a kettledrum, and it was ascertained that the Mīrzas were at a place at a distance of 3 Kos. Mīr Abul Baqā was sent to them; and he spoke wise words to them, and brought them back.

[4] He is called Bakhshūī Langāh in some of the MSS. and in the Akbarnāma. He is not mentioned by Badāonī, though he mentions the great scarcity in the camp. Bakhshū Lankāh is described in the Akbarnāma, as a landholder and a grandee of that part of the country. The Langāhs were a tribe akin to the Afghāns.

[5] See Hunter Imp. Gaz. Ind. vol. III.

[6] A township near Bhakkar now called Rohri, see Hunter Imp. Gaz. vol. XI, Rohri.

[7] Col. Ranking could not find any place of this name, but it appears from the Akbarnāma vol. I, p. 363, note 2, that it is situated in Sarkār Siwastān (Sehwān), and lower down the Indus than Bhakkar. Jarrett, II, 340, where it is spelt Batur, with the variant Pātar.... It is perhaps the Pīr Patta of Burnes's journey to Kabul, p. 10. The best account of it is in Major General Haig's Indus Delta (1894) p. 91, note. Jauhar calls the place Pāt.

[1] Mīr Tāhir, Sadr, went (from here) on a mission to Shāh Husain Arghūn, the ruler of Thatha; and Samandar Beg, who was [2] a connection of his majesty took a horse and a robe of honour to Shāh Husain Arghūn, and tried to persuade him to come and wait upon his Majesty. The purport of the message which they took was that (Humāyūn's) coming to the country of Bhakkar and Thatha was out of necessity, and its object was the release (conquest) of Gujrāt. Now he (Shah Husain Arghūn) should come and wait upon his Majesty, so that a consultation might be held about the conquest of Gujrāt Shāh Husain Arghūn allowed five or six months to elapse on various pretexts, and at last replied, that the country of Bhakkar was extremely unproductive; it would be better, if the camp should be moved nearer to the country of Thatha, for five or six months would elapse in further parleys; [3] after he (Humāyūn) came nearer whatever appeared to be advisable might be carried into effect. When grain became scarce in Bhakkar, his Majesty started from there, and went to Pātar, which was the place, where Mīrza Hindāl was encamped, as he had heard that the latter intended to go away to Qandahār.

[4] This year, when his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī had made the

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[1] It appears that Sultān Mahmūd was in charge of the fort of Lūhrī under Shāh Husain Arghūn. He was called upon to deliver the fort to Humāyūn, but expressed his inability to do so, without the orders of his master; and then Mīr Tāhir was sent to Shāh Husain Arghūn.

[2] The words are بود انحضرت نزدیکان از کہ. Mīr or Amīr Tāhir and Samandar Beg or Mīr are described in the Akbarnāma, as two of Humāyūn's confidential servants.

[3] It is said in a note to the translation of the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, in Elliot, v. p. 207 that Shāh Husain proposed, that Humāyūn should take possession of the country of Chūchkān between Tatta and the Ran, as a means of furthering his views on Gujrat. For this he promised to support him.—Akbarnāma, vol. I. p. 210. The translation of the Akbarnāma which I have been consulting does not quite support the statement about his promise of support. According to this (vol. I, p. 363) Shāh Husain said, he was afraid to come and pay his respects to Humāyūn, but after a time when his fears would disappear he would do so, and then Humāyūn would be able, with a little exertion, to bring Gujrat into his possession, when the other territories of Hindustān would fall into his hands.

[4] The date of the marriage is not given in the text, or in the Akbarnāma;

camp of Mīrza Hindāl, his halting place he entered into a contract of marriage with her Majesty Mariam Makānī Hamīda Bānu Begam, the mother of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī (the emperor Akbar), and some days were passed in Mīrza Hindāl's camp in pleasure and enjoyment. His Majesty then forbade Mīrza Hindāl's going away to Qandahār, and went back to the town of Lūhrī.

Qaricha Khān who was the ruler of Qandahār, sent representations to Mīrza Hindāl, and summoned him to that place and the Mīrza started on his journey to Qandahār. When his Majesty received information of this, he became astonished at the want of harmony among his brothers. [1] Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir also, who was encamped [2]two *karohs* from the royal encampment, and also had the river between them, intended to go away to Qandahār. When this was reported to his Majesty, he sent [3] Mir Abul Baqā in order to reassure the mind of Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir ; and Mīr Abu-l-baqā forbade Mīrza Nāsir from going to Quandahār, with various counsels, and [4] promises. At the time of returning and crossing the river a body of men came out of the fort of Bhakkar and showered arrows on the men in the boat, and one of them hit the Mīr on a fatal spot; and he

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but it appears from note 1, p. 364, vol. I of the Akbarnāma that, according to Gulbadan, it took place at midday on a Monday in the beginning of Jamāda-l-āwwal 948, and that Humāyūn himself took the astrolabe and calculated the auspicious moment. Neither our author, nor Abul Fazl nor Badāonī nor Ferishtah appears to mention it, but it appears from Jauhar's account, that Hindāl was very angry when he heard that Humāyūn wanted to marry Hamīda and there was a quarrel between the two brothers, and that it was with great difficulty that Dildār Begam, Hindāl's mother, made it up.

[1] It appears from the Akbarnāma, that it was Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza who was always secretly in opposition, and who instigated Mīrza Hindāl to go away.

[2] The lith. edn. has ten *Karohs*, ده کروه, but the MSS. have دو کروه two *Karohs*. It is "two miles below the royal camp" in the trans. in Elliot, v. Badāonī has ده کروه, ten *Karohs*.

[3] One MS. has میر ابوالقاسم و میر ابوالبقا Mīr Abu-l-Qāsim and Mīr Abu-l-Baqā.

[4] He promised that when Hindustān should be conquered the Mīrza should get one-third; and that when they arrived in Kabul, he should have Ghaza and Charks and Lohghar, which Bābar had given to the Mīrza's mother, who was the widow of his youngest brother Nāsir Mirza.—Akbarnāma I, p. 365.

attained to martyrdom. [1]His Majesty showed great sorrow at his death. *Surur Kāināt,* which according to the calculation of *Abjad* comes to [2]947, is the date of the martyrdom of the Mīr.

In short, after this Mirza Yādgār Nāsir crossed the river and came to his Majesty's camp. After much deliberation, it was settled, that Mirza Yādgār Nāsir should remain in Bhakkar; and his Majesty Jinnat Ashiânī should turn his attention to the conquest of Thatha. as [3]during all this time, absolutely no signs of friendship and of a desire of his majesty's welfare had been shewn by Mīrza Shāh Husain. When his Majesty [4]turned toward Thatha, a large body of men separated from his army, and remained in Bhakkar. Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir also remained there, and gained some strength, because during that year no calamity, celestial or terrestrial, had caused any damage to the cultivated lands of the province of Bhakkar. His Majesty now proceeded by repeated marches to the neighbourhood the fort of [5]Sehwān, and a body of troops, who were in a boat, came

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[1] It was the Mīr who made the remark which led to Bābar's devoting himself for Humāyūn's recovery from sickness, so Humāyūn may have thought he was indebted to him for his life. It was he also who arranged about the marriage of Humāyūn and Hamīda, see Gulbadan's memoirs p. 436 (quoted from note 1, p. 366 of Beveridgé's trans. of the Akbarnāma).

[2] This cannot be correct, if the death occurred after Humāyūn's marriage, which, according to Gulbadan, took place in Jamādi-ul-āwwal 748. It appears from a note in the Persian text of Badāonī that instead of هفت, seven in the text, there is هشت eight, and هفت و هشت, seven and eight in two MSS.

[3] The words و حضرت جنت اشیانی متوجه تسخیر تهّته شوند چون از شاه حسین دربن صدت do not appear in the lith. edn. but are found in all the MSS. Apparantly these words had also been omitted from the MS. from which the translation in Elliot, v, was made; but the insertion of the words makes better sense of the passage.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, Humāyūn marched against Thatha in the beginning of Jamādī-ul-ākhir 948 (latter half of Sept. 1553.)

[5] Written سپاهیان in the lith. edn. This is clearly incorrect. The MSS. have سیاهوان, but the translator in Elliot, v, says in a note that the name is written Siyāhwān and Siyāhān. He also says that Humāyūn proceeded by means of boats to the fort of Sahwān, though there is nothing in the Persian, which indicates this; though it is a fact that the soldiers who attacked the men who came out of the fort were in a boat. The name of the place is سیاهوان Siāhwān in Badāonī, but Ferishtah has سهوان Sihwān. According to

out of it near the fort, and attacked some men who had come out of the fort; and the latter not being strong enough to fight with them again entered the fort. The soldiers returned and paid their respects to his Majesty, and explained to him that it would be extremely simple and easy to capture the fort. His Majesty then landed and besieged the fort. But before he could get to it, some of the Amīrs of Mīrza Shāh Husain got into it, and did everything, that was in their power, to strengthen its defences. And when Mīrza Shāh Husain received information of the march of his Majesty and of the siege of the fort, he came by boat to the vicinity of the camp; and the roads for bringing grain into it were closed; and the troops were in great difficulties, so that most of the men had to live upon the flesh of animals. The [1] siege was protracted to about seven months, and they were unable to gain a victory. They were therefore compelled to send somebody to Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir at Bhakkar, (to say) that the conquest of the fort depended on his coming; for unless they directed their energies to the attack on Mīrza Shāh Husain, and his defeat and destruction, the men in the fort would be released, and would bring provisions into it, and would gain fresh strength; and on account of their having no salt, and the dearth and scarcity of grain, it was impossible for them to remain any longer at the foot of the fort. If he would come from the other side (and attack) Mīrza Shāh Husain, the latter would not be able to meet them. Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir first sent a body of his [2] troops to reinforce Humāyūn, but their coming was not productive of any good. A man went a second time to summon the Mīrza. A person of the name of [3] 'Abdul-

note 8, p. 560, of Col. Ranking's trans. of Badāonī Sihwān or Sehwān is in the Karachi district of Sind, lat. 26°26′ N., long. 67 54′ E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town, but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Sehwān is ascribed to Alexandar the Great. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XII, 305; but Tieffenthaler (1. 123) attributes it to Husain son of Shāh Beg Arghūn.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, many of the troops and even some of the great men deserted and went and joined Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza.

[2] One MS. has after فرستاد بمدد, اما خود نیامده, but he did not come himself. It is said in the Akbarnāma that the Mīrza had in his heart become alienated, yet he preserved appearances a little by sending out an advance camp. But.....he delayed and loitered in marching out.

[3] He is called یکی از مقربان, one of the intimates of (Humāyūn), by

Ghafūr who was the Mīr-i-Māl (keeper of the privy purse) of his Majesty was deputed to bring him. When he went near the Mīrza, he said some words to him about the distress of his Majesty's army. Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir and his captains saw that it was best for them to [1] remain in Bhakkar.

Mīrza Shāh Husain also sent an [2] emissary to Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, and [3] intending to deceive him, made promises of allegiance to him, and of giving him his daughter in marriage, and of inserting his name in the *Khutba*. The Mīrza, owing to his great delight, was deceived by him, and became hostile to his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī. As Mīrza Shāh Husain's mind was now freed from all anxiety about Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir; and seeing the distress and weakness of the army of his Majesty, he came nearer, and took possession of the boats belonging to the royal camp, and it became impossible for his Majesty to remain at the foot of the fort. So he was compelled to [4] return

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Badāonī, and it is said in a note that the variants are میر مالان, ملازمان and میر پالان. The translator considers میر مالان which agrees with the reading in the text, as correct. One MS. has after که لایق گفتن نبود وشخص; and another has نبایستي گفت, which shews that he was indiscreet in his language. Abul Fazl also says in the Akbarnāma that 'Abdul-Ghafur perverted his mission, and by his improper language so affected the short-sighted Mīrza, that he even neglected appearances, and recalled his advance-camp. The translation in Elliot, v, has however nothing to shew that 'Abdul-Ghafur's language was indiscreet.

[1] The lith. edn. has در توقف فتح بهکر. The MSS. omit the word فتح I think the correct reading is در توقف و فتح, i.e., in remaining at, and conquering Bhakkar. Apparently the translator in Elliot, v, has adopted this reading. He has translated the passage, "but the Mīrza and his officers deemed it advisable to remain where they were and effect the conquest of Bakhar."

[2] One MS. has کسان, men, emissaries, instead of کسی, a man, an emissary.

[3] Apparently the MS. from which the translation in Elliot, v, was made substituted قرین for فریب for the translation is, "Shāh Husen had sent representatives to Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, and had drawn near to his camp." فریب is however the better reading.

[4] The Akbarnāma says that he started on the 15th Zilq'āda (23rd February 1542).

towards Bhakkar; and when he arrived near that place, he asked Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir for a boat to cross the river. The Mīrza, who was in league with the people of Thatha, sent a message to them that they should come at night and take possession of the boats; and in the morning he sent an excuse to the effect that the enemy had taken away the boats; and his Majesty had to remain there for some days for the boats. At the end, however, [1]two of the Zamīndārs of Bhakkar, came and waited upon his Majesty, and brought out some boats which had been submerged in the water, and his Majesty crossed over. When Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir became aware of this fact, owing to his extreme astonishment and shame, instead of coming and having the honour of waiting on his Majesty, he [2]went by forced marches against Mīrza Shāh Husain, who was quite unprepared, and fell upon a large body of the men of Thatha who had come out of their boats and slew many of them, and seizing some others returned. Mīrza Shāh Husain also after this battle returned to Thatha. Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, being abashed and ashamed, waited upon his Majesty and produced the heads of the enemies before his eyes. His Majesty again pardoned his sins and never uttered a single word of reproach about what had happened.

Mīrza Shāh Husain again wrote letters to Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, and entering into an agreement with him drew him to his side. He demanded of the latter the two Zamīndārs, who had supplied boats to his Majesty the King. These men receiving information of this,

[1] Their names, according to the Akbarnāma, were Jandam and Hala.

[2] The meaning and object of this rather senseless proceeding is not very clear. Badāonī gives an explanation. He says میرزا بتقریب رفع خجالت پیش از انکه بملازمت اید ایلغار بر سر میرزا شاه حسین برده جمعي کثیر را از مردم تتّه که غافل از کشتی بر امده بودند بقتل رسانیده و دستگیر ساخته في الجمله تلافیهای بی اخلاصیهای خویش کرده خوار و شرمسار امده دید و سر های اعدا را افزون از شمار بنظر در اورده تقصیراتش بعفو مقرون گشت. the purport of which is he slew a number of the men of Thatha, whom he took by surprise and presented their heads to Humāyūn in order to ingratiate himself in the eyes of the latter; and all his sins of commission and omission were pardoned. Why he wanted to ingratiate himself with Humāyūn, who was destitute of all power (except perhaps the divinity that hedges a king) and what excuses he would make to Shāh Husain, with whom he was in league, does not appear.

came and sought an asylum in the royal camp. The Mīrza sent a man to the King, and represented that there were matters of revenue of the province of Bhakkar, which had been conferred upon him, pending between him and them. His Majesty ordered that some persons should go with the Zamīndārs, and after the settlement of the matter in dispute, bring them back to the royal camp. As soon, however, as Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir's eye fell on these persons, he immediately took them away by force, from the men who accompanied them; and sent them to Mīrza Shāh Husain; and again becoming hostile to him, never came again to wait upon his Majesty. The men in the royal camp who were in a condition of dire distress now begun to go over to Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir by ones and twos, and [1]Mun'im Khān and his brother also thought of flight. When this became known to his Majesty he ordered them to be put into prison. Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir, now to his great disgrace, determined upon coming out to give battle to his Majesty and mounted his horse in order to do so. His Majesty also, becoming aware of this, mounted his horse for the battle. A person of the name of Hāshim Beg, in whom the Mīrza placed complete confidence, kept [2]him back from this infamous deed, and turned him back whether he liked it or not.

When it became patent to his Majesty, that as long as he remained there, his men would desert him and go over to Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir; and the latter being utterly [3] infamous would in the end do something disgraceful, of a necessity he started towards (the kingdom of) [4] Māldeo, (who was one of the powerful Zamīndārs of Hindustan, and than whom at that time, there was no one among the

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[1] Badāonī says كه اخر خانخانان شد i.e., who ultimately became Khān-i-Khānān.

[2] The Akbarnāma says, that Hāshim Beg violently seized the rein of Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir's horse and turned him back. Badāonī however couples him and Mun'im Khān together, and says و هر دو بر خطای تدبیر خویش مطلع شده و قباحت فهمیده از اندیشهٔ فاسد باز ماندند i.e., both saw the evil of their ways and turned back themselves, instead of one being dragged back by his bridle by Hāshim Beg, and the other being placed into confinement.

[3] Two of the MSS. have instead of بی ازرم و بغایت بیشرم i.e., extremely treacherous and shameless and one has بی ازرم بسیار i.e., very shameless.

[4] His proper name would be Malla Deva, Raja of Mārwār or Jodhpūr.

Hindus who had greater influence and possessed a larger force; and who had repeatedly sent petitions expressing his allegiance, and promising help in the recovery of Hindustān)[1] by way of Jaisalmīr. The ruler of Jaisalmīr having sown the dust of ungenerousness on his head sent a force to oppose his Majesty on the road; and the small force, which was with him, fought with them, and routed them[2] with great loss, but a number of his Majesty's followers were also wounded. He then arrived in Māldeo's country by forced marches. He sent Atka Khān to Māldeo who was in Jodhpūr: and halted for some days at that place.

[3] When Mīrza Hindāl arrived in the neighbourhood of Qandahār, Qarācha Khān came out to welcome him; and handed the city over to him. Mīrza Kāmrān, on becoming aware of this, retraced his steps and for four months laid siege to Qandahār. At last Mīrza Hindāl [4] in a state of great distress came out on terms of peace. Mīrza

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[1] Several of the MSS. have in place of براۀ چیسلمیر متوجه ولایت مالدیو گشت, براۀ چیسلمیر اردوی معلی روانه گشت *i.e.*, the exalted camp started by way of Jaisalmīr. The Akbarnāma gives an itinerary of the army. Humāyūn proceeded to Uch on the 21st Muharram, and started towards Māldeo's country on the 13th or 14th Rabī'-ul-āwwal, and halted on the 18th at fort Dilāwar (in Bahāwalpūr), on the 20th he encamped at Hāsalpur or Wāsilpur and on the 17th Rabī'-ul-ākhir, he encamped 12 Kos from Bikānīr. The camp then moved on two or three stages from Phāludi which is 30 Kos from Jodhpūr. Here, becoming convinced of Māldeo's perfidy (or his inability to serve him for fear of Shīr Khān) he turned back, and from Phāludi camp moved to Sātalmir, where there was a crash with some of Māldeo's men who were quickly put to flight. Humāyūn then proceeded to Jaisalmīr where he encamped in the beginning of Jamādī-ul-āwwal. The Rai of Jaisalmīr, Rāi Lonkaran (the Noonkarn of Todd) took up an attitude of hostility, and placed guards over the water-ponds. But Humāyūn's followers defeated them; and the camp then proceeded towards Amarkot on the 10th Jamādī-ul-āwwal (23rd August, 1542).

[2] Two MSS. omit the words با قبچ وجوۀ, another has با فتح وجوۀ and another با فتح وجو which are all incorrect.

[3] This paragraph has not been translated in Elliot, v.

[4] Instead of میرزا هندال مضطرب شده بمصلح بیرون امد, which is the reading of most of the MSS. and the lith. ed., one MSS. has میرزا هندال با مان پایان امده قلعه قندهار تسلیم نمود.

Kāmrān gave Qandahār to Mīrza 'Askarī, and brought Mīrza Hindāl to Ghaznīn, and after some days he transferred Ghaznīn also from him. When Mīrza Hindāl knew that Mīrza Kāmrān intended to act perfidiously towards him, [1] of necessity he gave up all ideas of sovereignty and sequestered himself in Kabul. Mīrza Kāmrān, being now established in Kābul and Qandahār and Ghaznīn, had the *Khutbah* read in his [2] own name.

His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī waited for the return of Atka Khān on the border of Māldeo's territory. When the latter was informed of the arrival of his Majesty, and knew that only a small number of men were with him, he became anxious, as by himself he did not possess the power of opposing Shīr Khān. Shīr Khān had also sent an emissary to Māldeo, and had made many promises and threats. He therefore very ungenerously decided, that if possible he would seize Humāyūn, and make him over to his enemy. The province of [3] Nāgor and its dependencies had already come into Shīr Khān's possession. He was anxious lest Shīr Khān might take offence at his conduct. He therefore sent a large force with this intention towards his Majesty. He did not allow Atka Khān to depart, so that his Majesty might remain careless about his own safety. Atka Khān however understood from his manner and behaviour, what was in Māldeo's mind, and returned without taking leave. One of the librarians of his Majesty, who had at the time of the latter's defeat in Hindustān gone to Māldeo, [4] at this time sent a petition to the royal

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[1] I have adopted the reading of one of the MSS. and of the lith. edn. which is میرزا هندال چون دانست که میرزا کامران در نفاق است بضرورت ترک سلطنت کرده در کابل منزوی گشت, but the lith. edn. omits the words در کابل. One of the other MSS. has میرزا هندال چون دانست, and the other two have after اخر در کابل منزوی گشت از غزنین تغیر داده which are both clearly incomplete and incorrect.

[2] One MS. instead of بنام خود خواند has got incorrectly بنام نامي خواند.

[3] Māldeo had taken possession of Nāgor and Jaunpūr in addition to his own kingdom of Mārwār or Jodhpūr in the unsettled times; and Shīr Khān had already wrested Nāgor and its dependencies from his possession.

[4] There are different readings. The lith. edn. has درین وقت عریضه بدرگاه فرستاد که مالدیو در مقام غدر است هر چند از ولایت او زود تر کوچ کنید بهتر است; two MSS. have عریضه نوشت که مالدیو در مقام غدر است زود تر ازین ویلایت بدر

court, stating that Māldeo was meditating treachery, and the quicker his Majesty went to some distant place the better it would be. His Majesty then by [1]the exertions of Atka Khān, and owing to the emphasis in the representation of the librarian, resumed the march towards Amarkot, that very moment. Two Hindus, who had come as spies, and had fallen into the hands (of his Majesty's followers), were brought before him. At the time when he was interrogating them, in order to ascertain the truth of the matter, he, by way of punishment, ordered one of them to be put to death. They however released themselves, and seized knives and daggers from the [2]two persons who were near them, and seventeen living creatures, including men and horses, were killed of the wounds inflicted by them, and then they were both slain. The horse, which his Majesty usually rode, was among those which were killed, and as his equerries had not kept another horse for him, although they demanded horses and camels from Tardī Beg, the latter threw the dust of meanness on his head and made objections. His Majesty then

; بابد رفت another has, instead of the latter part of the reading in the lith. edn. after است, از هرچه زود تر از ولایت او بدر بابد رفت while another has the reading I have accepted.

[1] Here again the readings are different. The lith. edn. has دربن باب آنکه خان نیز مبالغه بسیار نموده همان فقط از امراء the latter part of which is manifestly incorrect; while all the MSS. have the reading I have accepted. Apparently the translator in Elliot, v, accepted some reading like that in the lith. edn. as his translation is, "Atka Khān also spoke in the strongest term upon the matter."

[2] Here again there are various readings. The lith edn. has ——— از هر دو شخصی که بایشان نزدیک بودند کارد و خنجر بدست اوردند و هفده جاندار از مردان واسپ بزخم ایشان هلاک شدند; the MSS. have از دو شخص که بایشان همراه بود کارد و خنجر بدست اورده به هر کس حمله کرد و چند کس و دو سر اسپ از دست ایشان هلاک شده; another MS. has the same reading as the lith. edn. but the latter part is جاندار از اسپ و ادم هلاک ساختند; another has the same reading as the lith. edn. but omits the words و خنجر; while another also has the same reading as the lith. edn. but substitutes for ازمردان و اسپ ازمرد و زن و اسپ. The translation in Elliot, v, is, "they broke loose, and snatching a knife and a dagger from two bystanders despatched seventeen living creatures, men, women, and horses before they were overpowered and slain." The incident is mentioned by Badāonī; but I have not been able to find it in the Akbarnāma.

mounted a camel. [1] Nadīm Kuka, who was on foot, and whose mother was mounted on his horse, brought the animal to his Majesty, and placed his mother on a camel.

The road lay across loose sand, and there was no water, so his Majesty's troops suffered great privation. Every moment news came of the approach of Māldeo's army. His Majesty ordered Taimūr Sultān, and Mu'nim Khān and a number of others, that they should march in the rear, slowly and cautiously, and should fight with the enemy if they came up. When night came on, these men by accident lost the way; and towards morning the enemy's soldiers came in sight. [2] Shaikh 'Ali Beg and Darvesh Kuka and some others whose total number came up to twenty-two and among whom was Raushan Beg, son of Bāqī Jalāir, proceeded towards them. By a happy chance when they came up to the Hindus, the latter were in a narrow gorge. Shaikh 'Alī Beg with his first arrow cast the commander of the hostile army on the dust of death, and with every arrow which was shot by these men one of the leaders of the enemy was wounded. The latter were no longer able to withstand them, and such an immense army fled from such a small body of men. At the time of the flight many of them were killed, and a large number of camels fell into the hands of his Majesty's soldiers. The news of this victory reached him, and he carried out the customs of thanksgiving.

They encamped near a well which contained a little water; and the Amīrs, who had lost their way at night, arrived at the time, which became the cause of greater happiness. The next day, they started again, and for three days they got no water at all. On the fourth day they arrived at a well, where, when the bucket came up to the mouth of the well, they beat a drum, so that the men who drove the [3] bullocks might stand still. This was on account of

[1] He was Humāyūn's foster-brother.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, this engagement took place when Humāyūn was on his way to Jaisalmīr, where however he did not stop long and went on immediately to Amarkot.

[3] The word, گاؤ (bullock), is in the singular and there is a note to the translation of the corresponding passage in Elliot, v, where it is said that the bucket was drawn up by a bullock by means of a rope passing over a wheel

the (great) depth of the well, so that a cry would not be heard (by the bullock-driver). In short the men having become weak from extreme thirst, four or five of them threw themselves on the top of the bucket, and the rope breaking the bucket fell again into the [1] well. The men on account of their great weakness uttered cries and lamentations; and many deliberately threw themselves into the well; and in this way a large number of people perished of the thirst. They again started, and the next day when the air was intensely hot, they arrived near some water; and the horses and camels who had for some days had no water, as soon as they got to it, drank so much that most of them died.

In short after much suffering, they arrived at [2] Amarkot, which

at the top of the well. I have always found in northern India, where water has to be drawn from very deep wells, that the bucket (usually a very large one made of hides) is drawn by a pair of bullocks, by means of a rope passed over a wheel fixed on a wooden frame over the mouth of the well. According to a note in Col. Brigg's translation of Ferishta, some of the wells in the desert of Amarkot and Jaisalmīr are from 100 to 600 ft. deep, and the movements of the cattle raising the water are regulated by a small kettledrum. The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. have تا کسی که گاو میرانند but one MS. has که انشخص که گاو میرانند

[1] Two of the MSS. have the word قعر, depth, before the word چاه, while the others and the lith. edn. omit it.

[2] Mr. Vincent Smith in note 2, page 13, of his "Akbar, the Great Mogul," says, the correct spelling of the name of the place is 'Umarkot, which means the fort of 'Umar or Omar, a chief of the Sumra tribe. He says the place is the "head quarter of the Thar and Pārkar district of Sind. Many Persian and English authors write the name erroneously as Amarkot as if derived from the Hindi word '*Amar*' meaning immortal, a frequent element in Hindu names." Mr. Smith does not give any authority for what he says. He refers to Raverty's *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 607n; but it is not clear whether this reference is in support of his statement about the spelling and meaning of the name, or of his statement that the oft-repeated assertion, that Akbar revisited the place, is incorrect. I have examined Raverty's work. There is nothing about Amarkot or 'Umarkot in page 607, and neither 'Umarkot nor Omerkot is mentioned in the index. Amarkot is mentioned in page 661 but apparently it is not the Amarkot where Akbar was born. Mr. Vincent Smith also refers to Thornton's *Gazetteer*, S. V. Omercote. But there is nothing said there about the spelling or derivations of the name Amarkot or 'Umarkot. The I.G. however says, "Umarkot is said to have been founded by one Umar, a chief of the Sumra tribe, but of what date is not known." This, as far as I can find out, is the only authority for Mr. Vincent Smith's statement,

is a hundred *Karohs* from Thatha. The ruler of Amarkot whose name was [1] Rānā and who was adorned with generosity came to meet his Majesty and placed on the dish of presentation all that the hand of his power could compass. The soldiers were for a few days freed from toil and suffering in that city. His Majesty gave to the troops whatever he had in his treasury, and as it did not amount to much, he took certain sums from Tardī Beg and others to eke it out. He honoured the Rānā and his sons, who had rendered such good service, by gifts of gold and belts and daggers. As Mīrza Shāh Husain Arghūn had slain the father of the Rānā, the latter collected a large force from all directions and started for Bhakkar with his Majesty, [2] and in accordance with orders, the emperor's family and dependants remained at Amarkot, Khwājah Mu'azzam, the brother of Mariam Makānī, was appointed to guard them. [3] As from the perfidy which is the ancient custom of the time, those days did not pass in conformity with the wishes of his Majesty, and good fortune which was accordant with the eternal grandeur of his Majesty had not before then possessed sufficient power, the entire revolutions of the sky were endeavouring that they should remove that temporary dejection of his heart in such a way that its effect might remain on the page of the epoch till the end of the skirt of ages; that is on the day and date of [4] Sunday, the 5th of the month of

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but it appears to me to be altogether too vague. On the other hand there is the fact, that the name of the place has always been written as امرکوٹ in all Persian histories and never as عمرکوٹ as it would have been written if Mr. Vincent Smith's spelling and derivation had been correct.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma he was called Rānā Parsād (or more correctly Rānā Prasād). Badāonī says he came to meet Humāyūn with his sons.

[2] The lith. edn. has و بحسب الحکم در امرکوٹ توقف نمود in which of course some words between حکم and در have been omitted. Some of the MSS. supply the omission, but one has کو چ و بنه and another has کوچ و نیه while the others have incorrectly بحسب الحکم در امرکوٹ توقف نمود (or نیز) و نیر. Badāonī has رخت و بنه بحفظ و حراست خواجه معظم گذاشت.

[3] Our author, wishing to be particularly eloquent, has perpetrated this very long and involved sentence. The translator in Elliot, v, says he has greatly compressed this passage.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma the birth took place on the night of

Rajab 949 A.H. (15th of October, 1542) with the happiest fortune, and at the most auspicious moment the fortunate eyes of his Majesty

Sunday, or according to our reckoning on Saturday, as it took place early on Sunday morning.

Contrary to the statements in all other histories, Jauhar, the *Aftābchi* or ewer bearer of Humāyūn and the author of the Tazkirāt-ul-waqiāt, says that Akbar was born not on Sunday, the 5th Rajab, but "on the night of the full moon of the month of Sha'bān, 947, in consequence of which his Majesty was pleased to name the child the full moon of religion (Budraddyn) Muhammad Akbar." The translator of Jauhar's work, Major Charles Stewart, says in a foot note: "the author has here probably made a mistake. The birth took place in the month of Rajab, and the title was Jallaladdyn, Glory of Religion. See Price's Muhammadan History, Vol. III, page 807." Later on Jauhar says, "On the 20th of the month of Ramzān, the prince arrived (at Humāyūn's camp), and had the honour of being first embraced by his Majesty on the 35th day of his age." Major Stewart, as a fair-minded critic, says in a foot note, "As this circumstance corroborates the date before mentioned, it is possible that Abul Fazl may have made a mistake in the Akbar Nameh, though not likely." I entirely agree with Major Stewart's conclusion that it is possible that Jauhar's statement is correct.

Mr. Vincent Smith, however, goes a great deal further, both in his 'Akbar, the Great Mogul,' and in his article in the Indian Antiquary, November, 1915, Vol. XLIV, pp. 234-44. In his book he says that Abul Fazl "deliberately rejected the truth, and gave currency to the fictitious official version": and in his article in the Indian Antiquary he asserts that "the discrepancy in the authorities is due to deliberate falsification on one side or the other and to nothing else." And of course as Jauhar's account is "artless and transparently true" there can be no doubt whatever that Abul Fazl and the courtiers are the deliberate forgers.

It should be noted, however, that, as Mr. Smith himself says, "Jauhar's Memoir is believed to have been composed under instructions from Abul Fazl, who must have read it." If Abul Fazl was bent on falsifying the date of Akbar's birth, what was there to prevent him from expunging or altering Jauhar's statement about the correct date of the birth, and the name first given to Akbar? As far as I can find there is no answer to this very simple question.

In page 243 of the Indian Antiquary referred to, Mr. Vincent Smith sets forth six propositions, which, he says, may be considered to have been finally established. I have nothing to say about the first four of these propositions, though I would like to alter the word "false," in the second to "incorrect." As regards the fifth proposition I should like to know what prevented Jauhar from noting the substitution of the official birth day and the change in the name, when they were made.

were illuminated by the light of the countenance of an auspicious son whose charming being had its origin from the celestial fathers

The sixth proposition is very important, as it gives the motives for the changes in the birth day and name. The first and the principal one was the desire to preserve the child from the perils of witchcraft by concealing the true date of his birth. Secondary motives were the preference of Sunday over Thursday, and the wish to associate the birth day with the assumed date of the conception of Muhammad.

I will not say anything about tho secondary motives as apparently much importance is not attached to them. As to the first motive, if there was such a superstition about witchcraft, Jauhar, more than any one else, would have known it. Why did he then or why was he allowed then to divulge the true date of the birth of the prince ? I have never heard of such a superstition in the case of Muhammadans, and I have consulted Shams-ul-Ulma Maulvi Hidāyat Husain, and he has told me tha the has never heard of the dates of the births of Musalman children being concealed for fear of their being endangered by witchcraft.

It is curious that Mr. Vincent Smith, who must have made extensive enquiries on the subject, is unable to give a single instance of such concealment, or to quote a single Muhammadan scholar, to prove the existence of such a superstition. The weakness of his case is clearly shown by his having gone to a Hindu scholar to bolster up his argument. This scholar has quoted a Sanskrit couplet in support of his argument. The couplet mentions nine matters which should be concealed ; the first of these being *āyus* or a man's age. The couplet does not say that a man's age should be concealed for fear of witchcraft. Certainly some of the other eight are not to be concealed for such a fear; for instance Griha Chchidram, or defects in one's household, as it is somewhat inaccurately translated, or a domestic difference or quarrel, or a skeleton in the cupboard as I would have translated it, and mantra (*vedic* or *tantric*) are not to be concealed for fear of it. I have consulted Mahāmahopādhāya Haraprasād Sastri about this couplet, and he has told me that there is no Sāstrik injunction for the concealment of a man's age for fear of witchcraft or for any other reason, though there may be injunctions of what he called *Meyelī-Sāstras*, or the Sāstras as enunciated by uneducated women, in support of it.

Kavi Rāj Syāmal Dās, who is the Hindu scholar whom Mr. Smith has quoted, says " that the concealment of the date of birth is still strictly observed by well-to-do Hindus, of whom only ten per cent. of enlightened views could ever dare to lay aside this rule." I suppose I belong to the section of Hindus of enlightened views, but laying aside the case of the members of my own family, I have never heard either in the course of a residence extending over some years in my younger days in Lucknow, and later during many years of official work in different districts in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa that the date of the birth of a

and terrestrial mothers; the tongue of the condition of the age sang and talked with these words. Couplet:

Till thou placedst thy foot in this alley,
Existence had much shame from non-existence.

Tardī Beg Khān took this news to Humāyūn in the neighbourhood of Amarkot. His Majesty in accordance with a supernatural inspiration, the particulars of which would be mentioned in their appropriate place, gave the name of Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammed Akbar to His Imperial Highness. He then proceeded by rapid marches towards Bhakkar, and wrote letters in which he placed very great stress on guarding the prince with great care. Then when his Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī arrived in *Pargana* [1] Jūn, and halted there for some time, he sent for his family and dependants; and he illuminated his eyes by the sight of the son whose life was to be such a glorious one.

The forces, which had been collected from different directions, began to disperse during the halt at Jūn. Shaikh 'Ali, who was a [2] brave and high-minded leader, was killed by the troops of Mīrza

Hindu child is ever concealed for fear of witch craft. I have just consulted a young Hindu who comes from the district of Bakerganj and is now resident in Calcutta, and he tells me that he has never heard that the date of the birth of a Hindu child is ever concealed for such a fear.

[1] The place is called Jūn in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. and also in the Akbarnāma; and it appears from a note in p. 38, Vol. I of Mr. Beveridge's translation, that "Jūn, as Stewart remarks, is not marked on the maps. Abul Fazl puts it in Hājkān, Jarrett, II, 340. Apparently it was on the east bank between Tattah and Sehwān." Genl. Haig says, Jūn, the chief town of a fertile and populous district, was situated on the left bank of the Rēn. It is 75 miles south-west of Amarkot, and 50 miles north-east of Tattah. A note adds that the ruins of Jūn are to be seen two miles south-east of the present Tānda Ghulām Haidar. On the other hand Badāonī (p. 842 of this Persian text) calls the place چول; and Col. Ranking in his translation says (note 1, p. 567) that Chaul or Chore is a village situated on the route between Amarkot and Jaisalmīr, eight miles north-east of the former place. Chaul cannot be correct as Humāyūn was going to Thatha or Tatta and not to Jaisalmīr.

[2] The reading in the lith. edn. here is پسر سردار و میر صاحب جود; پسر is of course a mistake for دلیر. As regards the صاحب جود the readings in the MSS. are صاحب جود and صاحب وجود. In Elliot, v, Shaikh 'Ali is described as a brave intrepid officer.

Shāh Husain Arghūn, in one of the *parganas* of Thatha. The soldiers now began to desert from his Majesty's camp one by one, till Mun'im Khān also fled. His Majesty did not consider it advisable to remain there longer, and determined to advance towards Qandahār. At this time [1]Bairām Khān came to attend on his Majesty from the direction of [2]Gujrat. His Majesty now sent a messenger to Mīrza Shāh Husain, and asked for some boats to enable him to cross the river. Mīrza Shāh Husain, considering this a [3]great escape from a difficult position, sent thirty boats and three hundred camels. His Majesty then crossed the river and [4]turned towards Qandahār.

At this time [5]Mīrza Shāh Husain sent a messenger to Mīrza 'Askarī and Mīrza Kāmrān, and informed them that his Majesty had started for Qandahār. Mīrza Kāmrān wrote to Mīrza 'Askarī that he should block the road and seize his Majesty's person. Mīrza 'Askarī, with base ingratitude, started by forced marches from Qandahār, at

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[1] This name is written in all the MSS. and in the lith. edn. as well as in the lith. edn. of Ferishtah as بیرم خان, and which should be transliterated as Bīram (or Bairam) Khān. In the Persian text of Badāonī in the Bibliotheca Indica, he is, however, called بیرام خان which should of course be transliterated as Bairām Khān. I have adopted this spelling, as it is in use in all translations of the works of Musalman historians, and also in Elphinstone's history and other English histories. A biographical sketch of Bairām Khān containing an account of his adventures after Humāyūn's defeat at Kanauj is given in a note in p. 215 of Elliot, v.

[2] It is said in the Akbarnāma that Bairām Khān went from Gujrāt to Surat and thence he hurried off to Hardwar and from there came to Humāyūn in Jūn. Hardwār was afterwards corrected in the errata to Mārwār; but Mr. Beveridge says in a note (p. 382) that it is quite possible that Bairām Khān went to Hardwār in the course of his wanderings.

[3] There are different readings here. The lith. edn. and one MS. have مرزا شاه حسین این امر را فوزی عظیم دانسته while one MS. has فوزی instead of فو زی: while the other two have مرزا شاه حسین این امر را و نور عظیم دانسته In Elliot, v, the passage has been freely translated as "the Shah delighted with his determination." فوز means success and also escape. I have taken the latter meaning.

[4] The Akbarnāma does not distinctly say that Mirza Shāh Husain sent a notice of Humāyūn's departure for Qandahār.

[5] According to the Akbarnāma Humāyūn left Jūn for Qandahār via Sūvī (Sibi) on the 7th Rabī'ul-ākhir, 950 A.H. (11th July, 1543).

the time when his Majesty arrived in [1]Shāl and Mastān; and sent forward [2]Hawālī Uzbek to keep watch, and find out the truth about the road. As the latter had been nourished on the salt of his Majesty, he demanded a strong horse from Mīrza 'Askarī and came with great speed to his Majesty's camp. When he reached the royal pavilion, he dismounted from his horse, and went to the tent of Bairām Khān and told the latter that Mīrza 'Askarī was coming to seize his Majesty. Bairām Khān went, that very moment, to wait upon the bādshāh, and gave him information from the rear of the pavilion of the approach of Mīrza 'Askarī. His Majesty observed "[3] what importance have Qandahār and Kābul got, that I should quarrel with my faithless brothers about them."

The sky is thy abode! Shame be to thee!
That for a straw thou shouldst quarrel and cast dust on thy head!

His Majesty immediately mounted his horse; and sent Khwājah Mu'azzam and Bairām Khān to the inner apartments of Mariam Makānī. They went with all haste, and having placed her Majesty

[1] The readings are various. The lith. edn. has سال زمستان and the MSS. have سال ستان، قصبه شال و مشک، قصبه شال و مستان and (something worm eaten) سال. Shal (Quettah) according to the Akbarnāma is 30 farsakhs (150 miles) from Qandahār. By compass Quettah is about 130 miles south east of Qandahār. Mashtang or Mastang is about 30 miles S.S.W. of Quettah and is between it and Khilāt.

[2] The man's name is Hawālī in the lith. edn. and in the translation in Elliot, v. In the MSS. he is called جواني Jawānī, حولي Hūlī, and چولي Chūlī. In the Akbarnāma he is called Jai Bahādur Uzbak. Badāonī has چولي بهادر اوزبکي Chuli Bahādur Uzbaki and as a variant جوکي بهادر اوزبکي Juki Bahādur Uzbaki.

[3] The text is not at all clear. The lith. edn. has که ما بواسطه قندهار و کابل چه گرا میکند. One MS. omits the initial که, and for گرا میکند substitutes کریه مبکند, another has کرایه, whilst the others have چه گران میکند. It is difficult to make much sense of any of the readings. I think the last reading is the best and have adopted it. The translation in Elliot, v, is, "What is the worth of Kandahār and Kabul that I should strive with my faithless brothers." The couplet is omitted in two of the MSS. Its meaning is also not quite clear. The difficulty is about the word کالي or کامي which begins the second line. I have adopted کامي, Badāonī says همان زمان قطع نظر از قندهار و کابل نموده

and the prince Akbar Shāh on horse back brought them to him. As there were very few horses at his Majesty's disposal a demand for horses was made from Tardī Beg. He, throwing the dust of meanness on his own head, objected to give any. He also did not accompany the royal party. His Majesty, intending to go to [1]'Irāq, started with a few followers, taking Mariam Makānī with him, but [2]left the prince, who was only one year old, in the camp on account of the heat of the air.

Mīrza 'Askarī arrived in the vicinity of the camp after a little while, and learned that his Majesty had departed in safety. He appointed a number of men to take charge of the camp. On the following day, with great shamelessness, he went to the royal offices. Atka Khān took the prince to Mīrza 'Askarī. [3]Tardī Beg was put under arrest by order of the Mīrza. Officers were appointed to make correct lists of the properties of His Imperial Majesty; and to take charge of them. Mīrza 'Askarī then took the prince to Qandahār; and made him over to [4]Sultān Begam, his own wife. She was never, of her own free will, wanting in showing him kindness.

His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī with [5]twentytwo followers, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwājah Mu'azzam, and Bābā Dost Bakhshī and Khwājah Ghāzī and Haidar Muhammad Akhta-Begī, and Mīrza Qulī and Shaikh Yusuf, and Ibrāhīm Aishak

و منازعت برادران نموده سوار دولت شدند. Ferishtah does not say anything about Qandahār or Kabul or about the brothers but says بتعجیل تمام مریم مکانی را سوار کرده و شاهزاده را از بیم گرمي هوا در اردو گذاشته خود ..... بجانب خراسان متوجه گشت.

[1] Ferishtah says (see note 3 above) he started towards Khurāsān.

[2] Badāonī says that the prince was left in the charge of Atka Khān, on account of the heat and the want of water.

[3] The Akbarnāma says that Mīrza 'Askarī had all the men (*i.e.*, Humāyūn's followers who were left behind) arrested.

[4] According to a note in the Akbarnāma this lady went, after her husband's death, to Mecca in company with Gulbadan Begam and others, in 1574.

[5] Both Badāonī and Ferishtah agree that there were twenty-two followers and that they started without fixing upon any route which they were to follow; but Badāonī gives the names of Bairām Khān and Khwājah Mu'azzam among the followers; Ferishtah names only Bairām Khān.

Āqā, and Hasan 'Ali Aishak Aqāsī, started, without deciding anything about the route which they were to follow. They went a short distance when some [1]Baluchīs met them and acted as guides, and after much trouble, they reached Qila' Bābā Hājī. The Turks, who were there, did homage and placed whatever they had on the dish of presentation. [2]Khwaja Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who had come on behalf of Mīrza 'Askarī to collect the revenue of that country, on becoming acquainted with the fact of the arrival of his Majesty, came and obtained the honour of rendering homage, and presented horses, and camels, and mules, and all necessaries which he had. The next day Hājī Muhammad Kukī who had fled from Mīrza 'Askarī came and did homage. As there was no place in that neighbourhood, where, on account of the ungenerous behaviour of his brothers and other relations, his Majesty could reside, he had necessarily to proceed towards Khurasān and 'Irāq.

When he entered the country of Sīstān, [3]Ahmad Sultān Shāmlū who was the governor of the place, under Shāh Tahmāsp performed the duty of welcoming him. (His Majesty) stopped for some days in Sīstān. Ahmad Sultān performed the duties of a host, even more than his power and capacity, and sent the ladies of his household to attend on Hazrat Mariam Makānī as serving maids; and placing all his furniture and goods at his disposal, put himself in the rank of his Majesty's slaves. The latter only accepted what he required,

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, it was Malik Hātī Baluch, captain of banditti, who took Humāyūn to his own abode, exerted himself in his service, and became his guide from the perilous wilderness, where he had wandered, to the Garmsīr (*i.e.*, the warm region).

[2] He is mentioned in the Akbarnāma, where it is said that he came and accepted service under Humāyūn, when the latter sent Baba Dost-Bakhshi to him. The translator in Elliot, v, calls him Khwaja Jalālu-d-dīn, son of Mahmūd.

[3] He is not mentioned by Badāonī, who only says that Humāyūn passed through Sīstān, and travelled through the city of Khurāsān. Ferishtah mentions him and his account agrees with that in the text. According to the Akbarnāma, Humāyūn went to Sīstān because Mīr 'Abdul Hai of Garmsīr represented to him, that Mīrza 'Askarī had sent a large force, and that if he remained in Garmsīr, they would probably attack him there, whereas in Sīstān, which belonged to Persia, he would be protected from them. Humāyūn had already written a letter to the King of Persia.

and returned everything else by way of reward. Ahmad Sultān explained, at the time of consultations, that it would be better to travel to 'Irāq by way of [1]Tabas Kilaki; "as that route is extremely near (shorter) and this slave (*i.e.* he himself) would guide him and would attend on him to 'Irāq." His Majesty said that he had heard a great deal in praise of the city of Herat. It appeared to him to be pleasanter to go along that route. Ahmad Sultān accompanied the stirrups of His Majesty towards Herat.

At that time [2]Sultān Muhammad Mīrza, the eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp, was the governor of Herat. Muhammad Khān Sharf-ud-dīn Ughlī Taklū held the rank of [3]Ataliq of the prince. When they became aware of the near arrival of His Majesty, they very promptly sent Sultān 'Ali who was one of the Amīrs of Taklū to welcome him. He arrived on the frontier of the province of Herat, and paid his respects to His Majesty and attended at his stirrups on his journey to the city of Herat. The Shāhzādah of Irān, with his retinue and attendants, came to welcome His Majesty and omitted no minutiæ in the duties of respect and reverence. Muhammad Khān was exalted by receiving the honour of kissing the royal feet. The city of Herat then became the seat of the exalted encampment. Muhammad Khān performed the duties of a host in such a way, that among his companions and equals no one had up to that time attained to such happiness. His Majesty was highly pleased with his charming behaviour. Muhammad Khān provided all the paraphernalia of

[1] Tabas Kilakī is a town in Khurāsān, Jarret, III, 67. In the Akbarnāma, the place is called Kilakī, but the translator says in a note that he has inserted Tabas in accordance with a variant, and following Nizām-ud-dīn (*i.e.* our author): The note goes on to say: "for Tabas or Tabbas, see Macgregor's Khurāsān, 1, 125. It lay on the road from Sīstān to Qazwīn (then the capital) and was a long way west of Herat."

[2] According to a note in the Akbarnāma, he was the eldest son of Tahmāsp, and was often called Muhammad Khudābandā. He became King in 1578, but was a weak and unworthy ruler, and soon disappeared. He is called پسر بزرگ in the text; Colonel Ranking in his translation of Badāonī calls him the elder son, but Colonel Briggs and the translator in Elliot, v, correctly describe him as the eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp.

[3] He is apparently called Lāla on the *farmān* of Shāh Tahmāsp to the governor of Khurāsān. Lāla is apparently a form of Lālā, a major domo, tutor, &c.

sovereignty, and all that His Majesty required for the journey; so that up to the time of his meeting with Shāh Tahmāsp he had no lack of anything.

When all the palaces and gardens of Herat, which were likely to give him pleasure, had been inspected by His Majesty, he started again and turned towards [1]holy Mashhad. [2]Shāh Quli Sultān Istājlu, the governor of Mashhad, also tried to perform the duties of service to the extent of his power. In the same way, at each halting station, the governor of the place, by order of Shāh Tahmāsp, made offerings of everything that the hand of his spirit could reach. And also from the camp of Shāh Tahmāsp by his orders a large body of chiefs and noble and great men of 'Irāq set out to receive and welcome His Majesty; and it was settled that from Dāmaghān to the Shāh's encampment, at each halting place, one of these noblemen should perform the duties of hospitality, and the requisites for the hospitality were fixed by the orders of the Shāh. At each station, an entertainment was provided for His Majesty, till he arrived at Qazwīn. The Shāh's encampment had at that time, moved to [3]Bilāq Surlīq.

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[1] All the MSS. except one and the lith. edn. have متوجه مشهد مقدس شدند, as I have in the text. The other MS. has متوجه مشهد و طوس شدند turned towards Mashhad and Tūs. The translator in Elliot has, "took his departure for Mashhad and Tūs."

[2] He is so called in all the MSS. and in the lith. edn. and in the Akbarnāma; but the translator in Elliot, v, calls him Shāh 'Ali Sultān Istājlu. No dates are given in the text; but according to the Akbarnāma, Humāyūn reached Mashhad on the 15th Muharram, 957 (8th April, 1544). The journey is also described with much greater detail in the Akbarnāma. It appears that Humāyūn went from Herat to Jām and from that place to Mashhad, where he visited the shrine of (Imām) Rizavi. From Mashhad he went to Nishāpūr, and inspected the turqoise mines in the neighbourhood, and then went to Sabzawār, and from there to Dāmaghān (which is supposed to be the old capital of the Parthians, the Hecatompylos of the Greeks). From Dāmaghān, he went to Bistām, and thence to Bahrtamī, and then towards Samnān, and halted at Sūfīābād, and thence to Rey and on to Qazwīn.

[3] The name of the place cannot be made out, with certainty, from the MSS. and the lith. edn. The first name may be Bilāq, Pilāq or Nilāq. The translator in Elliot, calls it Pulāk Sūrlīk. In the Akbarnāma, the first name is not given at all. It is said there: "when the cavalcade reached Rey, the Shāh left Qazwīn with the intention of going into summer quarters; and proceeded

His Majesty sent Bairām Khān to the Shāh. He went and brought an epistle containing congratulations on his happy arrival, and expressing great pleasure. His Majesty again started and went from stage to stage, and everywhere the inhabitants rendered service and homage.

At Bilāq Sūrlīq, His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī and Shāh Tahmāsp met each other: The latter did not omit any minutiæ in the matter of respect and honour, and arranged a splendid entertainment, and performed the rites of hospitality, in a way that was befitting to the two parties. It so happened that in the course of conversation, the Shāh asked, "what was the cause of your downfall." His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī replied, "the hostility and faithlessness of my brothers." These words gave [1]great pain to Bahrām Mīrza, brother of Shāh Tahmāsp, and he tied the girdle of hostility, and tried to induce the Shāh to slay His Majesty. But contrary to him, the sister of Shāh Tahmāsp, [2]Sultānam, in whom the Shāh placed great confi-

towards Sultāniya and Sūrliq. It appears elsewhere, from notes in the Akbarnāma, that Bulāq means a spring in Turki, and Bilāq means a garden, and also an underground dwelling, used to avoid the heat.

[1] The Akbarnāma refers to this rather vaguely. It says: "in the intervals between these glorious seasons of fortunate conjunctions, a cloudiness of heart was created on both sides, through the instigation of sundry strife-mongers, but the turbidity did not last long, and was washed away by the waters of cleansing." This is explained in a note by the words: "Referring to Bahrām Mīrza, the Shāh's brother and also to some disloyal servants of Humāyūn. See Nizām-ud-din, Ferishta, Jauhar and also Badāonī, 1,444." None of these authors, as far as I can make out, mention any disloyal servants of Humāyūn as having had anything to do in creating this ill feeling. Ferishtah says that they were at dinner. Humāyūn told Shāh Tahmāsp that the hostility of his brothers was the cause of his ruin; and بهرام میرزا برادر شاه طهماسپ که دران مجلس دست بسته بادب ایستاده بود و تشت و افتابه گرفته بر دست حضرت شاه اب ریخت و همچو سایر خدمتگاران خدمت کرد انگاه حضرت شاه متوجه جنت اشیاني شده گفت برادران را چنین باید داشت. The translator in Elliot, v. also refers to this in a note, quoting from Erskine, Vol. II, 290. It is not however quite clear, even with this explanation, why Bahrām Mīrza should have been angry with Humāyūn. He was well used to the performance of such menial work, and if he had any reason to be incensed with any body it was with his brother, Shāh Tahmāsp, who pointedly drew Humāyūn's attention to the way, in which he treated Bahrām Mīrza.

[2] She is apparently not mentioned in the Akbarnāma. She is called Sultānam, but one MS. reads Sultān Begam. Ferishtah calls her Sultānah Begam.

dence, and who had complete authority in all affairs of the kingdom, and of revenue, did everything in her power to help Humāyūn Qāzī Jahān Qazwīnī, who was the minister of the Shāh, and Hakīm Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad his [1]physician, who had great power, and enjoyed great confidence, never willingly made any default in wishing for the good of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī. Hakīm Nūr-ud-dīn who was in the Shāh's confidence openly and secretly, whenever he had an opportunity, made every endeavour in arranging the affairs of His Majesty. At this time Shāh Tahmāsp went out with a body of chiefs and noblemen to hunt with arrows, in order to gratify the mind of His Majesty. Bahrām Mīrza, who had an ancient grudge in his heart against Abul-Qāsim Khalfā, shot an arrow towards him with the pretext of hunting. The arrow hit him in a vital part, and he died on the spot.

Shāh Tahmāsp, at the time of bidding farewell to His Majesty provided all the paraphernalia of sovereignty and appointed Shāhzādah Murād, his son, who was then an infant at the breast, to aid His Majesty, with [2]ten thousand men. His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī said, [3]"I have in my mind an intention of visiting Tabrīz and Ardabīl." The Shāh sent *farmāns* to the governors of those places to endeavour to perform the rites of showing him honour and respect to the extent of their power. His Majesty after visiting those places, turned towards Qandahār; and by successive marches went on a pilgrimage to holy Mashhad. [4]He had brought with him the *Qazl-*

[1] The word which has been translated as physician طبیب is written in the lith. edn. and several MSS. as طیب, Taiyyab which may be part of the name of the hakīm.

[2] The Akbarnāma says twelve thousand, but Bāyazid and Badāonī (though one MS. has twelve thousand) and Ferishtah all have ten thousand. The Akbarnāma gives the names of 26 "exalted persons who were appointed to take part in the great expedition."

[3] The Akbarnāma gives an account of what he did and saw at these places.

[4] I have translated this sentence as it appears, with certain minor differences, in the MSS. and the lith. edn. The translation in Elliot, v, is similar; but it appears to me, that there is some mistake. The Qazlbāsh army did not go to Tabrīz and Ardabil. According to the Akbarnāma, the Persian army joined Humāyūn when he came to Sīstān, after visiting Tabrīz and Ardabil. I do not know what Afshār the title affixed to the name of Badāgh

bāsh (Persian) Amīrs, and Badāgh Khān Afshār, the tutor of the Shāhzāda was the commander of that Army. When they arrived near the forts of the Garmsīr, the [1]country came into their possession. When they arrived near [2]Qandahār, a large body, who had sallied out of the fort, tried to the best of their power to oppose them, but were defeated. The Qazlbāsh army now encamped in front of Qandahār. His Majesty arrived there after five days. The fort was besieged ; and for three months, there were battles every day, and large numbers of men were slain on either side.

Bairām Khān now went on a [3] mission to Mīrza Kāmrān at Kābul. On the way a body of the tribe of Hazāra attacked him. There was a [4] fight and Bairām Khān was victorious. He arrived in Kābul, and had an interview with Mīrza Kāmrān. He also had, interviews with [5] Mīrza Hindāl and Mīrza Sulaimān, son of Khān Mīrza and Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir who had come from Bhakkar in a state of great distress. Mīrza Kāmrān sent the exalted cradle [6]Khānzāda Begam with Bairām Khān to Qandahār, so that perhaps (by her efforts) peace might be arranged. When [7]Bairām Khān

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Khān means. In the Akbarnāma, he is called Badāgh Khān Qājār. Two of the MSS. call him Badāgh Khān Afshār, while two others call him quite incorrectly Badāq Khān Chārqalām. The translator in Elliot, v, calls him simply Bidāgh Khān. Badāonī calls him Badāgh Khān Qazlbāsh Afshār. The lith. edn. of Ferishtah has Badāgh Khān Qāchār.

[1] It appears from the Akbarnāma, that when they went to Garmsīr Mīr 'Abdul Hai of Garmsīr came out of the fort of Lakī (on the right bank of the Helmand) with a quiver bound round his neck and did homage. The Akbarnāma also contains an accouut of the siege and capture of the fort of Bast.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, on Saturday, 9th Muharram, 952 (21st March, 1545).

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, he went to Kāmrān armed with a letter from Shāh Tahmāsp and also an admonitary *farmān* from Humāyūn himself.

[4] The encounter took place at the pass of Rughni, (which cannot be identified), and the Āb-istāda (standing or stagnant water), a salt lake 7,000 ft. above sea level, south of Ghaznīn. (Akbarnāma).

[5] Before going to see these Mīrzas, he first went to kiss the threshold of His Majesty, the king of kings, the infant Akbar.

[6] " Elder sister of His Majesty Gitī-sitānī Firdus-makānī " (Akbarnāma) *i.e.* of the emperor Bābar.

[7] It appears from the Akbarnāma, that Kāmrān detained Bairām Khān for a month and a half, because " he had neither the strength to resist, nor the grace

arrived at Qandahār with Khānzāda Begam into the presence of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, Mīrzā 'Askarī was still carrying on the war and bloodshed, and the Qazlbāsh army had become depressed owing to the length of the duration of the siege; and were thinking of returning, as they had been under the impression, that when His Majesty would arrive near the borders of Qandahār, the Chaghtāi tribes would come to him. As a long time elapsed, and no one came, and the news of the approach of Mīrzā Kāmrān to reinforce Mīrza 'Askarī was bruited about, the Qazlbāsh became extremely anxious. Owing to fortunate accidents, at that very time, [1]fortune became adverse to Mīrza Kāmrān; and Mīrza Husain Khān and Fazāel Beg, brother of Mun'im Khān, fled from him, and came to offer their services to His Majesty, the Turkmāns became somewhat hopeful. After some days, Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, and Ulugh Mīrza and Qāsim Husain Sultān and Shir Afgan Beg also fled (from Mīrza Kāmrān) and arrived. This encouraged the hearts of the Qazlbāsh army. [2]Mū'īd Beg, who was imprisoned in the fort, released himself by such artifices as he could think of; and climbed down from the citadel of Qandahār by a rope. His Majesty shewed him great

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to submit;" and he sent Khānzāda Begam ostensibly to persuade "'Askarī who, he pretended, was not under his influence, to give up Qandahār to Humāyūn, but in reality in order that if things should go ill with him, who was holding out, and was maintaining the fort under M. Kāmrān's orders, and he should have to give up the fort, that cupola of chastity might be an intercessor for M. 'Askarī, and might procure him his liberty."

[1] The words بخت ا occur in one MS. only but are omitted from the others, and from the lith. edn. Apparently the words did not occur also in the MSS. used by the translator in Elliot, v, as he translates the passage "Mirza Kāmrān fell back" and in order to make this consistent with the context he translates خبر امدن میرزا کامران by the words, "the fact of Mirza Kāmrān's advance." I think however the reading I have adopted is correct, as Kāmrān did not leave Kābul at all; and could not therefore have fallen back.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Khizr Khwāja Khān, also called Khizr Khān Sultān, husband of Gulbadan, daughter of Bābar and authoress of the Memoirs, threw himself down from the fort, and came to Humāyūn as a suppliant, even before Mū'īd Beg. The latter, according to a note in the Akbarnāma based on Bāyazīd, died shortly after the taking of Kābul, to the great joy of everybody, as he was regarded as a Satan, and the cause of Humāyūn's losing India.

favour. Another body of men also, under the leadership of Abū Hasan, nephew of Qarācha Khān, and Munawwar Beg, son of Nūr Beg, came out of the fort of Qandahār.

Mīrza 'Askari, now in great distress, begged for quarter; and His Majesty, from his great generosity granted him quarter; and summoning the Qazlbāsh nobles, entered into an agreement with them, that as there were numerous persons of the Chaghtāi tribes, and their families in the fort of Qandahār, none of the Turkmāns should, for a period of three days, interfere with them; and during the three days agreed upon, the garrison of the fort came out with their families. Mīrza 'Askarī came to the court of His Majesty in great self-abasement. [1]Not a word however was said of what had happened. The Amīrs of the Chaghtāi tribe, with swords round their necks and shrouds in their hands, had the good fortune of rendering homage, and were [2]treated with kindness. As it had been stipulated with the Qazlbāsh, that after its capture, Qandahār should belong to them, His Majesty, although he had no other territory, [3]gave it up to them; and Badāgh Khan and Mīrza Murād, son of Shāh Tahmāsp, entered the fort and took possession of it. Most of the

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, he was treated with a certain amount of indignity. "In accordance with the royal order, Bairām Khan hung the sword round M. 'Askarī's neck, and introduced him. ..... during the assembly, they in accordance with his Majesty's orders, presented M. 'Askarī with an exact copy of the letter which he had written to his Balūcī followers at the time when His Majesty was proceeding to a strange land by way of the desert. The Mīrza's life was embittered and mirth became melancholy. At last out of necessity, an order was given that he should be kept under surveillance, and that he should be brought from time to time to make his obeisance, so that while his offence had, out of innate kindness, been forgiven, he might for some days take counsel with himself in bondage."

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, "thirty of them were brought forward with swords and quivers round their necks, and Muqīm Khān and Shāh Quli Sīstānī were ordered into confinement, with fetters on their legs and wooden boards on their necks."

[3] Abul Fazl appears to me to slur over the surrender of Qandahār, in accordance with the agreement with Shāh Tahmāsp. He says, "Qandahar was in accordance with the secret workings of His Majesty's comprehensive mind, presented to Muhammad Murād Mīrza and his Majesty took up his quarters in the Cār Bāgh of His Majesty Firdus Makānī, which is on the bank of the Arghundāb, and was refreshed by its pleasant groves."

Qazlbāsh nobles, who had come to aid (His Majesty) returned to 'Irāq except Badāgh Khān, and Abul-Fateh Sultān Afshār, and Sufi Wali Sultan [1]Shāmlu, no one else remained in the service of Mīrza Murād.

When winter approached, the Chaghtāī tribes had no place of shelter. Therefore out of sheer necessity His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī sent men to Badāgh Khān (with the message) that in this winter season, the soldiers required a place of shelter. That inhuman person did not say in reply any word which might be of any use. The Chaghtāi tribes were in distress. 'Abd-ul-lah Khān and Jamīl Beg, who had come out of the fort, fled to Kābul. Mīrza 'Askarī also finding an opportunity fled. But a large force pursued and seized him and brought him to His Majesty ; and he was put into prison. The Sardārs of the Chaghtāi tribes then came together, and after a consultation decided that the fort of Qandahār should, on account of their necessity, be taken away from the Qazlbāsh ; and should be returned to them, after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān. It so happened that on that very day [2]Mīrza Murād (son of Shāh Tahmāsp) died a natural death.

The [3]determination to take possession of Qandahār now became strengthened, and a large force was appointed for this service. Hājī

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[1] This name is given as Qazālmū in the lith. edn.; in the MSS. it appears as Rāmhe and Mulu ; in the translation in Elliot, v, it is given as Qadāmū ; I do not think the name is given in the Akbarnāma. Badāonī says بغیر از بداغ خان و دو سه امرای دیگر بخدمت میرزا مراد نماندند. Ferishtah has Sufi Wali Sultān Shāmlu. I have accepted this in preference to Qadāmū or Qazālmū, which I have not come across anywhere else, and Rāmhe and Malu are manifestly incorrect, while Shāmlu, as we have seen, was the suffix of the name of Ahmad Sultān, the governor of Sīstān.

[2] I have not been able to find out what the infant prince died of. Abul Fazl covers up the fact in very flowery language, "just then the Shāh's son became a beholder of the gardens of mercy, and a visitor of the pools of pardon." Badāonī and Ferishtah both say he passed away by اجل طبعي.

[3] Abul Fazl says that Humāyūn hesitated a long time, but the oppression of the inhabitants of Qandahār by the Persians, the disobedience of his orders by the latter, the want of a shelter in the inclement winter, and finally the death of the infant prince, at last made him determine to take possession of Qandahār. Badāonī adds another reason, viz., a religious dispute arising out of the use of foul and improper language against the prophet by a fierce Tabarra (a Sunni, according to Col. Ranking) whom Yādgār Nāsir Mīrza, who had now fled from

Muhammad Khān and Bābā Qushqah, with two of their servants, went to the gate of the fort ahead of all the others The Turkmāns who had concluded that His Majesty would attempt to take possession of Qandahār, had not during those few days allowed any member of the Chaghtāi tribes to enter the fort. It so happened however that a string of camels carrying forage entered the town at that time. Hājī Muhammad Khān seizing the opportunity entered the gate. The guards of the gate tried to prevent him. He with great bravery drew his sword and attacked them. They were unable to withstand him and fled. Another body of men followed him and entered the fort. The Qazlbāsh lost heart, and His Majesty mounted his horse and entered the fort with pomp. Badāgh Khān came in great confusion to the presence and obtained permission to return to 'Irāq. The Chaghtāis, having now obtained possession of Qandahār, were full of hope. After that they started on their march, with the determination of seizing Kābul, leaving the government of Qandahār in the hands of [1]Bairam Khan.

Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir and Mīrza Hindāl now combined together, and fled from Mīrza Kāmrān; and after suffering great hardship from Hazāra tribesmen on the way, came and offered homage to His Majesty. The latter continued the march and arrived near Kābul. Mīrza Jamīl Beg also, who was in that neighbourhood, attended on His Majesty. Mīrza Kāmrān who had a well-equipped army came out of the city to give battle. But every night, a number of men deserted from him, and went to the bādshāh. The august

Mīrza Kāmrān and joined Humāyūn, slew for using such language; but according to the text he did not come and join Humāyūn, till the latter had commenced his march towards Kābul. See also note 2, p. 477, of the Akbarnāma' according to which Hindāl only joined Humāyūn at Tīrī, and Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir did not join Humāyūn till after the latter had arrived at Kābul.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Akbar's mother, Mariam Makānī, was left behind at Qandahār. It appears also from it that merchants from Hindustān came at this time, and bought a large number of horses from the 'Irāqīs, which they sold to Humāyūn, receiving orders for the payment of their price after the conquest of India. It appears also that Dawa Beg Hazāra led Humāyūn's army to the fort of Tīrī, where his clan was; and on their arrival there, the headmen made presents of horses and sheep. It was at Tīri that Khānzāda Begam fell ill and died. Abul Fazl also says that a pestilence occurred in the army in the course of its march.

camp now moved forward, and halted at a distance of half a *karoh* from the army of Mīrza Kāmrān. In the course of that night, the majority of Mīrza Kāmrān's troops fled from him and came to His Majesty's camp :

Couplet : Alas ! when fortune 'gainst me did turn,
The heart and fortune of my friend did from me turn.

Mīrza Kāmrān now became down-hearted, and sent a [1]number of Shaikhs to His Majesty, and asked pardon. The latter pardoned his offences, on condition of his coming and doing service. Mīrza Kāmrān did not agree to come, but fled to the citadal of the fort of Kābul. All his troops came into His Majesty's encampment. The same night Mīrzā Kāmrān [2] fled towards Ghaznīn, by way of [3]Bini Hisār. His Majesty, on becoming acquainted with the fact of his flight, ordered Mīrza Hindāl to pursue him, and in his own elegant person entered the city of Kābul. When the night came, all the inhabitants of Kābul, out of their great joy, made the whole city as bright as day by the lighting of lamps.

Couplet : The night was dark, but the whiteness bright of the walls.
To the *mu'azzins* gave the impression of the brightest dawn.

After his entry into the fort, their highnesses the *begams* brought the world-prince Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar Mīrza to His Majesty ; and the latter made his eyes bright by the sight of that pupil of his eyes, and offered prayers of thanks-giving. This victory took place on the 10th Ramazān [4] 953 A. H. At that time,

[1] The Akbarnāma says that Kāmrān sent only two men, Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd and Khwājā 'Abdul Khāliq, and that his object in doing so was only to make delay.

[2] According to the Akbarnāmā, he fled taking with him his son Mīrza Ibrāhīm and his wives.

[3] Lord Roberts in his "Forty-one years in India" II, 223, says Beni Hissar was a considerable village surrounded by orchards and gardens, and only two miles south of the far-famed citadel of the Bala Hisar. The name means nose or ridge of the fortress. Note 2, p. 479 of the Akbarnāma.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, Humāyūn obtained possession of Kābul on the night of Wednesday, 12th Rāmazān, 952 (15th November, 1545) ; and it gives two chronograms بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل از وی and گرفت کابل را

the Prince was of the age of four years two months and five days. Some have written that it (the victory) took place in 952; and knowledge is with God. After the victory, persons went to bring the camp and the troops that were in Qandahār. Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir came to Kābul in attendance on Mariam Makānī. Great entertainments were arranged at this time and the ceremony of the circumcision of His Highness the Prince was celebrated; and the remainder of the year was passed in [1]pleasure and enjoyment.

Mīrza Kāmrān fled to Ghaznīn, but being unable to enter the city, got amongst the Hazāras. Mīrza Ulugh Beg was appointed to govern Zamindāwar, and to crush Mīrza Kāmrān. The latter, finding it impossible to remain there, went to Bhakkar to Mīrzā Shāh Husain Arghūn. The latter gave him his daughter in marriage, and also tried to give him help.

The next year His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī turned towards [2]Badakhshān. As Mīrza Sulaimān, son of Khān Mīrza, did not come and render homage, in spite of his having been summoned, the determination to march against him was confirmed. At the time of the commencement of the march, Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir who had repeatedly shown his hostility, again wanted to run away. When His Majesty became aware of this, he ordered him to be imprisoned, and after some days [3]Muhammad Qāsim, in accordance with order, put

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Badāonī and Ferishtah give 10th Ramazān 952, as the date; and they both quote the second chronogram.

[1] Abul Fazl says, somewhat euphemistically, that Humāyūn spent the winter aloft in the citadel, in serving the Creator, and comforting His creatures.

[2] It appears from the Akbarnāma, that after the occupation of Kābul ambassadors, headed by Walad Beg, came from Shāh Tahmāsp, bringing congratulations and suitable gifts. Shāh Qāsim Taghāī (who was Mīrza Sulaimān's maternal uncle) also brought a petition and gifts from the latter; but his excuses for not coming in person were not accepted, and he was directed peremptorily to attend in person. As he did not comply with this order, Humāyūn determined to invade Badakhshān in the beginning of 953 (March 1546).

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, Muhammad 'Ali Taghāi, who had charge of Kābul, was at first directed to put Mīrza Yādgār Nāsir to death, but he replied, "I have never killed a sparrow, how can I achieve the killing of the Mīrza." So Muhammad Qāsim Maujī was directed to carry out the order. He accordingly "sped the arrow of death by a bow string," which, according to a note, means that the unfortunate Mīrza was strangled.

him to death. The camp now moved beyond the Hindu Koh (Hindu Kush), and halted at [1]Tīrgīran, and Mīrza Sulaimān also collected the army of Badakẖshān, and gave battle. He was defeated at the [2]first onset and fled into the *Kohistan* [3]Dūrdast. His Majesty then started towards Tālīqān and [4]Kishm. In this time, the auspicious health of His Majesty turned from the path of soundness, and day by day his [5]illness became worse, so that people became very anxious. Except those who were near him, others did not know whether he was alive or not. Owing to this there was unrest in the army, but Qarāchā Khān kept guard over Mīrza 'Askarī. The people of Badakẖshān commenced hostilities in all directions. After two months His Majesty regained his health, and sent tidings of his safety to all directions; and all the disturbances having subsided, the purport of this couplet reached the ears of perception of all the people of the age.

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[1] The name of this place is given as شهر کران, Shahr Karān, in the lith. edn. and as سر کران, Sar Karān تر کران Tar Karān and شتر کران Shutar Karān, in the MSS. The translator in Elliot, v, calls it Shergirān; but he says in a note that "one MSS. has Shahr Girān—great city. Abul Fazl calls it 'Tīrgirān, one of the villages of Andarāb." Badāonī does not give the name of the place. Ferishtah calls it Tīrgirān. I have adopted the name given in the Akbarnāma, and Ferishtah.

[2] The actual words are در حمله اول The translator in Elliot, v, says, he was defeated in the first action. According to the Akbarnāma, the Badakẖshānīs were certainly not defeated at the first onset. It was a very well-contested battle.

[3] All the MSS. have Dūrdast but the lith. edn. and the translation in Elliot, v, has Durdasht. The Akbarnāma says, he went off towards the defiles of Khost by way of Nārīn and Ishkamish. Neither Badāonī nor Ferishtah says whither Mīrza Sulaimān fled. I have no idea as to where Dūrdast or Durdasht is. It is rather far-fetched, but I wonder whether کوهستان دور دست may not be a mistake for کوهستان و درهٔ کهوست i.e. the hilly country and valley of Khost. It may be noted that Māham, Humāyūn's mother came from Khost, and according to Bāyazīd, 26a, Humāyūn stayed there for several days in the society of his grandparents. Abul Fazl says, he remained there for several days, on account of the abundance of fruit.

[4] Spelt "Kisham" in the translation in Elliot, v, but I have adopted the spelling in the Akbarnāma.

[5] The Akbarnāma says, he was ill for two months; in the beginning he was unconscious for four days.

Couplet: From the safety, which the great King regained,
The gardens bloomed as from the vernal breeze.

The royal encampment now came to the vicinity of [1]Qil'a-Zafar. Khwāja Mū'azzam, brother of Her Highness Mariam Makānī, at this time [2]slew Khwāja Rashīdī, who had come from 'Irāq at the stirrup of His Majesty, and fled to Kābul and there, in accordance with orders, was put into prison.

When Mīrza Kāmrān at Bhakkar became acquainted with the fact that His Majesty had turned his attention towards Badakhshān, he got a body of men to join him and came by forced marches in the direction of Ghurband and Kābul. On the way he met some [3]merchants and obtained possession of a large number of horses, so that all his men had two horses each. He arrived in the neighbourhood of Ghaznīn, and some of the inhabitants of the place brought him into the fort. [4] Zāhid Beg, the governor, who was in the sleep of negligence, was killed; and according to the orders of the Mīrza the road to Kābul was guarded, so that the news (of these happenings) might not reach that place. He now became free from all anxiety about Ghaznīn; and marched rapidly to Kābul, and Muhammad [5] Qulī

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Humāyun fell ill near Shākhdin between Kishm and Qil'a Zafar.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Khwaja Mu'azzam was actuated by religious bigotry, Khwāja Rashīdī being supposed to be a Shia from the fact of his having come from 'Irāq, as mentioned in the text. Bāyazid however says nothing about bigotry being the motive of the murder. According to him, it was committed by sundry Persians in concert with Mu'azzam, and apparently cupidity had to do with it, for when they fled they carried off some of Shāh Tahmāsp's presents from Takht-i- Sulaimān.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, they were Afghān merchants, and the horses were taken arbitrarily from them.

[4] He was holding the fort for Hindāl; and was, according to the Akbarnama, spending his time in drunkenness and negligence.

[5] He is so called in one of the MSS. and in the lith. edn. In the trans. in Elliot, v, he is called Muhammad Kuli Taghāī but the other MSS. and Ferishtah call him Muhammad 'Ali Taghāī. In the Akbarnāma, he is called Muhammad Taghāī. Badāonī's account is very brief and gives no names. According to the Akbarnāma, he had also been drinking and was in a state of stupor. In the translation in Elliot, v, the man who was in the bath, and was instantly put to death, is by mistake called Muhammad Khān.

Taghāī and Fazāel Beg, and the others, who were negligent in Kābul only became aware of his arrival, when he had entered the city. Muhammad Qulī Taghāī, who was in the hot bath, was seized and was immediately put to death. After entering the fort, Mīrza Kāmrān had [1] Fazāel Beg and Mihter Vākīl seized and blinded. He appointed men for guarding their highnesses (the begams), and the great world-Shāhzādah.

The news of these events reached His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī in the neighbourhood of Qil'a Zafar. He sent *farmāns* granting the government of [2] Badakhshān and Qanduz, which had been conferred on Mīrza Hindāl, to Mīrza Sulaimān; and marched rapidly towards Kābul. Mīrza Kāmrān collected forces to the extent of his opportunities. Shīr Afgan joined him. A servant of Mīrza Kāmrān, bearing the name of Shīr 'Ali, came to Zuhak and Ghurband, and busied himself in [3] blocking up the road. But His Majesty passed through [4] Ābdara to Zuhāk. Shīr 'Ali having fought to the extent of his power was routed. The [5] army now came to safety, from the narrow defiles. [6] Shīr 'Ali a second time attacked the men at the rear of the army. His Majesty then took up his station at [7] Deh-i-Afghānān. The next day, Shīr Afgan Beg, and all Mīrza Kāmrān's men sallied out to give

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[1] In the Akbarnāma, the two men who were blinded are called Mihtar Wāsil and Mihtar Wakīl. Other instances are given in it of Kāmrān's cruelties and barbarities. No mention is made in it of what was done to Fazāel Beg.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Badakhshān alone was restored to Mīrza Sulaimān, while Hindāl was confirmed in the possession of Qanduz, Andarāb, Khost, Kahmard, and Ghori and its neighbourhood.

[3] The Akbarnāma says he strongly fortified the Ābdara defile.

[4] In Elliot, v, the passage و آنحضرت از اب درہ بضحاک گذشتہ (آمدند) has been translated as 'Humayūn crossed the river in the valley of Zuhāk,' but according to the Akbarnāma, Ābdara is the name of a defile.

[5] There are two different readings. The lith. edn. and several MSS. have و لشکر از تنگي بسلامت عبور نمود. Other MSS. have و لشکر در غور بند از تنگي عبور نمودہ متوجہ کابل شد i.e. 'and the army having in Ghurband passed out of the defiles, turned towards Kābul'. In Elliot, v, the passage has been translated as 'Humāyūn then safely crossed the Shaki' the word تنکي having been read as شکي.

[6] The Akbarnāma says, "he came up from the rear and fell upon the baggage and the tents."

[7] A suburb of Kābul.

battle; and a great battle was fought in the [1] Alang or meadow of Yurt Chālāk. At first Jinnat Ashiānī's men were dispersed, but at the end, through the endeavours of Mīrza Hindāl, and Qarācha Khān and Hājī Muhammad Khān, Mīrzā Kāmrān's men were severely defeated; and Shīr Afgan Beg was taken prisoner. When he was brought before His Majesty he was put to death, on the recommendation of (basa'ī-i) the nobles. Many of Mīrza Kāmrān's troops were slain that day; and the remainder who escaped the sword fled into the fort. Shīr 'Ali, who was a brave man, sallied out of the fort every day, and to the extent of his power, engaged in battle. On one occasion Shīr 'Ali and Hājī Muhammad Khān met each other, and Hājī Muhammad Khān was wounded.

It so happened that information was received, at this time, that a caravan which had many horses with it, had arrived at Chāri Kārān.[2] Shīr 'Ali persuaded Mīrzā Kāmrān that he should take a body of men with him, and bring the horses into the city. The majority of Mīrzā Kāmrān's soldiers went with Shīr 'Ali on this service. His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī receiving information of this, took up a position nearer to the fort; and the path of the entrance and exit of the garrison was completely blocked. Shīr 'Ali and his followers after their return could not enter into the fort. Once Mīrza Kāmrān attempted to sally out of the fort, and take

[1] There are different readings يورت چالاک (or اليک) النک. The name does not occur in the Akbarnāma in this connection, or in Badāonī or Ferishtah. But it appears from Akbarnāma, vol. I, p. 525 (note 1) that the Alang or meadow of Chālāk is mentioned by Bābar (mem. 138), as being one *Kos* from Kābul. He says, it is an extensive plain but the mosquitoes annoy the horses. In Elliot, v, the battle is said to have taken place "in the lines of Yurt-Jālāk." According to the Akbarnāma, there were desertions from Humāyūn's army, when he encamped at Chārī Kārān; and some of his officers advised, that he should move his army, and encamp at Būrī and Khwājā Pushta; but Humāyūn decided that they should take possession of the enclosing lines (Shahrband). When they were marching to do so and reached Deh-i-Afghānān, Shīr Afgan came out and the battle took place.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, it was not so much the horses, as the other goods and merchandise in the caravan, that excited Kāmrān's cupidity and he sent Shīr 'Ali to seize and bring these into the city, in spite of the protests of Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang, who pointed out the danger of Humāyūn's preventing the detachment from re-entering the fort.

Shīr 'Ali and his followers back into it, by fighting with the besiegers; but the latter routed them by discharging guns and muskets at the time of their coming out.

[1] Bāqī Saleh and Jalāl-ud-dīn Beg, who were among the trusted followers of Mīrza Kāmrān, came and rendered homage to His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī. [2] Shīr 'Ali and his companions now lost all hope of entering the fort. The siege now became closer; and Mīrza Kāmrān, owing to his barbarity and cruelty, ordered that His Highness prince Akbar Shāh should several times be placed in the battlements of the fort, at a place where cannon and musket shots fell in large numbers. [3] Māham Ānkah sat with His Highness in her bosom, and placed herself in front and had him towards the enemy (i.e. the garrison). The great and holy God protected his chosen one.

In short a body of the residents of Kābul came out of the fort and fled. Each one went in a different direction. His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī sent a force in pursuit of them and many of them were slain, and a body were taken prisoner. Mīrza Kāmrān was now in great distress.

Forces came from all directions to serve His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī. Mīrza Sulaimān sent reinforcements from Badakhshān; Mīrza Ulugh Beg came from Qandahār, and Qāsim Husain Sultān came with a band of the servants of [4] Sharun Tughāi from Qandahār to render help. Mīrzā Kāmrān now begged for peace, and His Majesty agreed,

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[1] This is in direct contradiction to the Akbarnāma, as pointed out in a note to the translation of that work. It is stated there, that it was Bāqī Saleh who persuaded Kāmrān to make the sally, and that he was killed by a bullet in the course of it; and Jalāl-ud-dīn Beg, who was one of the Mīrza's confidants, was soverely wounded.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, he hurried off to Ghaznīn.

[3] Akbar's foster mother. The Akbarnāma mentions various other acts of savage inhumanity perpetrated by Kāmrān, towards the wives and children of men in Humāyūn's army.

[4] The lith. ed. has Shar Tughāi; but most of the MSS. have Sharun Tughāi, while one has Sharūm Tughāi. He is called Sarm Taghā in the translation in Elliot, v. The Akbarnāma gives a different list of the reinforcements. It says M. Ulugh Beg came from Zamīn Dāwar, and Qāsim Husain Shaibāni from Qilāt, and Khwāja Shārī, who had remained in the Shāh's camp, and Shāh Qulī Sultān who was related to Bairām Khān came from Qandahār, and a number came in from Badakhshān.

on condition of his coming to render homage; but Mīrza Kāmrān [1] was afraid of coming in, and intended to flee. As the Amīrs of the Chaghtāi tribes did not like, that Mīrza Kāmrān should be seized, [2] as it was against their interests, they sent a message to him that His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī would launch an attack on the fort within two days, it was not advisable that he should delay any longer. Mīrza Kāmrān was aggrieved in his heart with [3] Bābūs Beg and Qarācha Beg. He had the three [4] sons of Bābūs Beg, who were of tender age slain with torture and had them cast down from the walls of the fort. The people both inside and outside the fort were much pained by this act of barbarity. He also made Sardār Beg, the son of Qarācha Beg Khān, stand erect upon the top of the ramparts. His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī did a great deal to comfort Qarācha Khān. The latter went to the foot of the fort, and shouted that if his son was killed in return for it, Mīrza Kāmrān and Mīrza 'Askarī would be killed, when the fort should be taken.

Mīrza Kāmrān being now despondent of all help [5] made a hole in the wall of the fort on the side of Khwāja Khizr, and got out at a place which had been indicated by the Amīrs from the outside, and carried his life out on one foot, (i.e., with great difficulty). His Majesty sent Hājī Muhammad Khān with a body of men in pursuit. When Hājī Muhammad Khān came up to him, the Mīrza recognising

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[1] There are different readings. The lith. edn. and several MSS. have از ملازمت کردن اندیشه مند بود. One MS. omits بود; while two others have از ملازمت کردن ملاحظه داشت.

[2] The actual words are بجهت گومي بازار خود.

[3] This name can be read as مایوس Māyūs, or بابوس Bābūs, or پالوس Pālūs, in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. In the translation in Elliot, v, he is called Nāsūs. In the Akbarnāma, he is called Bābūs, without the addition of Beg; from the index he appears to have been a servant of Kāmrān. In the case of Qarācha Beg, he is also called, Qarācha Khān, and also Qarācha Beg Khān.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, they were respectively of seven, five and three years of age; but according to Bāyazīd there were two sons only aged twelve and ten years.

[5] The Amīrs, according to the Akbarnāma, informed him that he should get out by the battery of Hasan Qulī Āqā. He accordingly came out by the Dehli gate, at the place indicated, on the night of Thursday, the 7 Rabī'-ul-Āwwal 954 (27th April, 1547), and absconded.

him said in the [1]Turki language.....i.e. "I had put thy father Bābā Qushqa to death." Hājī Muhammad Khān, who was always seeking for disturbances, knowingly turned back.

His Highness, the world-Shāhzādah Akbar Shāh, was honoured with the good fortune of rendering homage; and the ceremonies of thanksgiving were carried out; and many gifts were given to the poor and needy.

When Mīrza Kāmrān reached the skirts of the Kābul hills, after escaping from the fort, in a condition of distress and destitution, the Hazārās came upon him, and plundered all the chattels which he had with him. At last, one of them recognising him, sent information to the headman: and the chief men among the retainers of the Mīrza were taken to Zuhāk and Bāmiān, where Shīr 'Ali', a servant of the Mīrza, was with a few men. They halted in that neighbourhood for a week. About a hundred and fifty horsemen now gathered near him, and he turned towards Ghori. Mīrza Beg Birlās, the governor of Ghori with [2]three thousand horsemen and a thousand

[1] There are some differences as to what actually happened. The Akbarnāma says, that "Hājī Muhammad and the others let him go out of the glamour and fascination of old and disloyal (?) services as if they had not seen him." Jauhar says, that it was Hindāl who came up with Kāmrān, as he was escaping on a man's back, and that he out of brotherly compassion let him go, and supplied him with a horse. But Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāoni agree in saying that it was Hājī Muhammad Khān, who came up to Kāmrān and had the colloquy in the Turki language. The exact meaning and implication of the Turki words is not at all clear, nor the effect of them on Hājī Muhammad Khān. I suppose what Nizām-ud-dīn says means that Hājī Muhammad Khān deliberately turned back, because he thought that if he allowed Kāmrān to escape, there was a likelihood of further disturbances, which would probably accrue to his personal advantage. This implication is not so clear from the translation in Elliot, v, which is "Hājī Muhammad was always ready for a quarrel, (but) when he heard this he returned; nor is it clear from Badāonī's words حاجي محمد خان كه كهنه سپاهي و كهنه فعله بود تغافل نموده برگشت.

[2] All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have سيصد سوار و هزار پياده lit. thirty hundred horsemen and one thousand foot soldiers, but these numbers appear to be disproportionate and incorrect. The numbers given in the translation in Elliot, v, are 150 horse and 1,000 foot. No numbers are given in the Akbarnāma but it is said there that Kāmrān wanted to pass by Ghori, but he was abused by one of his servants, when he turned back and fought with Mīrza Beg Birlās and defeated him.

infantry, fought with him and was defeated; the Mīrza obtained possession of his horses and accoutrements, and thus acquired some strength. He then went to Balkh, and had an interview with Pīr Muhammad Khān. The latter went [1]in person to Badakhshān to help the Mīrza. Ghori and [2] Baqlān now fell into the Mīrza's hands; and soldiers came from all directions to join the Mīrza's service. Pīr Muhammad Khān now returned to his own country. Mīrza Kāmrān now turned towards Sulaimān Mīrza and Ibrāhīm Mīrza. They were not strong enough to meet him, and retired from Tāliqān towards [3] Kulāb. Mīrza Kāmrān's authority was now established in some parts of Badakhshān.

Qarācha Khān and other Amīrs, who had rendered valuable services during this time, had become proud, and had expectations from His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, which were beyond his power. Among these were the execution of Khwāja Ghāzī, Vazir, and the appointment of Khwāja Qāsim in his place. This request appeared to the auspicious mind of His Majesty to be improper, and he did not give a reply in accordance with it. The Amīrs now conspired together, and at the time of the early morning meal, mounted their horses, and driving before them His Majesty's [4] herds of horses which were in Khwāja Riwāj, marched towards Badakhshān. At day break, and after the troops had gathered together, His [5]Majesty

[1] The words are پیر محمد خان بنفس خود بامداد میرزا ببدخشان آمد. The translation in Elliot, v, is "Pīr Muhammad Khān followed his own inclination and came to Badakhshān, to the assistance of the Mīrza." The translation appears to me to be incorrect.

[2] West of Nārīn and south of Qandūz. [3] Beyond the Oxus.

[4] The words in several of the MSS. are گله اسپان, herds of horses. In the other MSS. and in the lith. edn. the word اسپان is omitted. The translation in Elliot, v, has "the royal flocks (galah)." Abul Fazl does not mention either flocks or herds of horses, but says they seduced a large body of men from the path. In Elliot, v, it is said that the noble men mounted their horses at breakfast time. I think this gives a wrong impression of the time. They did so very early, as the context shews, before sunrise.

[5] According to the Akbarnāma, Humāyūn was by no means so prompt. When His Majesty heard of this he wished to go off in pursuit, but had to wait for a favourable hour (for starting). He sent off the loyalists as they came up, one after another, and near midday when the auspicious moment had arrived he mounted the horse of victory.

mounted and pursued them. The enemies making rapid marches arrived at Ghurband, and crossing the bridge demolished it. The men who had preceded His Majesty came up to that band (the rebels), and punished them. As night came on, His Majesty returned to Kābul, so that preparations might afterwards be made for a journey to Badakhshān. That band went near Mīrza Kāmrān, leaving [1]Tamar 'Ali Shighāli in Panjshīr, so that he might send news of His Majesty's army to them. His Majesty [2] resolving to invade Badakhshān sent *farmāns* to Mīrza Sulaimān, and Mīrza Ibrāhīm, and Mīrza Hindāl. Mīrza Ibrāhīm came to the neighbourhood of Panjshīr, by way of fort [3]Parīān; and receiving information of Tamar 'Ali Shighāli, attacked and slew him; and in the Qarābāgh of Kābul, he had the honour of attending on His Majesty.

At this time Mīrza Kāmrān sent Shīr 'Ali in accordance with his own request, to crush Mīrza Hindāl. The latter's troops took [4]Shīr 'Ali prisoner. At the time that Mīrza Hindāl came to do homage to His Majesty, Shīr 'Ali was brought under custody into the latter's presence. His Majesty out of his great generosity, treated his offences, as if they did not exist; and conferred Ghori on him. Mīrza Kāmrān had gone to Tāliqān leaving Qarācha Khān and the others who had come from Kābul at Kishm. His Majesty Jinnat 'Ashiānī despatched Mīrza Hindāl and [5]Hājī Muhammad Kukī with a force towards Kishm as an advance guard. Qarācha Khān sent news to Mīrza Kāmrān, that Mīrza Hindāl had only a small force with him, and the bādshāh (Humāyūn) was far away.

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma he was Qarācha Khān's *Vakīl*.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma (I, p. 523, et seq.), there was considerable hesitation and discussion as to whether Humāyūn should at once march to Badakhshān, or should go to Qandahār, and make preparations there.

[3] Parīān is a fort, of which His Majesty Sāhib Qarānī (Taimur) laid the foundation, after he had chastised the Hindus of Katur (Akbarnāma, I, p. 540).

[4] The Akbarnāma describes the circumstances under which he was taken prisoner (I, pp. 527-8).

[5] The name is given as Hājī Muhammad Kukī in several MSS. and in the lith. edn. and in the translation in Elliot, v; but one MS. has كوكه Kukah and another Kulābī. The Akbarnāma says that Hājī Muhammad Khān and a number of others should advance as a van-guard and that Mīrza Hindāl should head them.

He should advance rapidly, so that they might combine together and defeat Mīrza Hindāl; and after that they might with ease fight with His Majesty. Mīrza Kāmrān came with great rapidity to Kishm, and came up with Mīrza Hindāl and his army, on the bank of the [1] river of Tāliqān, which they had just crossed. In the [2] first onset they were victorious, and all the equipage of Mīrza Hindāl and his followers were plundered. His Majesty also arrived on the bank of the river at this time, and there was a little delay in finding out a ford. After crossing the river the van-guard of His Majesty's troops came up with Mīrza Kāmrān's followers; and they took [3] Sheikham Khwāja Khizri and [4] Ismail Beg Duldai prisoners, and they were brought before His Majesty. Mīrza Kāmrān returned with the intention of attacking the van-guard, but when he came up to them, the standards of His Majesty's army struck his eyes; and not having the strength to wait, he fled towards Tāliqān, and all that he had taken as booty and all that he had, was [5] plundered (by His Majesty's troops).

The next day Tāliqān was besieged. [6] Mīrza Sulaimān came at

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma I, 528, note 3, the river is called the Bangī or Bungī, and is a tributary of the Khairābād river, which again is a tributary of the Oxus. It flows south of Tāliqān.

[2] The engagement took place in Jamādi-ul-Akhir, 955 (May, 1548).

[3] According to the Akbarnāma he was the Kalantar or headman of the Khwāja Khizirs. He had deserted with Qarācha Khān. Humāyūn, according to Jauhar, ordered him to be split into nine strips. He was beaten with the stocks of muskets, etc., but he survived the beating and became Kalantar again, and lived for several years.

[4] Unlike the unfortunate Kalantar, he was forgiven at the intercession of Muni'm Khān, and was made over to the latter.

[5] The absence of discipline in Humāyūn's army is shewn by what took place in respect of the booty. Abul Fazl says, that a dispute arose among the attendants about the goods, and His Majesty gave order for *harral*, i.e. that every one should keep what came into his hands, and others had no claim to it. Bāyazīd calls it *hūral* and says that the result of the order was that some lost Rs. 2,000 and got one back, and that others who had not lost ten rupees got ten thousand.

[6] According to the Akbarnāma, besides Mīrza Sulaimān, Mīrza Ibrāhīm and Chākar Khān, son of Wais Qabchāq came to render help, the last named with the men of Kūlāb. It appears also that Humāyūn sent an admonitory rescript to Kāmrān and asked for his submission, but the latter refused to come in.

this time to render service. Mīrza Kāmrān prayed for help from the [1]Ūzbeks. When he had no hope of such help, he was in great distress, and came in by the door of humility, and asked for permission to go to Mecca. His Majesty taking pity on him agreed to his prayer on the condition that he should send the rebellious amīrs to the presence. [2]Mīrza Kāmrān prayed for (the forgiveness of) the offence of Bābūs Beg, and sent the other amīrs to do service to His Majesty. They came into the presence covered with a feeling of shame and self-abasement. [3]His Majesty pardoned their offences a second time. The Mīrza came out of the fort and went a distance of two *farsukhs*; and as he had not imagined, that His Majesty, although he had the power (to destroy him) would suffer him to remain in his own condition (i.e. in safety), he became extremely ashamed that he had been treated with such kindness, and determining to come and render service to His Majesty, he came back.

When this was brought to His Majesty's notice, he became extremely happy and sent the [4]Mīrzas to meet and welcome him; and when he met him, shewed him very great kindness, and the paraphernalia of Mīrza Kāmrān's power were arranged a second time. There was a halt of three days at that place and great feasts and festivities were arranged. After a few days, the province of [5]Kūlāb was fixed

[1] i.e. Pīr Muhammad Khān Uzbek.

[2] All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have میرزا کامران گناه بابوس بیگ را درخواست نمود. The word عفو may be inserted before گناه. The translation in Elliot, v, is "Kāmrān begged forgiveness for Mānūs Beg," Mānūs Beg being the name, as we have seen before, which he gives to Bābūs Beg. It appears from the Akbarnāma that Kāmrān prayed that Bābūs Beg should be allowed to go to Mecca with him, "as he is an old servant, and I want to atone to him in this journey for what I have done to him."

[3] The Akbarnāma says, they came with weapons hanging from their necks. Humāyūn ordered these to be removed and treated them with kindness and consideration.

[4] i.e. Mīrza 'Askarī and Mīrza Hindāl.

[5] In the Akbarnāma, it is called Khatlān which is commonly known as Kūlāb. Qarātigin was given to 'Askarī. He had to go with Kāmrān. Khatlān and Qarātigin are remote mountainous tracts north of the Oxus. That is why they were conferred on Kāmrān and 'Askarī. Kāmrān was not satisfied, but as his offences had been pardoned, he raised no objection.

as Mīrza Kāmrān's fief. Mīrza Sulaimān and Mīrza Ibrāhīm remained in Kishm. The great camp then turned toward Kābul; and in the beginning of winter they arrived there; and the soldiers were ordered to busy themselves with the strengthening of the army.

At the end of that [1] year, His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī started from Kābul with the object of conquering [2] Balkh and a messenger was sent to Kūlāb to summon Mīrza Kāmrān and Mīrza 'Askarī. When his Majesty arrived in Badakhshān, [3] Mīrza Hindāl and Mīrza Sulaimān came to wait upon him; and Mīrza Ibrāhīm, in accordance with the prayer of Mīrza Sulaimān, remained at Kishm. Mīrza Kāmrān and Mīrza 'Askarī again shewed hostility; and did not come to wait on His Majesty. The latter by successive (rapid) marches arrived at the foot of the fort of Aibak and the [4] Atālīq of Pīr Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh with a number of trustworthy amīrs shut themselves up in the fort. His Majesty besieged it, and the Uzbeks in great distress surrendered it; and came out praying for quarter.

As Mīrza Kāmrān had not come in, the amīrs came together, and held a consultation, and said "God forbid that the army should march towards Balkh, and Mīrza Kāmrān should make an attempt on Kābul." His Majesty said that as the expedition had been decided upon they should place their trust in God, and advance. He accordingly put the foot of good fortune in the stirrup and marched towards Balkh. But the amīrs and most of the soldiers were anxious in their minds, owing to Mīrzā Kāmrān's not coming in. When they

[1] 786 A.H. (1549 A.D.).

[2] According to Ferishtāh Bairām Khān had an old quarrel with the Uzbeks, and urged on this expedition.

[3] There are considerable differences as to the names of the Mīrzas who came, in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Two MSS. have Mīrza Sulaimān and Mīrza Hindāl and Mīrza Ibrāhīm; others omit one or other of them. In the translation in Elliot, v, the names are those of Mīrza Ibrāhīm and Mīrza Hindāl. The lith. edn. has also these names, but it appears from the next sentence that Mīrza Ibrāhīm remained at Kishm.

[4] Atālīq means guardian, and that is the word used in the Akbarnāma, but it is hardly the right word, as Pīr Muhammad Khān was not a minor or otherwise incapable of attending to his own affairs. The name of the Atālīq was Khwāja Bāgh or Khwāja Māq. It appears that he was sent with a number of officers to defend the fort. They arrived just before Humāyūn, and had time only to secure themselves in the fort.

arrived in the neighbourhood of Balkh, Shāh Muhammad Sultān with three thousand horsemen arrived, just when the imperial army halted; and a body of men started to attack him, and there was a great battle. Kābulī brother of [1] Muhammad Qāsim Khān Maujī was killed in this engagement, and one of the [2] chief men among the Uzbeks was taken prisoner. The next day Pīr Muhammad Khān came out of the city; and [3] 'Abd-ul-'Aziz Khān son of Ubaid Khān, and the Sultān of Hisār also came to his aid. After midday the two armies met together and a battle began. His Majesty was fully armed and Mīrza Sulaimān and Mīrza Hindāl and Hājī Muhammad Sultān defeated the van-guard of the enemy, and compelled them to fly to the city. Pīr Muhammad Khān and his companions also turned back and entered Balkh. At the time of sunset, the Chaghtāi army, which had reached the neighbourhood of the city, [4] came back. As most of the Chaghtāi Amīrs were, on account of Mīrza Kāmrān's not coming in, looking with longing hearts towards Kābul, and their families and children (who were there), they assembled together and represented to His Majesty, during the night, on the morning following which Balkh would have come into their possession, that it would not be advisable to cross the canal of Balkh. The better counsel would be that "we should march towards [5] Darra-Gaz, and fix upon a strong position for the camp. In a

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[1] He is called Muhammad Kāsim Khān Faujī in the translation in Elliot, v.

[2] There are two different readings in the MSS. and the lith. edn. یکی از سرداران and یکی از نامداران I prefer and have adopted the former. His name, according to the Akbarnāma was Tikīn Ughlān.

[3] There are some differences in the readings, but they all mean very much the same thing. All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have سلاطین حصار, but the translation in Elliot, v, has سلطان حصار Sultān of Hissār (sic.), though according to a note in it, one of the MSS. used by the translator, also has سلاطین The Akbarnāma, however, says distinctly, that 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān was in the centre of the Uzbek army, Pīr Muhammad Khān on the right, and Sultān-Hisār on the left. I have therefore adopted سلطان

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, this and the resolution not to attack Balkh were against Humāyūn's own opinion, and the men, who advised the return, were actuated either by treachery or fear.

[5] It is called Daragaz here in the Akbarnāma, but elsewhere, vol. I, p. 218, it is called Dara-Gaz and it is explained in a footnote in that page, that

short time [1]the men of Balkh and Hisār would come and do homage," and they urged this with such vehemence, that His Majesty [2]was compelled, against his wishes to start (in that direction).

As Darra Gaz was in the direction of Kābul, friends as well as foes who did not know anything about the conference, imagined that it was a retreat, and the Uzbeks became emboldened and started in pursuit, and Mīrza Sulaimān and Husain Quli Sultān, the seal-bearer, who were engaged in protecting the rear of the army, engaged the van-guard of the Uzbeks and were defeated; and the soldiers who were anxious to return to Kābul, each started in the direction which he wished; and further control was beyond (His Majesty's) power. About [3]thirty thousand of the enemies came up. In this battle [4]His Majesty in his own elegant person attacked the enemy; and unhorsed a man who was in front of them all, with a wound of his spear, and by the strength of his own arm he came out of that post. Mīrza Hindāl and Tardi Beg Khān, and Mun'im Beg Khān and a number of other amīrs came out, fighting, into safety. Signs of bravery were also displayed in this battle by [5]Shāh Badagh Khān and Taulak Khān Quchīn.

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the name, according to Erskine, means "the valley of Gaz or Manna, which lies on the Dehas or Balkhāb, south of Balkh;" while according to Sir H. Rawlinson the name means "the valley of the Tamarisk." It is called Darra Gaz in the translation in Elliot, v, as I have also called it.

[1] The Akbarnāma says that it was thought if they moved their camp to Darra Gaz, the Aimaq and other soldiers would join them, and they would also get correct information about Kāmrān. They urged that if they finally determined to return to Kābul, it was not proper that they should now trouble themselves about Balkh. They might come back later, and take Balkh and the whole of Transoxiana.

[2] There are variations in the readings. Two of the MSS. have لا علاج کوچ فرمودند; other MSS. have ناچار کوچ کرد. The lith. edn. has باز کوچ کرد.

[3] The MSS. and the lith edn. have قریب بسی هزار or قریب سي هزار. In the translation in Elliot, v, the number is given as "about a thousand of the enemy." The Akbarnāma does not give any number.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, Humāyūn who was riding a golden or dun-coloured horse was wounded by an arrow and fell from his horse. Haidar Muhammad Akhta presented him with his own horse and he was brought to a place of safety.

[5] According to the Akbarnāma, he and others were taken prisoner by the

[1]His Majesty arrived in safety in Kābul and he [2]passed the remainder of the year there.

Mīrza Kāmrān had remained in Kūlāb. [3] Chākar 'Ali Beg Kūlābī became hostile to him and with a large army raided the neighbourhood of Kūlāb. Mīrza Kāmrān sent Mīrza 'Askarī to fight with him. The latter, however, sustained a defeat; and going a second time by order of his brother (i.e. Kāmrān) to fight with him, returned in the same way as before. Mīrza Sulaimān and Mīrza Ibrāhīm marched against him from Kishm and Qandūz; and Mīrza Kāmrān being unable to meet them came near Rūstāq. A body of Uzbeks at this time attacked him, and carried off most of his horses. [4] Mīrza

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Uzbeks, but they were released and sent back when Humāyūn sent back the Atālīq and other prisoners taken at Aibak.

[1] The Akbarnāma gives the different stages of the journey. Humāyūn and his companions at first lost their way, but joined the right path at the top of the pass of the Four Springs; and then came on, by Ghurband and Khwāja Siyārān and Qarābāgh, to Ma'mūra, where the young prince Akbar went and met him.

[2] In arranging "his kingdom and.....in the conduct of things spiritual and temporal"—Akbarnāma.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, it was Kāmrān who behaved badly towards Chākar Beg and drove him out of Kūlāb. It appears also, that a great many things happened before Chākar Beg attacked Kūlāb. Kāmrān left 'Askarī at Kūlāb and went off to fight M. Sulaimān. The latter retired from Tāliqān to Qil'a Zafar; and Kāmrān advancing towards that place, he and M. Ibrāhīm retired to the defiles of Badakhshān. Kāmrān then attacked Hindāl and laid siege to Qandūz. A large body of Uzbeks joined him, but Hindāl managed to separate them from him, by allowing a forged letter purporting to be written by Kāmrān to fall into their hands. It was after they had withdrawn from the siege of Qandūz, that news came, that Chākar Beg was besieging Kūlāb and had defeated 'Askarī. Aftar Kāmrān had compelled Chākar Beg to retire, he and 'Askarī went off to put down Sulaimān. When they halted at Rūstāq a large body of Uzbeks attacked them, and carried off their horses and baggage. Mīrzas Hindāl and Sulaimān wanted to take advantage of this favourable opportunity, and Kāmrān not thinking it safe to remain in Badakhshān went off to Khost, in order that he might, by way of Zuhāk and Bāmiān, reach the Hazāra country.

[4] The Akbarnāma says, that Kāmrān sent a letter to Humāyūn telling him that he was coming to apologise for his past offences and to make his submission. Humāyūn believed him, but he was persuaded by those who were loyal to him to advance with an army to meet Kāmrān. He advanced

Kāmrān, in great distress, wished to get into the Hazāra country, by way of Zūhāk and Bāmiān.

When his Majesty became aware of these things, he sent a large body of amīrs and soldiers to Zūhāk and Bamiān, in order to guard that country. Qarācha Khān and Qāsim Husain Sultān, and a member of other treacherous amīrs, who were in the service of his Majesty, sent a messenger to Mīrza Kāmrān, (to suggest) that he should come by way of Qibchāq, so that when the battle took place, they would all come to his service. When Mīrza Kāmrān appeared, Qarācha Khān and his friends throwing the dust of disloyalty on their heads, separated from His Majesty, and joining Mīrza Kāmrān, prepared for battle. Although only a small number of men remained with His Majesty, he placed his feet of firmness, on account of his splendid bravery, and a great battle occurred. [1] Pīr Muhammad Akhtabegī, and Ahmad, son of Mīrza Qulī, were slain in this battle. Mīrza Qulī was wounded and fell off his horse. His Majesty in his own person exerted himself to such an extent, that he received a sabre-wound on his head, and the horse he was riding was also wounded. He kept the enemies at a distance from him, by shooting arrows, and getting out in safety went away towards Zūhāq and Bāmiān. A body of men who had gone off by that route joined him. Mīrza Kāmrān took possession of Kābul a second time.

His Majesty, with [2] Hājī Muhammad Khān and a number of others who were with him, went towards Badakhshān. He sent Shāh Badāgh and Tūlak Qūchīn and Majnūn Qāqshāl and a number of others, who were altogether ten in number, to Kābul [3] to collect

in that direction in the middle of 957 (June-July, 1550). Qarācha Khān and his friends went on intriguing with Kāmrān, and they persuaded Humāyūn to break up his army into small bodies in the valley of Qibchāq. Here Kāmrān, in accordance with information they secretly sent to him, met him and a battle took place.

[1] He is called Pīr Muhammad Ākhtā in the Akbarnāma. Mīrza Qulī is called Imām Qulī by Bāyazīd, who also says that he and his son, who was also killed, both belonged to the bodyguard. The son is called Dost Muhammad in the Akbarnāma.

[2] Four names of the men, who accompanied Humāyūn, are given in the Akbarnāma, but that of Hājī Muhammad Khān is not among them.

[3] In the translation in Elliot, v, these men are said to have been sent

information (بخبرگیری), but none of them returned, to do him service, except Tūlak Qūchīn. His Majesty was surprised at the treachery of his servants, and halted in the neighbourhood of [1]Andarāb. When Sulaimān Mīrza, and Ibrāhīm Mīrza and Mīrza Hindāl received information of his arrival, they came with their troops to attend on him. After [2]forty days His Majesty turned towards Kābul. Between [3]'Aqba and Ushtargrām, Mīrza Kāmrān and Qarācha Khān with the army of Kābul came and confronted him, and the two armies were arrayed for battle. At this time Khwāja 'Abd-us-Samad Mansūr fled from Kāmrān's army, and came into

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to reconnoitre in the direction of Kābul; but in the translation of the Akbarnāma by Beveridge, they are said to have been sent towards Kābul to serve as a rearguard and also to keep a look-out.

[1] The Akbarnāma gives the names of the various stations on the journey to Andarāb; Yekka Aulang and Kahmard; then crossing the river Bangī Humāyūn reached the village of Auliyā Khanjān, where Mīrzā Hindāl joined him. He then encamped at Andarāb, where Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm also joined him. The Akbarnāma also says that there was considerable discussion, as to the course Humāyūn was to pursue. Hājī Muhammad Khān proposed a march to Qandahār, others proposed a direct march on Kābul, but Humāyūn determined to march to Badakhshān.

[2] It is not clear what Humāyūn did during this interval. The Akbarnāma only says that Humāyūn proposed that his followers should take an oath that they would accompany him with one heart and will. Hājī Muhammad Khān said, if they were to take an oath, he should also take an oath, that he would listen to, and carry into effect what they should represent to him. Hindāl protested against this, but Humāyūn was willing to take the oath. So they made confirmatory oaths and agreements. On the other hand Kāmrān was arranging his affairs, and organising his army. He gave the fief of Jūī Shāhī (now known as Jalālābād) to 'Askarī, Ghaznīn to Qarācha Khān, and Ghurband to Yāsīn Daulat. He imprisoned Khwāja Sultān 'Ali, Humāyūn's *diwān*; and then after collecting soldiers and Zamīndārs from the Hazāra and others, set out with a full equipment against Humāyūn.

[3] There are some variations in the readings. The lith. edn. has در عقبه ما بین انهرم; two MSS. have در ما بینن عقبه اشتر گرام while one has اسرام for اشتر گرام and another has عرنه for عقبه. In the translation in Elliot, v, the sentence is, "In the mountains he was met by Mīrzā Kāmrān, Karācha Khān and the forces of Kābul" but in the Akbarnāma we find that "when the grand army came near Ushtar Grām." According to the Akbarnāma, there was a good deal of negotiation before the battle began, but were broken off by the obstinacy of Qarācha Khān.

His Majesty's service; and received much favour. Kāmrān Mīrza, being powerless now, was routed, and fled in great distress to the foot of the hill of [1]Mandrūd. The base ungrateful (*harām namak*) Qarācha Khān was seized, when he was in flight; and a man was bringing him to His Majesty; but on the way Qambar 'Ali [2]Sahārī, whose brother had been put to death by his order in Qandahār, met him; and knowing it to be a great opportunity, slew him. In this battle Mīrza 'Askarī fell into the hands of His Majesty's soldiers. His Majesty triumphant, and victorious, entered Kābul, and a year was spent there in peace and quietness.

Another time, a body of troops seeking adventure, fled and went to Mīrza Kāmrān. About [3]one thousand five hundred horsemen collected near him; and Hājī Muhammad Khan went off to Ghaznīn, without obtaining His Majesty's permission. The latter was therefore compelled to march towards the Lamghānāt, in order to crush Mīrza Kāmrān. He being unable to meet them fled towards Sindh with the help of the [4]Afghāns of the Mahmand Khalil, and Dāudzai

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[1] The name in several MSS. is مندرود, Mandrūd, and in the others مندراور Mandrawar. The lith. edn. has مندد or مندو. In Elliot, v, the name is given as Mandrūd; and it is said in a note, "by the pass of Bādbāj towards the Afghān country. Erskine, vol. ii, p. 393." In Beveridge's Akbarnāma "Kāmrān is said to have fled to Afghanistan (i.e. the country to the east of Kābul by the pass of Bādpāj (the windy pass)." It appears however further on, that he was plundered by the Afghāns, and disguising himself as a *Qalandar*, he went to Malik Muḥammad of Mandraur, one of the leading men of the Lamghānāt.

[2] The lith. edn., the translation in Elliot, v, and one MS. call him Bahārī but other MSS. and the Akbarnāma have Sahārī. In a note in Beveridge's Akbarnāma, it is said that the text has Sahārī, but there is the variant Bahāri, and this is the word in Nizām-ud-dīn. Sahārī however appears to be right. There was a *Sarkār* of that name in the Agra division.

[3] The number is given as 15,000 in Elliot, v, which appears to be incorrect.

[4] In Elliot, v, the translation is "in concert with the Afghāns of Muhmand, the Khail of Dāudzai and the chiefs of Lamghān," the word خلیل being read as خیل, as in fact it is in the lith. edn.; but all the MSS. and the Akbarnāma has خلیل. It appears from the Akbarnāma, that about this time, Humāyūn sent "Khwāja Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahmūd and the chaste Bibi Fātimā," to Badakhshān to ask for the hand of Khānam, Mīrzā Sulaimān's daughter, for himself! Abul Fazl says that the envoys were received by Sulaimān with distinction; and nothing was neglected that could do them honour, but Bāyazīd tells a different

tribes, and the Maliks of the Lamghān country. His Majesty occupied himself for a considerable time in hunting in the Lamghān country; and then returned to Kābul. Mīrza Kāmrān came again among the Afghāns; and his Majesty again marched to put him down. A *farmān* was sent to Bairām Khān, the governor of Qandahār, that he should by all means come to Ghaznīn, and seize Hājī Muhammad Khān. The latter sent a messenger to Mīrza Kāmrān (to say) that he should come to Ghaznīn, "as this slave was his obedient servant and the province of Ghaznīn belonged to him." Mīrza Kāmrān then started from Peshāwar for Ghaznīn by way of Bangash and Gurdez. But before he could arrive, Bairām Khān had reached Ghaznīn. Hājī Muhammad Khān had therefore to go to him, and in company with him to come to Kābul. Mīrza Kāmrān heard the news of Hājī Muhammad Khān's departure for Kābul, and returned to Peshawar. His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī then returned to Kābul from the Lamghān country. But a few days before he arrived in Kābul, Hājī Muhammad Khān fled from Kābul and went to Ghaznīn, and His Majesty sent Bairām Khān from Kābul with a number of Amīrs, in order to crush him. Hājī Muhammad Khān came a second time with Bairām Khān to the court, and was treated with favour.

[1] Khwāja Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahmūd took Mīrza 'Askarī to Badakhshān in accordance with orders, and made him over to Mīrza Sulaimān, so that the latter might send him to Mecca, by way of Balkh. He was sent to that place; and the days of his life came to an end in the course of this journey, in the country of Rūm (Turkey).

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story, about their treatment by Sulaimān's wife, Khurram Begam. The envoys were sent back with letters full of apology and submission, but they were told, that the marriage would take place after the return of Humāyūn's *begam* and nobles, and after his daughter should become older. Mīrza 'Askarī was sent with Jalāl-ud-dīn to Sulaimān with an order to the latter, that he should be sent to the Hijāz by way of Balkh. He set off on the long journey, and died between Syria and Mecca in the year 965 A.H. Ferishtah gives 961 as the year of his death. If 965 is the correct date 'Askarī survived all his brothers.

[1] See the latter part of the preceding note. Nizām-ud-dīn does not mention the principal object of Jalāl-ud-dīn's embassy. The translation of this passage in Elliot, v, pp. 233–4 appears to be incorrect. It is said there that Mīrza

The [1] Afghāns, keeping Mīrza Kāmrān among themselves, tried to collect troops. His Majesty was therefore obliged, again to take measures for crushing him. Hājī Muhammad with his brother was put to death during this [2] expedition for their numerous crimes. On this occasion Mīrza Kāmrān in concert with the Afghāns made [3] a surprise night attack on His Majesty's camp; and Mīrza Hindāl attained to martyrdom, in the course of the night; seek the [4] date of his martyrdom from *Shabkhūn*. Mīrza Kāmrān returned discomfited without achieving anything. The servants and paraphernalia of Mīrza Hindāl were conferred by His Majesty on the world-Shāhzāda Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar Mīrza; and Ghaznīn and its dependencies were fixed as his fief.

The Afghāns could not protect Mīrza Kāmrān after His Majesty had marched forward to attack them. He therefore became hopeless of help from all; and fled to Hindustan and went to Salīm Khān Afghān. All his family and adherents were pillaged by the Afghāns. His Majesty went back to Kābul. After a few days, in the course of which the soldiers had some rest, [5] he marched into Hindustan by

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'Askarī, under the orders of Khwāja Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahmūd, had been carried to Badakhshān, etc.

[1] That is, the tribes living in the country to the east of Kābul.

[2] For details of the incidents which occurred in the course of this expedition and the trial and execution of Hājī Muhammad and his brother Shāh Muhammad see Beveridge's Akbarnāma, vol. I, p. 576 et seq.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, there were two night attacks; one, on the advance-guard under Haidar Muhammod Ākhtābegī, on the bank of the Siah Āb, which is between the Surkhāb and Gandāmak. Haidar Muhammad made a gallant fight, and though many things were plundered, the Mīrza failed, and had to return disconcerted. The other, in the course of which Hindāl was slain, took place on the night of Sunday, 21st Zilq'āda, 958 (20th November, 1551).

[4] Some of the MSS. do not give the chronogram. One has و تاریخ شهادتش شبخون بطلب. The lith. edn. has و تاریخ شهادتش از شبخون بطلب. In the translation in Elliot, v, the passage is "the date of his death is found in the word, *Shāhādat ash ba talab Shud.*" It appears from the Akbarnāma that the chronogram is the word *Shabkhūn*, which according to *abjad* comes to 952 (1551) The translation in Elliot, v, is incorrect.

[5] The march from Kābul is said by Badāonī to have commenced in Zihijjah 961 and the date of the crossing of the Indus is given in the translation of the Tabaqāt in Elliot, v. as 5th Safar 962 (29th December, 1554).

way of Bangash and Gurdez. All the turbulent people of those parts received condign punishment. His majesty crossed the river Indus between Dinkot and Nīlāb. Mīrza Kāmrān, being pained in his heart by the bad treatment he had received at the hands of Salīm Khān, the ruler of Hindustan, had fled to the hilly country of [1]Sivālik; and with great exertions brought himself to the country of Sultān Ādam Gakkhar. The latter, keeping him under guard, sent a representation of the fact to the court. His Majesty conferred favours on him, and sent an order to him, for bringing the Mīrza. Mun'īm Khān went to the abode of Sultān Ādam, and brought [2]Mīrza Kāmrān to render homage to His Majesty, in the neighbourhood of Parhāla. His Majesty again acting on the saying, "Pardon is the power of the most powerful," from his great natural generosity excused all Mīrza Kāmrān's offences. But the troops and the Amīrs and tribesmen of the Chaghtāi, who had suffered various kinds of distress and tribulation on account of the hostility of Mīrza Kāmrān, combined together and [3]came to His Majesty, (and represented that) the permanence of the honour and the credit of their families and of the Chaghtāi clans was bound up in the death of Mīrza Kāmrān; for the breaking of agreements by the latter had been repeatedly seen by every body. Therefore His Majesty was forced to give his consent to blinding him; 'Ali Dost Bārbegi and Saiyyad Muhammad Pakna and Ghulām 'Ali Shash-angusht deprived the eyes of the Mīrza of their sight, with

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[1] All the MSS. have Sivālik, but the lith. edn. and the translation in Elliot, v, have Siālkot. I cannot find either Sivālik or Siālkot, in this connection, in any other history.

[2] There is a slight variation here. All the MSS. except one have منعم خان بمنزل سلطان ادم رفته میرزا کامران را در نواحی but the remaining MS. and the lith. edn. have the word باتفاق between رفته and میرزا کامران.

[3] The Akbarnāma says that Humāyūn was very unwilling that Kāmrān should be executed, but his officers who had witnessed the various bloodsheds and strife caused by this insolent shedder of blood were again firm in their request; they took legal opinions which were attested by law officers, and they brought a paper signed by the great of realm and religion, and laid it before His Majesty. These documents, His Majesty sent to M. Kāmrān, who having read the record of his deeds, and the punishment (proposed), returned this message, that those who to-day had put their seals for his death, were the men who had brought him to this pass.

a lancet. [1] The date of this occurrence has been found in the word, *nishtar* (a lancet). After this event, Mīrzā Kāmrān having obtained permission to go on a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, started on the journey with all the necessaries for it, according to his wishes. He arrived at Mecca; and there [2] he made over the deposit of life (to the Giver).

His Majesty arrived at the foot of the fort of Rhotas, and determined to conquer Kashmīr. At this time, it was brought to his notice, that (there was) a *Zamindār* of the name of [3] Bīrānā in the hilly country, who on account of the strength of his position, had not up to that time submitted to any of the Sultāns. "God forbid that he should guard (shut up) the way of coming out, and we should not obtain possession of Kashmīr; and our position would also become difficult." His Majesty on account of his high spirit did not pay any attention to these words, and started. At this time the news of the approach of Salīm Khān Afghān from the direction of Hindustān to the Punjab came, and became the cause of confusion in the army. At the time of starting (on the expedition to Kashmīr) the Amīrs and the soldiers, who had not been willing to go to Kashmīr, at once started towards Kābul. When His Majesty came to know that no one was willing to go on this expedition, he returned towards Kābul. He crossed [4] the

[1] This sentence occurs only in the lith. edn. and in one MS. but not in the other MSS. In the translation in Elliot, v, it has been incorrectly translated. The date of this event has been anticipated a little, "the word نشتر; (lancet) having been read as پیشتر (before), as indeed it is printed in the lith. edn. According to the Akbarnāma, the chronogram was the work of Khwāja Muhammad Mūman of Farankhūd (a village near Samarqand). *Nishtar* by the rule of *abjad* comes to 960, Kāmrān having been blinded at the end of that year (Nov.-Dec. 1553).

[2] Four years after, in 964 A.H. 5th October 1557 A.D. See Erskine, vol. II, p. 419. In Beveridge's Akbarnāma, the date is given as 11th Zilhijjah 964.

[3] He does not appear to be mentioned in any other history. The Akbarnāma only says his officers said, "Perhaps the Kashmiri affair will be a long one, and if so, and the black-hearted Afghāns secure the passes, what will be the end of it?"

[4] The Akbarnāma says that when Humāyun was encamped on the Indus, Kāmrān asked for and obtained permission to go to Mecca.

river Indus, and ordered the building of the Fort of [1] Bikrām. All the soldiers, by very great exertions, completed the work within a short time. [2] Iskandar Khān Uzbek was appointed to have charge of the Fort.

His Majesty then came to Kābul, and the World-prince Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar Mīrza was sent to Ghaznīn; and Khwāja Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahmūd and a number of other nobles, were sent there with the victorious stirrups. After a time the news of the death of Salīm Khān, and of dissensions among the Afghāns came from Hindustān. As malicious persons had brought to His Majesty's notice, that Bairām Khan had hostile intentions, His Majesty started on an expedition to Qandahār. Bairām Khān came to welcome him, and performed the rites of sincerity and loyalty. At the time of return, Mun'im Khān was nominated for the government of Qandahār. He however pointed out, that as the invasion of Hindustan was in the (imperial) mind, a change among the governors would be the cause of dissension among the soldiery. It would be more befitting the prosperity of the state, if action should be taken after the conquest of Hindustan, as it should then appear to be best. So the government of Qandahār remained in charge of Bairām Khān; and Zamīndāwar became the fief of Bahādur Khān, brother of 'Ali Qulī Khān Sīstānī.

The great camp now returned to Kābul, and engaged in preparations for the invasion of Hindustan. It so happened that His Majesty rode out one day for seeing the scenery and hunting. He said that as the expedition to India, was in his mind, at the time, the name of the three men who may come into sight should be asked, and should be treated as an [3] augury of the result.

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[1] Bikrām was the old name of Peshāwar. The fort was not built, but only rebuilt; the Akbarnāma says the evil Afghāns had destroyed it.

[2] He is called Iskandar Khān in the lith. edn. and in most of the MSS. but he is called Sikandar Khān Uzbek in both the Akbarnāma and in the translation of the Tabaqāt in Elliot, v. The Akbarnāma says, that the Afghāns made a great attack on the fort, but Sikandar Khān defended it manfully, and they were repulsed.

[3] As has been pointed out in a note on p. 236 of Elliot v, the same story was told by Khondamīr, who died twenty years before this. See Elliot, v, p. 118.

The first man whom they met, they asked his name. He said "my name is Daulat Khwāja." His Majesty took this to be good news; and when they went a little further on the way, a second villager came up; they asked his name. He said his name was Murād Khwāja. His Majesty said how nice it would be, if the name of the third man should be Sa'adat Khwāja. When they went a little further on the way, a man appeared in view. He said his name was Sa'adat Khwāja. All of them were much astonished at this wonderful occurrence, and became very hopeful about the conquest of Hindustan.

In the month of Zi-l-hijjah 961 (November 1554) His Majesty placed the foot of good fortune in the stirrup of prosperity, and commenced the conquest of Hindustan. When he halted at Peshāwar[1] Bairām Khān, the governor of Qandahār, arrived to render service in compliance with orders. The august standards then passed over the river Indus. Bairām Khān and Khizr Khwāja Khān and Tardi Beg Khān and Iskandar Sultān, and a number of other Amīrs went forward as an advance guard. Tātār Khān Kāshī who was the governor of Rhotas fled, as he had not the courage to remain in the fort, in spite of its being a place of great strength. Ādam Gakkhar, although he had formerly done some service, owing to his misfortune, did not come to render homage. His Majesty now turned to Lahore, by successive marches, and the Afghāns, who were there, having received intelligence of the auspicious army fled. Couplet.

[1] It appears from the Akbarnāma, that Bairām Khān came from Kabul, where he had remained for settling some royal matters, and for arranging his equipment. It appears also, that Humāyūn went from Jalālābād down the river on a raft, and encamped at Bikrām (Peshawar) in the end of Muharram 962 (near the end of December, 1554). Bairām Khān arrived on the 5th Safar (31st Dec., 1554) and he is said to have brought the news of the flight of Tātār Khān Kashī (?). The Akbarnāma says, that while Humāyūn himself marched towards Lahore, he sent a troop under Bairām Khān, Tardi Beg Khān and others against Nasīb Khān Panj-bhuiya, who was stationed at Harhāna (Hariāna). The nobles of that country however came forward to welcome them; but Nasīb Khān himself made a small resistance, and then fled. Another troop was sent against Shahbāz Khān, who had collected a number of Afghāns in Dībālpūr. There was a sharp action, and the Afghāns were defeated. This last expedition is also mentioned in the text.

The auspicious standard, victorious, was yet afar.
When everywhere the noise of victory arose.

His Majesty entered the city of Lahore without any contest; and the nobles belonging to the advance guard started towards Jālandhar and Sarhind; and the *parganas* of the Punjab and Sarhind and Hisār all came into the possession of the Amirs of the Chaghtāi tribes without any battle.

At this time a body of Afghāns, under the leadership of Shahbāz Khān and Nasīr Khān Afghān were collected together in Dibālpūr. His Majesty, on receiving information of this, sent Mīr Abul Ma'āli, and 'Alī Qulī Sīstānī to crush them. A battle took place and the Afghāns were defeated and their property, and families and retainers were seized and plundered. Iskandur Afghān, who was in possession of Dehli, sent an army of thirty thousand men under the command of Tātār Khān and [1] Haibat Khān to defeat the Amīrs who were in Sarhind. The Chaghtāi Amīrs, assembled at Jālandhar, determined to give battle, in spite of the fact that the enemy were in large numbers, and they were few; and marching forward they crossed the [2] Satlej. The Afghān army came to know of their having done so, at the end of the day; and advanced to give battle. The Chaghtāi Amīrs also set their hearts on a battle, in spite of the strength of the enemy. [3] The two armies met together at the time

[1] This name is written as Habīb Khān and Haibat Khān in the MSS. and in the lith. edn.

[2] The Akbarnāma mentions several instances of discussions among Humāyūn's nobles. The crossing of the Satlej at Māchiwāra was the subject of one of these. Tardi Muhammad (Tardī Beg ?) Khān and many other officers thought, that they should not cross the river then, but wait till the end of the rains, but others at once proceeded to do so, and those who had wanted to wait had also to do so.

[3] The Akbarnāma says, that the battle took place at Bijana (?) but a note shews that the translator could not make out what and where Bijana was. The translation of the passage, about the battle in Elliot, v, appears to me to be incorrect. It is said there, that the Afghāns began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghāns, being greatly annoyed by the fire (atashi), threw themselves into a neighbouring village. All the MSS. and the Lith. edn. and Akbarnāma say, that it was the Mughals who were shooting their arrows, and

of sunset, and the battle having commenced, the Mughals began to discharge their arrows. Owing however to the darkness of the night, the Mughal archers could not be seen. The Afghāns, owing to extreme distress, threw fire into a village which was near. As most houses in Indian villages are thatched with grass, the fire burst into flames, the battle became more visible with the light, and the archers, having come forth by the light of the conflagration, were able to do their work with calmness and composure. Couplet

Those who the snare did lay, were caught in it themselves,
Those who the well did dig, into it they fell themselves.

The enemy, who in the illumination caused by the fire, became (easy) aim for the arrows, had no strength left, and fled and there was a great [1] victory, and elephants and horses and much equipage came into the possession of the Mughal army.

When the glad news of the victory reached Lahore, His Majesty became very happy, and conferred many favours on the Amīrs, and the whole of the Panjāb and Sarhind and Hisār Firoza came into his possession, and some of the *parganas* of Dehli also came into the possession of the Mughals. When Sikandar Afghān received the news of the defeat of his army, (he sent) eighty thousand horsemen and elephants of mountainous size, and many batteries to revenge it, and they arrived at Sarhind; and dug a trench and erected fortifications round the camp. The Amīrs of the Chaghtāi clans strengthened the fortifications of Sarhind, and performed feats of bravery, as far as was possible for them. They sent petitions to Lahore, and begged for the victorious advent of His Majesty. [2]The splendid standards then started for Sarhind

not the Afghāns; and it is not clear from the account in Elliot, v, what the fire was and where it came from.

[1] The Akbarnāma also says, that Humāyūn heard of the advance of the Afghāns, and knew that he could not possibly arrive at the battle-field in time, he offered prayers for a victory; and when the report of the battle arrived, it was found that the victory had been gained, on the very day that Humāyūn had prayed for it.

[2] The Akbarnāma says, that Humāyūn was suffering from colic at the time, so he sent Akbar, but as he recovered quickly he joined the prince before the latter had gone far from Lahore, leaving certain officers there to carry on the government. They arrived at Sarhind on the 7th Rajab, 29th May, 1555

accompanied with triumph and victory. When they approached near, the Amīrs of the advance guard went forward to welcome them, and to render homage. The army was now arrayed in line of battle, and with great spirit and courage they confronted the enemy, who were four times their number. After [1] some days, in the course of which active and brave warriors from both sides had performed deeds of valour, one day, when it was the turn of the world-prince Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar Mīrza to command the [2] advance guard, a regular drawn battle took place From one side [3] Bairām Khān, Khān-Khānān and from another side Sikandar Khān and Abdullāh Khān Uzbek and Shāh Ab-ul-ma'ālī and 'Ali Quli Khān and Bahādur Khān launched attacks on the enemy, and every one of the Khāns gave instances of such bravery and valour, as was beyond human power; and the Divine kindness helping the warriors of the army, the Afghān army which was nearly one hundred thousand in number was defeated by a few men. Sikandar having fled, the victorious army pursued the enemy and slew a large number of them; and having obtained much booty, came victorious and

In the translation in Elliot, v, it is said that Humāyūn sent prince Akbar. None of the MSS. or the Lith. edn. says this, though, as noted above, the Akbarnāma says, that Akbar was sent at first, but Humāyūn joined him before he had gone far.

[1] The Akbarnāma says that Humāyūn carried on this warfare for forty days; but the translator has pointed out in a note that as Humāyūn arrived at Sarhind on the 7th Rajab, and the battle took place on the 2nd Sh'abān (22nd June, 1555), it was less than 30 days. Ferishtah says the battle took place on the last day of Rajab.

[2] The Akbarnāma says that the day on which the battle took place was the *Naubat-i-tarraddud* of the servants of the prince, which has been translated, as their watch day. I would translate it as the turn of their exertions. The text has *Naubat-i-qarāwali* and Badāonī has *Naubat-i-yezk*, which both mean the turn of the command of the advance guard. Ferishtah also has *Naubat-i-qarāwali* but Col. Briggs has translated it "while the prince Akbar was visiting the pickets of the camp."

[3] Our author and Ferishtah are totally silent about what the Afghāns did. The Akbarnāma says that Kālāpāhār, brother of Sikandar, came out and fought. Badāonī says و افغانان نیز حسب الا مکان داد مردانگي وشجاعت دادند اما با طالع برگشته بمن نیامدند i.e. "the Afghāns also behaved with bravery and valour, as far as they could; but with an adverse fortune were found wanting."

triumphant to attend on his Majesty, and performed the rites of congratulations. The secretary, in accordance with orders, wrote letters announcing the victory, graced with the glorious name of the great world-prince, by the excellent arrangements of whose servants the victory had been gained; and despatched them in all directions.

Sikandar Khān Uzbek started towards Dehli, and the great camp marched towards the capital by way of Sāmāna. A number of the Afghāns who were in Dehli, escaped narrowly with their lives. Sikandar Khān then entered the city. [1] Mīr Āb-ul-ma'ālī was sent towards Lahore in order to crush Sikandar, who had fled to the hilly country of Siwālik.

In the [2] month of Ramazān His Majesty arrived in Dehli; and for a second time the public prayer and the coin of the realm, in most of the territories of Hindustan were adorned with his illustrious name. Those who in accompanying his victorious stirrups had suffered much hardship, received great favours and every one of them [3] became the governor of a province; and the remainder of the year was passed in [4] pleasure and enjoyment.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Badāoni and Ferishtah, he was placed in charge of the government of the whole of the Punjab.

[2] The Akbarnāma says, that he marched from Sāmāna on receiving a report from Sikandar Khān Uzbek that he had taken possession of Dehli, the enemy not having withstood him and fled; and that he arrived at Salīmgarh which is on the north of Dehli and on the bank of the Jumna on Thursday the 1st Ramazān, 20th July, 1555, and on the 4th of the month he entered Dehli. It appears that Humāyūn abstained from all animal food during the campaign, and when he entered Dehli, he ordered that a piece of the flesh of the *Nīlgāo* which Akbar had killed with his sword, when hunting on the march, should be dried and kept in order, so that when after the Ramazān he should be disposed to eat animal food, he might make his first meal from this flesh.

[3] "Bairām Khān was presented with Sahrind and several other *parganas*. Tardi Beg Khān was sent to Mewat; Sikandar Khān to Agra; 'Ali Qulī Khān to Sambāl; and Haidar Muhammad Khān Akhtābegī to Biana." Akbarnāma, Vol. I, page 635. Badāoni says that Shah Abul-ma'ālī was appointed to Hisār Firoza, but he had not gone there, when Qarā Khān Gung was sent to Agra; 'Ali Qulī Khān to Meerut and Sambal; Qambar Diwāna to Badāūn; and Haidar Muhammad Khān Akhtabegī to Biāna.

[4] "His Majesty stayed in the fort of Dehli and was continually engaged in pleasing God, and he watered the rose garden of sovereignty with the stream of justice." Akbarnama, Vol. I, page 635.

Shāh Abul Ma'ālī who had been sent to crush Sikandar did not behave properly with the amīrs who had been sent to help him, and interfered in their fiefs; and had even misappropriated the funds of the royal treasury; and Sikandar day by day became stronger. When this news reached His Majesty, he appointed Bairām Khān to put down Sikandar, having exalted him with the dignity of the guardianship of the world-prince; and directed him to accompany his stirrups. Order was also passed that Shāh Abul Ma'ālī should come to Hisār Firoza and the neighbouring territory.

At this time a man of the name of Qambar Diwāna, having got a number of men to join him, commenced to plunder and destroy between the Doāb and Sambal. Men with little foresight, who were anxious for adventures, collected together from all directions near him. 'Ali Quli Khān [1] Sheibāni was nominated to put him down. Qambar shut himself up in the fort of Badāūn and for some days kept up a struggle. At last the fort was captured, and Qambar was taken prisoner, and was put to death, and his head was sent to the court.

It was one of the wonderful events of the time, that on the 7th Rabi'-ul-āwwal, near the time of sunset His Majesty, Jinnat Ashiānī, coming on the roof (or balcony) of the [2] library, stood there

[1] He is called 'Ali Quli Khān Sistānī in the translation in Elliot, v, and in the lithographed edition of Ferishtah. But the Akbarnāma has 'Ali Quli Khān Sheibānī and Badāonī has both Sīstānī and Sheibānī, and it is said in the index that probably both the names referred to the same person. The name appears to be Sīstānī in one MS. and in the lith. edn. and Sheibānī in another MS. The other MSS. omit the passage و علي قلي خان شيباني بدفع او نامزد شد و او در قلعه بداون متحصن گشته. Both the Akbarnāma and Badāonī described Qambar Diwāna's adventures at much greater length than our author, and they say that Humāyūn was much displeased with 'Ali Qulī Khān for having put him to death. It should be noted that Badāonī in one place says that Qambar Diwāna was appointed governor of Badāūn; but this is not mentioned in the subsequent detailed account of Qambar's adventures.

[2] Badāonī says that the library was in the fort of Dīnpanā. There are slight variations about the details of the occurrence. Badāonī agrees with our author, that it was when Humāyūn was rising again, having sat down, that his foot slipped; but he adds that Humāyūn's عصا خطا کرد i.e. his stick slipped. On the other hand, the Akbarnāma says, that when he wished to sit down his "blessed foot caught in the skirt of his robe, * * * and his good staff slipped

for a moment; and at the time of his coming down, the *muazzin* commenced the call to prayer. His Majesty sat down with reverence on the second step. At the time of standing up, his auspicious foot shook, and he fell off from the stair and came down on the ground. Those who were present were in great distress, and they carried His Majesty, who had become unconscious, inside the palace. After a time he felt slightly better and spoke; and the physicians made great exertions in the treatment of the case; but it was of no avail. The next day when he became extremely weak, and his case was beyond all treatment [1] Nazr Shaikh Jūlī was sent towards the Punjab to attend on the prince, and give him notice of what had happened. On the 15th of the month of Rabi'-ul-Āwwal in the year 963 at the time of sunset His Majesty said "I accept the Divine summons;" and passed into the gardens of paradise. It is a wonderful accident that the following hemistich gives the date of the occurrence. [2] Hemistich: Humayūn King fell from palace roof.

The period of the terrestrial reign of His Majesty extended

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and he lost his feet and fell upon his head." The date of the accident is given as the 7th Rabi'-ul-Āwwal in all the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and in Badāonī: but it is given as 8th Rabī'-ul-Āwwal in the translation in Elliot, v, and the translator says in a note that the Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-Afāghana gives the date 7th Zil Hijjh, 995 H. Abul Fazl does not give the date of the month, but says that it was at the close of Friday, Rabi'-ul-Āwwal, 963. It is said in a long note in the translation of the Akbarnāma that the date was the 11th Rabi'-ul-Āwwal, but it is admitted that there is a good deal of discrepancy about the dates of Humāyūn's fall and death.

[1] He is called Nazr Shaikh Jūlī in the MSS. and in Badāonī: but in the lith. ed. he is called Nazr Shaikh Jūnī and in the translation in Elliot, v. Shaikh Jūli; and in the Akbarnāma Nazr Shaikh Cūlī. It is said in a note to the Akbarnāma that Bayāzīd calls him Nazr Shaikh Cūlī Turkistāni, that he was made Mir-i-'Adl by Akbar; and that his name was Nazr and he got the title of Cūlī because he accompanied Humāyūn in the desert.

[2] This chronogram (according to the Akbarnāma) was made by Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī; but it comes to 962 and not 963 which is the correct date. The Akbarnāma has other chronograms by Mir 'Abdul Hai and Maulānā Mas'aūd of Hisār, both of which give the correct date. Another chronogram by Hijrī and mentioned in a note of the Akbarnāma deserves to be recorded. It is حیف زان بادشه عارف دانائي حکیم which has been translated; "Alas! for the king, the saint, the sage."

to five and twenty years and a fraction; and his auspicious age to 51 years. [1]His angelic personality was adorned with all human perfections. He was superior to all the Sultāns of the world in courage and bravery. For his benefactions and offerings the whole of Hindustan was not sufficient. In the sciences of astronomy and mathematics he was without a rival. He wrote beautiful verse. Learned, erudite and great men were always in the company of this leader of men; they were always in attendance on him from the early part of the night till the morning. The highest kind of politeness was practised in his courts and assemblies. At all times there were learned discussions in his court, which was like paradise. Men of excellence in learning and arts obtained much renown during his reign. His kindliness was so great, that Mīrzā Kāmrān and the Chaghtāi nobles who had repeatedly shown hostility towards him

[1] This appreciation of Humāyūn's character and qualities contains many superlatives, but does not show him as a man of outstanding ability. In fact the history of his life and reign shows that he was a man of weak and vacillating character, but at the same time he was amiable and generous. Abul Fazl devotes a considerable space to a description of some of his remarkable inventions and regulations; (Chap. LXI of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma). Based on the story of his having met three men of the names of Murād Khwājah, Daulāt Khwājah and Sa'ādat Khwājah, he divided his entourage into three categories of Ahl-i-Murād, -Daulat and -Sa'ādat. He also divided the days of the week, giving two days to each class. He had three golden arrows which were assigned to the leaders of the three classes. Another of his inventions was the distribution of arrows into 12 classes, each order of men being assigned to an arrow; the 12th arrow which was of the finest gold was reserved for the quivers of Humāyūn and Akbar; the others were for the various classes from the royal kinsmen down to the door-keepers, etc. Then he divided the departments of State into four classes after the four elements: each department was under a minister. The military department was the department of fire; the wardrobe, kitchen and stable were in the air department. Another of his inventions was the construction of four barges, which were connected together with platforms and had houses on them, on the Jumna. He also had an arrangement of shops and the bazar on boats on the river, also a garden on the river, a moveable bridge, a moveable palace, a wonderful cap, a tent with 12 partitions, and a carpet of mirth, and the fashion of wearing clothes of the colour of the planet of the day. As the translator remarks it is characteristic of Abul Fazl that he has given no description of the moveable bridge, which was probably the only useful invention.

were, on being arrested, pardoned for all their offences. In all circumstances he was in a state of ceremonial purity; and he never took the name of the great God without ceremonial ablution. One day he called Mīr 'Abdul Hai, the judge, by the name of 'Abdul. When he had finished his ablution, he said to the Mīr: "You will hold me excused, for I had not performed my ablution; and Hai is one of the names of God; therefore I did not take your full name." His personality of angelic attribute was the receptacle of all physical and mental perfections. May the mercy of God be on him in abundance!

In short [1] Nazr Shaikh Jūlī who had started for the Punjab when His Majesty's condition was extremely weak, attained to the happiness of attending on his Highness the world-prince at Kalānūr; and described the strange (and sad) event. Immediately at his heels, the news of His Majesty's death was brought. The Amīrs who were in attendance on the victorious stirrups of the prince, and in particular Bairām Khān, Khān Khānān, after performing the mourning ceremony agreed upon His Majesty's accession. So on the 2nd of Rabi'-us-sānī a great festal assembly was arranged in the town of Kalānūr; and His Majesty placed his foot on the carpet of sovereignty, and made the earth and all its denizens safe from all calamity.

Couplet:—He came before God's glorious seat,
Dragging sovereignty's skirt at his feet.

As a description of the power and domination of Shīr Khān Afghān and Salīm Khān and all the Afghāns over the country of Hindustan has priority to the period of the sovereignty of the Khalifā-i-Ilāhī (the vicegerent of God, Akbar); and the historian cannot escape narrating it, therefore of necessity the bridle of the

[1] According to the Akbarnāma a swift courier preceded Nazr Shaikh Jūlī; and informed Akbar and Bairām Khān of Humāyūn's accident, when they were near Hariāna pursuing Sikandar Sūr. They then turned back to Kalānūr, where Nazr Shaikh arrived. The Akbarnāma goes on to say that Akbar was inconsolable; and that "Bairām Khān, Atka Khān and Māham Anaga failed to comfort him; but at length * * * he conveyed himself to the asylum of patience, and employed himself in alms-giving and in other good work, which may benefit those who have travelled to the abiding world."

pen is being turned for that description. After the completion of the accounts of that body, the auspicious events of His Majesty's reign will be described.

A NARRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SHĪR KHĀN.

On the tongues, and in the mouths (of men), Shīr Khān is mentioned as Shīr Shāh. His name was Farīd, and his father's name [1] Hasan. Hasan was of the tribe of Sūr Afghāns. At the time when Sultān Bahlol attained to sovereignty, he summoned a large number of Afghāns from the country of Rūh, which is the abode of the Afghāns. Rūh signifies a hill (or hilly country), and specially that, which begins in respect of length, from Sawād and Bajaur, (and ends) at the town of Sīwī, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar, and in respect of its breadth from Hasan Ābdāl to Kābul. Qandahār is situated within the boundaries of this hill. At that time, the father of Hasan Sūr, who bore the name of 'Ibrāhīm

[1] Abul Fazl says he was a horse dealer, and his native country was Shamla, a village in Nārnaul; but neither Nizām-ud-dīn nor 'Abbās Khān in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī (Elliot, Vol. IV) nor Ni'amat-ul-lah in the Makhzan-i-Afghānī (translated by Dorn) nor Khāfi Khān in the Muntakhab-ul-lubāb says so. The last named in fact does not name Ibrāhīm Khān at all, but says that Hasan Khān came from Rūh to Hindustan. 'Abbās Khān's account appears to me the most complete. He says that Ibrāhīm and Hasan first entered the service of Muhabbat Khān Sūr, to whom Sultān Bahlol had granted *Jāgīrs* in Hariāna and Bahkāla, etc., in the Punjab; and they settled in the *pargana* of Bajwāra. Afterwards Ibrāhīm Khān entered the service of Jamāl Khān Sārang Khāni of Hisār Firoza, who granted him several villages in the *pargana* of Nārnaul; and Hasan Khān that of Masnad-i-'Ali 'Umar Khān Sarwānī, who had the title of Khan-i-'Azam. When 'Umar Khān was appointed to the government of Lahore, he gave Hasan Khān several villages in *pargana* Shāhābād as *Jāigīr*. It is said that Farīd when he was a little boy wanted to serve 'Umar Khān. Hasan at first refused to take him to 'Umar Khān; but at Farīd's mother's request he did so. 'Umar Khān said, "Farid is very young yet;" but he gave him Balhu, a hamlet in the village of Mahāwali. Farīd was delighted. After Ibrāhīm Khān's death, Hasan Khān asked for permission to go to Nārnaul to condole with his family; but 'Umar Khān recommended him to Jamāl Khān, who conferred his father's *Jāigīr* on him with several other villages. After Bahlol's death Sultān Sikandar made Jamāl Khān *Subahdār* of Jaunpūr; and Jamāl Khān granted the *parganas* of Sāhsarām, Hājipur and Tānda to Hasan Khān to maintain five hundred horse. Abul Fazl's account is entirely different.

came to Hindustan, and entered the service of one of the Amīrs of Sultān Bahlol. He remained for sometime in Hisār Firoza; and some days (a short time) in *pargana* Nārnaul. When Bahlol's reign terminated, and the term of the sovereignty of his son Sikandar came, Jamāl Khān, who was a great Amīr of the latter, became the governor of Jaunpūr. Hasan, the father of Farīd, spent his life in his service; and he showed him kindness and granted the *parganas* of Sāhsarām and Khawāspūr Tāndah, which were the dependencies of Ruhtās as his *Jāgīr*, and the command of five hundred horsemen.

Hasan had [1] eight sons. Farīd and Nizām were of one mother, and their mother was of Afghān descent. The others were sons of slave-girl mothers. Hasan did not have much affection for Farīd's mother; and in comparison to the other sons he did not give much attention to Farīd. [2] The latter therefore, being aggrieved with his father's service, and foregoing the happiness of it, went to serve Jamāl Khān. Hasan sent a letter to Jamāl Khān, begging him to send Farīd to him, after comforting and encouraging the latter. He also represented that he wished that Farīd should read [3] something, and should cultivate good manners and morals. Although Jamāl Khān insisted on Farīd's going to his father, from which he said, all his happiness would spring, he did not agree. He said "Jaunpūr is a city in comparison to Sāhsarām, and there are more learned men here. I shall occupy myself with studies here." He remained there for some time, and read something; he studied the [4] Kāfia (a treatise on grammar) with commentaries

[1] 'Abbas Khān says Farīd and Nizām were born of one Afghān mother, 'Ali and Yusuf of another, Khurram and Shādī of a third, and Sulaimān and Ahmad of a fourth. The mothers of the other sons besides Farīd and Nizām were slave-girls. Farīd was born in the reign of Sultan Bahlol; and according to the Tārīkh-i-Khānjahān Lodi, at Hisar Firoza.

[2] Abul Fazl says that Farīd pained his own father by his arrogance and evil disposition.

[3] According to the translation of 'Abbās Khān's Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī in Elliot, IV, Hasan Khān wrote to Jamāl Khān that he wished Farīd to be instructed in religion and polite learning.

[4] According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, "He studied thoroughly the Kāfia with the commentaries of Qāzī Shahāb-ūd-dīn, and the biographies of most

and other books. He also read the Gulistān, the Bustān and the Sikandarnāma, which the people of Hindustan used to read in those days; and he acquired knowledge from books on travels and histories.

After two or three years, when Hasan came to Jaunpūr, their [1] relatives intervened; and brought Farīd to wait on his father, and removed the ill-feeling.

Hasan then entrusted the management (dāroghgī) of the *Jāigir* to Farīd, and sent him there. At the time of taking leave Farīd [2] told his father, "Every affair in the world and specially the work of a chief is founded on justice. If you send me to the *Jāigīr* I shall never transgress the rules of equity, and your servants are chiefly your relations and kindred. If any of them transgresses the path of justice I shall not wink at their transgressions." Having said such things he went to the *Jāigīr*. Having arrived there he [3] behaved with great judgment and ability, and held the balance evenly among his relatives. [4] The headmen of some of the villages who were

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of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the Sikandarnāma, the Gulistān, the Bostan, etc., and was also reading the works of philosophers." I am quoting from the Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī, but the Makhzan-i-Afghānī generally agrees.

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, their relatives spoke in very eulogistic terms of Farīd's qualities and attainments, and at their request Hasan agreed to entrust the management of his two *parganas* to Farīd, and the latter agreed to manage them, though he was sure that as soon as Hasan Khān saw the face of the slave-girl, he would do whatever she would tell him.

[2] The conversation between the father and the son is given in a somewhat different form, but much to the same effect in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī.

[3] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī gives portions of his addresses to the soldiers and to the cultivators, and an account of the measures he adopted for improving the condition of the peasants by fixing their tenures, and the rents, and cesses, which were (1) *Jarībāna* (fees for measuring the land) and (2) Muhassīlāna (fees for the tax collectors and measurers), payable by them. He directed that leniency should be shown to the cultivators at the time of the measuring their lands, but the rent and dues should be collected punctually and with strictness.

[4] These measures are described in greater detail in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī. The way the refractory tenants were treated was drastic enough. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says he plundered their villages bringing away the women and children, cattle and property. To the soldiery he made over all the property and quadrupeds which came into his possession; but the women and children

turbulent and refractory did not come and wait on him. Farīd, preparing to punish them, consulted with his retainers. They all said, "The troops are with your father." Farīd then ordered that two hundred horses should be made ready; and he also borrowed a horse from the headman of each village; and he summoned all men of the class of soldiers who lived in that neighbourhood and had no horses. He gave them help with some money and clothes, and encouraging them with promises mounted them on the borrowed horses, and attacked the refractory tenants. He pillaged their houses and took them and their families prisoners. [1] After that he collected a large force and marched against some of the turbulent men, who lived in the neighbourhood of his *parganas*, and relying on their strength and power and wealth, and the complete protection afforded to them by the *jungle*, did not in the least care for him, and caused trouble to (the people of) his villages and *parganas*. He halted near their villages, and building a fort (entrenchment) round his camp, cut down their *jungle* day after day, till he reached their fort; and erecting battering-rams conquered them; and slew a large number of them and took others prisoners. He acted in such a way, that after that all the turbulent men of the neighbourhood became submissive and obedient; and paid their rents. His *parganas* became rich and populous and he became powerful and wealthy.

After a time, when Hasan came to the *Jāigīr*, and saw the prosperity of the *parganas*, and the way in which Farīd had managed and superintended everything, he was delighted and praised him. They said that Hasan had a slave-girl by whom he had [2] three sons,

and the peasantry he kept himself in confinement and they were not released till the recalcitrant head men had paid what was due from them and had given security for their appearance.

[1] These measures are also described with somewhat greater detail in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī. The chastisement in this case was very severe, even barbarous. Farīd refused to accept their submission, and after capturing the villages "put all the rebels to death, and making all their women and children prisoners, ordered his men to sell them or keep them as slaves."

[2] It is سہ, three, in all the MSS and in the lith. ed. The name of the third son appears to be مدہ, Muda, but is not very legible. As we have seen, however, the Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī says that Hasan had eight sons, two by his Afghān wife, and two by each of the three slave-girls. All the histories agree

Sulaimān and Ahmad and Mudā. Hasan was very much under the influence of this slave-girl. [1](She) one day told him, "You promised to me that when my sons grew up, you would give them the management (*Dāroghgi*) of the *parganas*. Now that they have reached the age of majority you should fulfil your promise." Hasan delayed doing anything, so that he might not displease Farīd, who was his legitimate and eldest son. But Farīd understanding what was going on, withdrew his hand from the management of the *parganas*. Hasan then made over the management to Sulaimān and Ahmad; and made his excuses to Farīd. He said "You have acquired much knowledge and experience. Your brothers should also become efficient. Of course in the end, you will take my place."

In short when the government of the *parganas* was settled with Sulaimān and Ahmad, Fārīd lost all hope; and relinquishing the happiness of serving his father went to [2]Agra. There he entered the service of Daulāt Khān who was one of the great amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm. He was in his service for a long time, and made him highly pleased and satisfied with his work. One day Daulāt Khān

in saying that he had eight sons, so that the word ۸, three must be incorrect. The Makhzān-i-Afghāni does not appear to say anywhere how many sons Hasan had, and how many uterine brothers Sulaimān had. In the present context, only Sulaimān and Sulaiman's mother are referred to. Ferishtāh gives this slave-girl only two sons. It would also appear that the management of the *parganas* was made over to Sulaimān and Ahmad; and there is no mention of a third son.

[1] The Tarīkh-i-Sher Shāhī gives a very prolix account of this incident; the constant appeals of the slave-girl, the hesitation of Hasan Khān, and his final yielding to her, the remonstrances of his kinsmen, his sorrowful admission to them that he was an old man, and Sulaimān and his mother did not give him a moment's peace are all narrated in great detail. The supersession of Farīd by Sulaimān and Ahmad at the instigation of the slave-girl reads very like the supersession of Rāma by Bharata at the instigation of Kaikeyī. Of course the fine touches about the grief and death of Dasaratha and the loyalty of Bharata and Lakshmana and Sītā are all absent.

[2] According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī he went to Agra via Kanhpūr (Cawnpore); and there he picked up two companions, Shaikh Ism'ael and Ibrāhīm. When Farīd became emperor, Shaikh Ism'ael got the title of Shuja'at Khān and the government of Mandū; and Ibrāhīm got the title of Sarmast Khān.

said to Farīd, "Tell me every aim and object that you may have in view, so that I may give effect to them." Farīd said, "My father is old and he is under the influence of the magic and incantation of the [1] Hindi slave-girl. From the violence of the influence of that slave-girl, the *parganas* and *jāigir* of my father, and his troops are being ruined, and are in great distress. If those *parganas* are conferred on us, two brothers, one brother would always remain in the service of the Sultān, with five hundred horse-men, and the other would be serving our father by managing the *parganas* and the retainers." [2] One day Daulat Khān represented this (to the Sultān). The Sultān said, "He is a bad man who complains against his own father." Daulat Khān repeated this to Farīd, and wishing to please him said, "I shall again represent this to the Sultān at a suitable time; and shall get your matter properly settled." He increased his daily allowance, and comforting him kept him with himself. Farīd remained with him, on account of his great courtesy and his kindness and generosity, up to the time of his father's death.

[3] Daulat reported the news of the death of Hasan to Sultān Ibrāhim; and got his *parganas* converted into a *jāigīr* for Farīd and his brother; and Farīd went to the *jāigīr*, taking with him the *farmān* for the government of Sāhsarām and Khawāspūr Tāndah, and occupied himself with attending to the affairs of the retainers and the *raiyats*. Sulaimān could not contend with Farīd and fled to Muhammad Khān Sūr who was the governor of *pargana* [4] Jaund;

[1] In the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī in Elliot IV, page 322, she is called a *Hindu* slave-girl. I do not think she was a Hindu. In the text she is called كنيز هندية which I have translated as a "Hindi slave-girl," i.e. a Muhammadan slave-girl of Indian birth and descent, as contradistinguished from Farīd's mother, who was of pure Afghān descent.

[2] What follows agrees in the main particulars with the Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi, in Elliot IV; and with Dorn's translation of Nī'mat-ul-lah's history of the Afghāns.

[3] It is stated in the Tārīkh-i-Sher-Shāhī, that on Hasan's death Sulaimān put his father's turban on his own head, (Dorn calls it the father's sash); to indicate that the *jāigīr* now belonged to him; but Nizām, Farīd's brother came, and reproved him; and took the turban off from his head.

[4] In the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, in Elliot IV, the *pargana* is called Chaundh; and Dorn calls it Chund; but all the MSS. and the Lith. Ed.

and had one thousand five hundred horse-men. Muhammad Khān said to Sulaimān, "We hear that His Majesty Bābar Bādshāh has entered Hindustan; and there will be war-fare. If Sultān Ibrāhīm gains the victory, I shall take you to him, and recommend you to him for service." Sulaimān showing his impatience said, "I cannot wait all this time. My mother and my family are wandering about in great distress." Muhammad Khān then sent a man to Farīd and advised peace among the brothers. Farīd said, "Whatever was Sulaimān's share of the inheritance during the life-time of our father, I even now agree to his having it; but I cannot agree to a division of the government (of the *jāigīr*), for two swords cannot be put into one scabbard, and two rulers cannot have comfort in one city." As Sulaimān wanted a share in the government, he did not agree. Muhammad Khān comforted Sulaimān, and said, "You rest content, I shall take the government by force from Farīd and make it over to you." Farīd receiving information of this, bethought himself about his position; and waited for the issue of the contest between Bābar Bādshāh and Sultān Ibrāhīm.

When he heard the news of the death of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and of the victory of the Bādshah, he went to take service under Bihār Khān, son of Dariya Khān Lohānī, who had given himself the title of Sultān Muhammad in the province of Behar; and had raised the standard of sovereignty; and [1] entered his service. One day Sultān

have جوند Jaund. Ferishtah calls Muhammad Khān Sūr the governor of Jaunpūr; and Col. Briggs call him "a distant relative" (of Sulaimān) "the governor of Joonpoor." The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī gives in some detail what Muhammad Khān told Sulaimān and the message he sent to Farīd and the reply of the latter. The place is called Caund in the translation of the Akbar-nāma Vol. I, page 327; but it is said in a note that "the text has Jūna. Chund or Cand is correct. (See Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1895 page 81.) It was in Sarkār Rohtas." I may say that there is not much difference between جوند as it is written in the text, and جونه, as it is said to be in the text of the Akbarnāma. I have examined the J.A.S.B. for 1895 page 81 but there is no mention of Beames or of Caund or Cand there. On the other hand Jaund is mentioned, right enough, in the Ain-i-Akbarī as one of the *parganas* of Sarkār Rhotās.

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, Farīd was very assiduous in his work, and "gained Bihār Khān's favour, * * * he had access to him in public and in private, and became one of his most intimate friends. In consequence of his

Muhammad went out to hunt. Suddenly a tiger appeared, Farīd confronted the animal, and slew it with a blow of his sword. Sultān Muhammad showed him great favour; and conferred the title of Shīr Khān on him. Gradually Shīr Khān acquired great distinction in the service of the Sultān, and had complete access to his person. The Sultān appointed him to be the *Vakīl* (agent) of his son Jalāl Khān, who was very young, and made him also his *Atālīq* (guardian).

After a long time, Shīr Khān went to his *jāigīr*, taking leave from the Sultān; and it so happened, that he remained absent longer than the stipulated period. One day Sultān Muhammad complained about Shīr Khān and said in his court, "He has broken his promise, and does not come." Muhammad Khān governor of Jaund represented to him "He is waiting for the coming of [1] Sultān Mahmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar;" and having turned the mind of Sultān Muhammad from him, said, "this is how he can be brought back. His brother, by name Sulaimān, who during their father's life-time was his deputy, has fled from him; and has been staying with me for a long time. If the *jāigīr* be conferred on him, Shīr Khān will come at once." Sultān Muhammad, mindful of the rights of Shīr Khān's services, did not consent to the transfer of the *jāigīr*, when Shīr Khān had not been guilty of any visible offence. He said to Muhammad Khān, "You should remove all causes of quarrel and disturbance by dividing the *parganas*, forming the *jāigīr* of Shīr Khān, among the brothers, in such a way as might be fit and proper."

When Muhammad Khān went to [2] Jaund, which was his *jāigīr*, he sent a slave of his of the name of [3] Shādī to Shīr Khān, with the

excellent arrangements he became celebrated throughout the country of Behar" Dorn calls Bihār Khān, Behār Khān Paikhān.

1 "To whom many of the nobles and the Afghāns had given in their adhesion." Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī.

2 Here Ferishtah has آمدہ بجاگیر خود جانب جونپور i.e. "coming to his *Jāigīr* in the direction of Jaunpur."

3 In the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" in Elliot IV, he is called "Shādī Khān" a "confidential servant of Muhammad Khān; and Shīr Khān is called Farīd Khān, as if Muhammad Khān ignored the title of Shīr Khān, conferred on him by Bihār Khān or Sūltān Muhammad. It is also said there, that he was to take Tānda and Malhū from Shīr Khān, and make them over to Sulaimān and Ahmad.

message, "Your brothers Sulaimān and Ahmad have been with me for a long time; [1] they have no share (of the *jāigīr*); it is right that you should give them a share." Shīr Khān said in reply, "This [2] *jāigīr* is not the country of Rūh, that it might be the property of anybody. This is the country of Hindustān, where to whomsoever the Bādshāh confers a *jāigīr*, to him it belongs. Up to this day, this has been the custom of the Sultāns, that whatever has been heritable property has been divided amongst the sons according to the Shara' (the law of Islām), but they conferred government and chieftainship to the person, who was found to be the fittest for it.

Couplet: None by inheritance an [3] estate acquires;
Till he his hand on his sword doth strike.

I hold Sāhsarām and Khawāspūr Tāndah by the order of Sultān Ibrāhīm." When Shādī went to [4] Muhammad Khān, and told him all that had happened, he became very angry; and ordered that Shādī should go with all his retainers, taking Sulaimān with them, and wresting Khawāspūr Tāndah from Shīr Khān, make it over to Sulaimān; and if Shīr Khān came forward to oppose him, he should fight with and defeat him, and take both the *parganas* from him, and make them over to Sulaimān; and leave a large force behind to reinforce the latter. It so happened, that at that time,

[1] There are some variations here. The Lith. Ed. has حصه و رسد ایشانرا و از حصه و رسد بهرهٔ ندارند لائق است که حصه و رسد برسانی; the MSS. have ایشانرا برسانی and سر گردانند لائق حصه جاگیر بایشان حواله کني.

[2] Here also there are different readings. The Lith. Ed., and two of the MSS. have ولایت روه نیست که ملک کسی باشد. The other MSS. have این جاگیر ولایت (or ملک) روه ست. The reply given by Shīr Khān as quoted in the text agrees generally with that in the Tārikh-ī-Sher Shāhī. But there Shīr-Khān is said to have added that his brother Sulaimān had appropriated the goods and the money, which their father had left. "Hitherto out of my regard for my relationship to you, I have said nothing; but whenever he may quit you I shall re-claim my share of my patrimonial inheritance from him."

[3] The actual words are مال میت, which literally means, "property of the dead," i.e., of deceased ancestors.

[4] Dorn says incorrectly that Shādī made his report to the Sultān, who became so angry, that he detached his whole army under Shādī against Shīr Khān.

there was a slave of Shīr Khān of the name of [1]Sikkah, who was the father of Khawās Khān, and who was the *dārogha* (officer-in-charge) of Khawāspūr Tāndah. When Shīr Khān heard the news of the approach of Shādī and Sulaimān, he wrote to Sikkah, that he should leave no stone unturned in opposing and defeating (them). When Shādī and Sulaimān arrived before Khawāspūr, Malik Sikkah gave battle and was slain; and Shīr Khān's army was defeated; and came to Sāhsarām.

Shīr Khān not having the power to oppose Shādī determined to go somewhere else. Some people told him that he should go to Sultān Muhammad. Shīr Khān knew, that as Muhammad Khān was one of his great Amīrs, he would not for his (i.e. Shīr Khān's) sake give him any displeasure. He then determined to enter the service of [2]Sultān Junaid Birlās, who had the government of Kara Mānikpūr, on behalf of his Majesty Bābar Bādshāh. He had a consultation with his brother Nizām, who also was of the same opinion. He sent communications to Sultān Junaid; and having obtained engagements and stipulations came to him. He presented valuable tributes, and obtained a well-equipped force from Sultān Junaid to reinforce (his own troops). As Muhammad Khān did not have the strength to oppose him, he fled and took shelter among the Rohtās hills. Both his own *parganas* and *pargana* Jaund and other *parganas* in that neighbourhood came into his possession. He sent back the troops, (who had come to help him, after gratifying their hearts, with various services and gifts of money) to Sultān Junaid with suitable gifts and presents. He summoned back his tribesmen and adherents, who had fled to the hills, and collected a large force. He also sent a message to Muhammad Khān, saying "My object was to take revenge on my brothers. I consider

[1] He is called Sūkha in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī. Dorn calls him Sūkha Khāzī Khail.

[2] According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi, it was his brother Nizām Khān who suggested that Shīr Khān should approach Sultān Junaid Birlās. The account given in the Akbarnāma of the early career of Shīr Khān differs widely from the text. It says "Farīd pained his father by his arrogance and evil disposition * * * for a time he was in the service of Tāj Khān Lodi, and for a while he was in Oudh in the service of Qāsim Hūsain Uzbek. For a long time he was the servant of Sultān Junaid Bīrlās."

you to be in the position of an uncle of mine. Please come back from the narrow places of the hills, and take possession of your *parganas*. My own *parganas* and what I have got of the [1] *Khālsā* lands of Sultān Ibrāhīm are sufficient for me." [2] Muhammad Khān came and took up his former position; and he became greatly indebted to Shīr Khān for his kindness.

When Shīr Khān's mind was completely at rest, he left his brother Nizām in his *Jāigīr*; and went himself to attend on Sultān Junaid Birlās in Kara. It so happened, that at that time, Sultān Junaid Birlās went to Agra to attend on His Majesty Firdus Makānī Bābar Bādshāh. He took Shīr Khān with him; and the latter having tendered his services to His Majesty, became included in the band of his well-wishers. In the march to Chanderi he accompanied the victorious stirrups. When he had remained for a time in the Mughal army, and saw their modes and methods and customs and practices, he said, one day, to his friends: [3] "It is easy to drive the Mughals out of Hindustān." They said, "What proof have you for saying this?" He said, "The Bādshāh himself rarely inquires into matters in dispute; and [4] is occupied with hunting;

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[1] The *Khālsā* lands are described in the translation of the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī," as lands which paid revenue to the Sultān; i.e., did not belong to any *Jāigīr* or fief granted to any Amīr.

[2] The message to Muhammad Khān, as given of the translation of Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī concludes thus; "Let us put away our former envy and hatred, and in place of it, let us plant the young tree of love and kindness in our hearts, that it may bring forth the fruit of friendship; and this may be the means of collecting our friends, and so of attaining high station and dignity." It appears to me, that Shīr Khān was already having visions of his high destiny.

[3] The author of the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" narrates the same story, on the authority of his uncle, Shaikh Muhammad. He says that the conversation took place between Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sarwāni and Shīr Khān at the battle of Chanderi; or rather perhaps before it actually took place. Shīr Khān was perfectly convinced of his ability to drive the Mughals out, if fortune befriended him; but people generally considered that what he said was impossible boasting, which all people were laughing at.

[4] The readings differ very much; and the meaning is not quite clear. One MS. and the Lith. Ed. have وزرا میگذارد و بامید. One MS. adds after یا مدید بامید while the other MSS. have a reading which is quite different and which is quite intelligible. This reading is کمتر بمعملات خود بادشاه ایشان که

and leaves matters of importance to his *vazīrs*; and the latter act according to bribes, and do not carry out their right duties to the Empire. The fault of the Afghāns is this, that they do not agree among themselves; but if I have the opportunity, I shall combine and unite them all together, and remove all dissensions from amongst them." His friends laughed at this claim of his, which, at that time, appeared to be beyond the bounds of possibility; and jested with him.

[1]One day, in the *majlis* of His Majesty *Firdus Makānī*, at the time of their taking their meals, a dish containing a fish was placed before Shīr Khān. Finding himself unable to eat it, he pulled out his dagger and having cut the fish up into little pieces, began to eat it with his [2]spoon. His Majesty became aware of this, and said to Mīr Khalīfa, "This Afghān has done a wonderful thing." As he also knew what he had done to Muhammad Khān, he pointed out his [3]intelligence and dexterity. Shīr Khān saw the conversation between the *Bādshāh* and Mīr Khalīfa; and understood this much, that they regarded him with [4]fear; and

میرسد و بشکار مشغول است و مهمات خود را بوزرا میگذارد which means that "their Bādshāh rarely himself inquires into matters in dispute, and is occupied with hunting, and leaves matters of importance to his *Vazīrs*." This appears to me to be the best reading; and I have adopted it.

[1] This story is told by the author of the "Tārikh-i-Sher Shahī" and by Dorn, though they make it a solid dish, and not a dish containing a fish; but whether it was a solid dish, or a dish containing a fish Shīr Khān did not show any special cleverness in dealing with it. Anyone who had a dish placed before him, which he could not otherwise manage, would cut it up with his dagger, if he had one handy. Why this should attract the notice of Bābar, and why he should think, that it showed special cleverness is not very clear to me.

[2] The actual word is بقاشق. A قاشق is a wooden spoon. Metal spoons were, I suppose, not in use then. Most of the MSS. and the Lith. Ed. have بقاشق خوردن گرفت, while one MS. has تا باشوق خوردن گرفت.

[3] There are slightly different readings here.

[4] The word is عبرت in the Lith. Ed., but the MSS. have غیرت, hatred. The "Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shahī" says, "Bābar said to Khālifa, 'keep an eye on Shīr Khān, he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead * * * * * ; as soon as I saw this man it entered into my mind, that he ought to be arrested'." Sultān Junāid Birlās had however

[1] this, in addition to certain suspicions which he had, induced him that [2] very night to leave the army of the *Bādshāh*, and to go to his own *Jāigīr*. He also [3] wrote to Sultān Junaīd Birlās; "I was informed that Muhammad Khān had said to Sultān Muhammad 'Shīr Khān has gone to the Mughals. Troops should be sent to attack his *parganas*.' And as I knew that I would not quickly get permission to leave, and I had very little time, I returned very quickly to my *jāigīr*. I do not however consider myself, to be outside the band of your well-wishers."

In short, when Shīr Khān became hopeless and suspicious about the Mughals, he after consultation with his brother again went to Sultān Muhammad. The [4] latter received him with favour; and appointed him to be the *Atāliq* (guardian) of his son Jalāl Khān. As fate would have it, Sultān Muhammad died at that time. Jalāl

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recommended Shīr Khān to the minister; and Shīr Khān had also made a valuable present to him, so he said that Shīr Khān was not to blame; and Bābar was silent.

[1] There are slight verbal difierences in the MSS. and the Lith. Ed., I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best, but even that appears to be slightly defective.

[2] The "Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shahī" says, that Bābar missed Shīr Khān, and sent a man in search of him; but he had already fled. Bābar then told Khalīfa, that he should have arrested the man; "He is about to do something, God only knows what." According to the Akbarnamā (Vol. I, page 327 of Mr. Beveridge's translation) this incident and the flight of Shīr Khān from Bābar's army took place before the death of Shīr Khān's father; and after that Shīr Khān collected a band of vagabonds and rascals, and began to give trouble by practising theft, robbery and murder. In connection with this, a reference is made to a statement by Sher Shāh to Mallu Khān, as recorded in the "Wāqiāt-i-mushtākī," in which he stated, that he was associated for some time in his youth, with a party of thieves and highwaymen; but the author of the "Tārīkh-i-Daudī" says, that Shīr Shāh was probably chaffing Mallu Khān, who was a great simpleton.

[3] According to the "Tārīkh-Sher Shāhī," the letter was accompanied with a handsome present.

[4] Abūl Fazl in the Akbarnāma does not say anything about Shīr Khān's going to Muhammad Shāh, and the latter's appointing him to be the *Atālīq* of Jalāl Khān. He says that after the death of Muhammād Shāh, whom he calls the governor of Behar, "Shīr Khān and his vāgabonds made a raid, and got hold of much property."

Khān who was young took his place. The [1] mother of Jalāl Khān who was called Dudu took charge of the affairs of the State, and passed orders in concert with Shīr Khān; and about that time she also died, and the government of the country of Behar devolved directly on Shīr Khān. One of the amīrs of Bengal, who was named Makhdūm 'Alam, and held the government of Hājīpūr, came to be on friendly terms with Shīr Khān. The Sultān of Bengal became displeased with him, and sent Qutb Khān, who was one of his great amīrs, for conquering the country of Behar; and completely uprooting Makhdūm 'Ālam. Although Shīr Khān knocked on the door of peace, and used soft words it was of no use. At last, in concert with (other) Afghāns he set his heart on death, and determined to fight. When the two armies met, there was a great battle; and Qutb Khān was slain. Shīr Khān was victorious; and the elephants, and the treasures, and other paraphernalia of the Bengal (army) fell into his hands; and became the cause of an increase of his strength and power. On this account the Lūhānīs, owing to their envy and jealousy, became hostile to Shīr Khān, and as the latter had become very powerful, they, as they were in reality much displeased with him, determined to kill him; and they consulted Jalāl Khān, who was himself a Lūhāni, in this matter. But a number of their adherents separated from the others and warned Shīr Khān of their machinations. The latter went away to a distance and [2] said to Jalāl Khān. "Your amirs, on account of their envy of me, are hostile to me. If you do not exert yourself in remedying this, I should of necessity have to separate myself from your service." Jalāl Khān said, "I am in no way outside of (or opposed to) whatever may be your advice." Shīr Khan said,

[1] There is a great deal of difference in the readings in the MSS. and the Lith. Ed. A large clause is omitted in the latter. I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the most correct.

[2] According to the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shahī," Shīr Khān had consultations with the Lūhānīs, who were friendly to him, before writing to Jalāl Khān. What appears to have been a conversation between Shīr Khān and Jalāl Khān, according to the text, was according to the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" a correspondence by letters, sent through their *Vakils* or agents. It will be noticed, that according to the text also, Shīr Khān had gone away to a distance from the Lūhānīs.

"These men should be divided into two parties, one for the collection of the revenue of the *parganas*, and the other should be sent against your enemy, i.e., the ruler of Bengal."

At last [1] Jalāl Khān and the Lūhānīs finding that they were powerless to crush Shīr Khān, agreed that they should make over the country of Behar to the ruler of Bengal; and should themselves become his servants. The Lūhānīs also persuaded [2] Jalāl Khān, that he should leave Shīr Khān there in front of (i.e. to oppose) the Mughals; and he should himself go and enter the service of the ruler of Bengal. The latter sent troops (under) Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Qutb Khān to reinforce the army sent to attack Shīr Khān. The latter shut himself up in the mud fort which he had built round his army; and every day sent out detachments to give battle; and routed the enemy's army; till at last Ibrāhīm Khān had to ask for further help from his master. [3] When Shīr Khān learned, that more troops were coming to the enemy, he encouraged his own men, and made them ready for a pitched battle. At dawn he made his men ready, and came out of the fort. [4] The Bengal army having arranged its infantry, cavalry,

[1] This shows, that Jalāl Khān was all along siding with the Lūhanīs, who were hostile to Shīr Khān. This is clear also from the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" and Nia'matullah. Abul Fazl does not mention any of these things, and gives an altogether confused and incorrect account.

[2] The "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" says, that Jalāl Khān continued to be hypocritical to the end. His parting words to Shīr Khān were, "Do you remain to oppose the Mughals; and also administer the affairs of the kingdom. I will go to attack the king of Bengal." Shīr Khān assented, and Jalāl Khān bestowing a horse and a dress of honour upon him, sent him off at once.

[3] The "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" makes it clear, that Shīr Khān determined that the pitched battle should take place, before the reinforcements should reach Ibrāhīm Khān. It gives, in some detail, Shīr Khān's discussions with his lieutenants, and the messages interchanged by him and Ibrāhīm Khān before the battle.

[4] The account of the battle, as given in the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī," agrees mainly with that in the text; but the Bengal army is shown in somewhat better light. After Shīr Khān's men had come out of ambush, and attacked them, "The Bengalis rallied and stood their ground; and the two armies became closely engaged * * * Ibrāhim Khān exerted himself much, and repeatedly exhorted his men to turn and exert themselves." On the other hand, Dorn describes them as cowards, * * * their hands and feet relaxed,

artillery and elephants in line, confronted him. Shīr Khān had a part of his men in front of the enemy; but he concealed a body of picked men behind a height; and settled, that when the troops in front of the enemy should have discharged a flight of arrows, they should turn round, when the horsemen of the Bengal army should, in order to pursue them come out of the line of the artillery, and gallop about. They acted exactly as he had intended. At that time, the troops that were concealed made a sudden onset, and brought out the [1]breath from the fortune of the Bengalis (*i.e.* completely crushed them). Ibrāhīm Khān [2] turned back, and was slain. Jalāl Khān, with great struggles, escaped half dead, and went to Bengal. All the paraphernalia, and the elephants, and the artillery of the Bengalis came into Shīr Khān's hands, and the country of Behar became entirely free (from his enemies); and he acquired all the means of sovereignty.

They say that at that time, a man of the name of Tāj Khān was employed as the governor of the fort of Chunār, under Sultān Ibrāhīm Lūdī; and he had a wife of the name of [3] Lād Mulk, who had no child, but for whom he had great affection and love. The sons of Tāj Khān by his other wives, out of great envy and malice,

and they turned to flight. Ibrāhīm Khān (whom he incorrectly calls Ibrāhīm Shāh) exhorted them to turn back, but it was of no avail. Abul Fazl makes no mention of the battle, unless his statement that Shīr Khān fought a battle at Surajgarh, which is the boundary of the territories of the ruler of Bengal, and gained a victory, refers to it.

[1] The actual words are دمار از روزگار بنگالیان برآورد which means, as I have stated in the text, completely crushed the Bengalis; but I do not know, how the words came to have that meaning. دمار I find means among other things, necessaries of life, and breath.

[2] There are slight variations in the readings; پشت داده ، پشت گردانیده ؛ و پشت بدرگاه کرده .

[3] She is so called in the translations of the Akbarnāma and by Dorn; but in the translation of the "Tarīkh-i-Sher Shāhī," she is called Lād Malika. She is described in the Akbarnāma, as adorned with beauty and charm; and in the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī," as a clever woman, who by the liberality and benevolence of her conduct, had ingratiated herself with Tāj Khān's troops. On the other hand it appears that on account of Tāj Khān's affection for her, he did not give a fitting maintenance to his sons and their mothers; and they did not receive even a sufficiency of daily food.

wanted to encompass her death. It so happened that one night, a son of Tāj Khān, who was the eldest, struck her with a sword. The wound was not severe; but there was a tumult, to the effect that they had killed Lād Mulk. Tāj Khan came to the place, with a naked sword in his hand, and attempted to slay his son. When the latter knew, that he could not escape from his father, he determined to slay the latter; and the sword of that unfortunate one was effective, and Tāj Khān was slain.

As Tāj Khān's sons were unable to manage and govern the fort, and the country, and the troops, Shīr Khān, who was in the neighbourhood on becoming acquainted with the circumstances, made proposals through[1] Mīr Ahmad Turkmān; and after the coming and going of messengers, it was settled that Shīr Khān should enter into a *nikāh* marriage with Lād Mulk; and take possession of the fort of Chunār. He then married her and took possession of the fort with all the[2] treasures in it.

Couplets:—

[3] When the hour of success is close at hand,
One's heart's desire itself to a man doth come
From a hyacinth, the eye its light doth get,
When sight was unattainable from afar.

While these things were going on, Sultān Mahmūd, son of Sultan Sikandar Lūdī, had sought an asylum with Rānā Sānkā, to

[1] According to the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī," Tāj Khān had three Turkmān brothers, Mīr Ahmad, Mīr Is'hāq and Mīr Dād as his lieutenants. They were "experienced, talented and wise men. As they perceived that Tāj Khān was completely under the control, of his wife, they of course ingratiated themselves with her and promised and swore to Lād Malika, that they would not oppose her and would be faithful to her."

[2] The words are خزاین و دفاین The latter word of course means (treasures) buried in the ground. The negotiations about handing the fort over to Shīr Khān, and about the marriage, between the three brothers through Mīr Dād, who was sent to Shīr Khān, and the presents made to Shīr Khān after the marriage, are described with considerable detail in the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī."

[3] The meaning of the verses is not quite clear. ریحان according to the dictionary, is a hyacinth, the leaves of the sweet basil, and several other things; but I do not know, that any of them gives light to the eye, or improves one's eye-sight.

save himself from the assaults of the armies of Firdūs Makānī, His Majesty Bābar Bādshāh; and had in concert with the Rānā, and Hasan Khān Miwāti, and other Zamīndārs had attacked Firdūs Makānī; and fought a [1]battle in the neighbourhood of the town of Khānwah, and had been defeated, as has been mentioned in the proper place. In short, Sultān Mahmūd passed his days and nights in the neighbourhood of the fort of [2] Chitur.

It so happened, that most of the great amīrs (who supported) the Lūdīs, who had collected together in the country of Patna, sent a messenger to Sultān Mahmūd, and summoned him. The latter came to Patna and by the exertions of the amīrs, again set on the carpet of sovereignty. From Patnā he came with a large army to the province of [3]Behar. As [4] Shīr Khān saw that the Afghāns had no other alternative except to submit to Sultān Mahmūd, he having no remedy, went and attended on him, and made his submission, and rendered homage. The amīrs of Sultān Mahmūd divided the province of Behar among themselves; and left only a small portion to Shīr Khān, and made excuses to him to the effect that when they would wrest the province of Jaunpūr from the possession of the Mughals the province of Behar should belong permanently to him. Shīr Khān obtained [5] a deed of agreement from Sultān Mahmūd about this; and after a time, having obtained permission to go to his *jāigīr*, to prepare and arrange his troops, came to Sahsarām. Sultān Mahmūd advanced towards Jaunpūr to wage war against the

[1] This the battle of Sīkrī.

[2] This agrees with the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī," which says, "Sultān Mahmūd and the Rānā Sāngā being defeated fled to Chitor. Sultān Mahmūd remained for a season in that neighbourhood."

[3] This is referred to in the Akbarnāma, which says, "On the 3rd Jumā dal-awwal (934) news came that Mahmūd, a son of Sikandar, had taken Behar and was raising the head of rebellion."

[4] Both the text and the "Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī" state distinctly, that Shīr Khān made his submission to Sultān Mahmūd, entirely against his wishes, as he found, as the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" says, it impossible to offer any resistance, as the Sūltān had so considerable a force, and he himself was not held in sufficient repute among the Afghāns, to admit of such an attempt.

[5] It is called a فرمان in the text. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, Shīr Khān obtained a *farmān* for the kingdom of Behar from the king *i.e.* from Sultān Mahmūd.

Mughals, and sent some one to summon Shīr Khān. The latter wrote in reply, that he would muster his troops and arrive presently. [1]Sultān Mahmūd's amirs told him, "Shīr Khān is a deceitful and treacherous man; it is better that we should go to his *jāigīr*, and take him with us."

Sultān Mahmūd then turned towards Sahsarām with his army. Shīr Khān went forward to meet him, and carried out the rites of hospitality and homage. Sultān Mahmūd remained there for 3 days, and then turned towards Jaunpūr. [2]The amīrs of Hazrat Firdaus Makānī (the emperor Bābar) who were there, being unable to meet them, went away (fled); and Jaunpūr and the surrounding country came in to the possession of the Afghāns and they advanced as far as the province of [3]Lucknow, and took possession of it. At this time

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[1] This agrees generally with the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī;" but it is stated there, that Sultān Mahmūd's amīrs said, that Shīr Khān was in confederacy with the Mughals; and was merely finessing and making pretences. It appears also from what Shīr Khān told his friends, as narrated there, that he had not meant to join Sultān Mahmūd, but was compelled to do so, when the latter came to Sahsarām.

[2] The "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" says, "when they approached Jaunpūr, the Mughals, who were there, abandoned the place and fled. Sultān Mahmūd delayed some days in Jaunpūr; but sent on his army in advance, and occupied Lucknow and other districts." As noted already the Tabaqāt is entirely silent about these incidents in the history of Bābar. Abūl Fazl is also silent. Except for the brief reference to Mahmūd, the son of Sikandar, i.e. Mahmūd Shāh (see note 3, p. 157), there is no reference to these incidents. I find references to Mahmud K. s. Sikandār in the index of Beveridge's translation of the Akbar-nāma in pp. 270 and 271. The reference in p. 270, I have already mentioned in this note and in note 3, p. 157; but I cannot find any mention of him in p. 271, unless the rebels, whom Bābar sent from his station on the bank of the Sarjū or Gogra, to put down, (as quoted from the Memoirs, Ers. 419 in note 5) were the Afghāns under Sultān Mahmūd. This is confirmed by the fact, that according to P. de C. II, 456, Bābar is said to have marched towards Sirwār which is said to have got its name from the river Sarwa (apparently a variant of Sarayū or Sarjū) to repulse Baban and Bāyazīd.

[3] One MS. has تا ولایت لکهنور امدة, another has تا ولایت لکهنوتي راندة while the others have تا ولایت لکهنوتي مانکپور امدة, while the Lith. Ed. has تا ولایت لکهنوتی در امدة. All these readings are incorrect. The Afghāns advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Lucknow, as the 'Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī' says (see note 2 above).

Hazrat Firdus Makānī was in the neighbourhood of Kālinjar. When the violence and the invasion of the Afghāns were reported to him, he turned the bridle of his determination for crushing and destroying them. Sultān Mahmūd, with [1]Baban and Bāyazīd, amīrs of the Afghāns, came up and confronted him. As Shīr Khān was angry at their being chiefs and leaders, and wanted himself to be great or big (i.e. a leader), and [2] also saw the power of the Mughāls with correct insight, he sent a secret message to Mīr Hindu Beg, who was one of the great amīrs and the commander of the Mughal army, (to the effect) that as he knew himself to have been nurtured by Firdus Makānī, he would, at the time of the battle, be the cause of the rout of the Afghāns; and on the day of battle, he would by some pretext, desert with his own army. On the day of battle, when the two armies were arrayed in lines, he acted in accordance with what he had said; and turning back with his own troops fled; and his flight became the cause of the rout of the army of the enemy; and the officers of state of [3]Jinnat Ashīanī were marked with triumph and

[1] I cannot find anything about Baban. His name is transliterated as Biban in the Akbarnāma, and as Bābīn in the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī." I prefer Baban, which may be an affectionate diminutive of Bābā. Bāyazīd was the younger brother of Mustafa, husband of Fath Malika, daughter of Miān Muhammad Kālāpahār Farnūlī, sister's son to Sultān Bahlol. When Miān Mustafa died, Fath Malika, who was very able as well as wealthy, and who had educated Bāyazīd, told him "Do you look to the soldiery, I will provide money." He collected a very large force, and greatly distinguished himself, gaining several victories over the troops of the emperor Bābar. He had a very ignominious death, however. In the battle, in which Sultān Mahmūd was finally defeated, he had drunk more wine than he could bear, and had got drunk and careless, and was slain. (See the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 354, and also p. 350).

[2] There is a good deal of difference in the readings. Two MSS. have غلبه مغلانرا و از روش کار غلبه برای العین مشاهدة مینمود, while the others have و از روش کار غلبه براس العین مشاهدة مینمود, and the Lith. Ed. has و از روش کار غلبه براس العین میدید. The Lith. Ed. is manifestly incorrect. I do not see what the words و از روش کار mean in this place. Some sense can be made if a و is inserted after کار; but I think it will be best to leave out these words.

[3] It is curious how we suddenly jump from Firdūs Makānī (Bābar) to Jinnat Ashīānī (Humāyūn) in the course of a few lines. The transition is equally, if not still more abrupt, in the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī;". where immediately

victory. Sultān Mahmūd went to the country of [1] Patna, and retired into seclusion; and gave up [2] fighting, till he died in the country of Orissa, in the year [3] 949 A.H.

His Majesty after the victory turned towards Agra; and sent Amīr Hindu Beg to Shīr Khān (with an order) that he should surrender the fort of Chunār. Shīr Khān [4] acted deceitfully, and made excuses about giving up the fort. Mīr Hindu Beg therefore returned to the presence. When this news reached Jinnat Ashīānī, he determined to conquer Chunār in his own elegant person; and sent a number of amīrs to precede him. They, on arrival, took measures for besieging (the fort). Shīr Khān sent a petition to Hazrat Jinnat Ashīānī to say, that he had attained to the rank of a ruler, by the help and favour of Hazrat Firdus Makānī, Bābar Badshah; and in the war with Sultān Mahmūd and Baban and Bāyazīd was the cause of the victory of [5] His Majesty. If Chunār was left in his possession he would send Qutb Khān, his son with an army, to do His Majesty's service, and would perform the duties of homage and allegiance. As (information of) the power and violence of Sultān Bahādur Gujrātī had reached the ears of greatness and ability, gentleness appeared at this time to be fit and proper. Shīr Khān sent his son, Qutb Khān, with 'Isa Khān *Hijab*, who held the position of his *vazir*, to do service; and Jinnat Ashīānī returned, and occupied himself with

after stating, that the Afghāns had taken possession of the territory of Lucknow, it goes on to say, "on hearing this intelligence, the emperor Humāyūn set off from Agra for Lucknow." A more detailed account of the skirmishes, and Shīr Khān's secret message, and the final general engagement is given in the "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī." The battle took place in 944 A.H. (1537 A.D.).

[1] The name of the place is not very distinctly written in the MSS. or printed in the Lith. Ed., but it must be Patna. The "Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī" says, "He fled into the kingdom of Behar;" and further on, that "He abdicated his royalty, and went and settled himself in the province of Patna."

[2] Some of the MSS. and the Lith. Ed. have سپاہ گری or سپاهی گری, others have سلطنت.

[3] This is the date in all the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed., and also in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī; and it appears from a note in that work, that the Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī gives the same date; but the Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lūdi has 944 A.H.

[4] The words are حیلہ وعذر اورد, but the latter word may be read as غدر by just moving the dot a little.

[5] (?). Does this refer to Bābar or to Humāyūn.

attending to the matter of Sultān Bahādur. Qutb Khān, son of Shīr Khān, attended the victorious stirrups as far as Gujrat; and from there he fled and went to his father.

During this time, Shīr Khān taking advantage of the respite, cleansed the country of Behar (of his enemies); and [1] collecting a large force acquired great strength and splendour. When Hazrat Jinnat Ashīānī, returning from the journey to Gujrāt, arrived at Agra, and the news of the power and violence of Shīr Khān reached his noble hearing, he knew that it was most important, that the latter should be crushed. The world-conquering standards moved towards Chunār. Shīr Khān, leaving Ghāzī Sūr with a body of troops to defend the fort, himself went towards the [2] hilly country of Bahrkunda. When six months passed in the siege of the fort, Rūmī Khān, who was the superintendent of the Bādshāhī artillery, constructed battering rams on the river (i.e. on boats lashed together on the river); and put the besieged into great straits; and the fortress

[1] All this has already been narrated in the history of Humāyūn. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī describes how Shīr Khān got his army together. His methods were always very drastic. "He began to patronise all Afghāns. Many of them, who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants on account of their misfortune, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to submit, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death; and declared that he would kill every Afghān who refused to be a soldier. He was also very careful of his Afghāns in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed." The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī goes on to say, how the great Afghān nobles joined him, after which he assumed the title of *Hazrat 'Ali*. It also describes, how he got Bībī Fath Malika (the daughter of Miān Kālā Pahār Farmūlī, sister's son to Sultān Bahlol), who was exceedingly wealthy to come to him.

[2] According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī when Humāyūn sent his army to besiege Chunār, before invading Gujrāt, Shīr Khān left the fort in charge of his son Jalāl Khān, who afterwards succeeded him as Salīm Shāh and another Jalāl Khān son of Jalū; and himself retired to the "hills of Nahrkunda (var. Bahrkunda);" and when he again advanced to besiege it, after returning from Gujrāt, Shīr Khān left Ghāzī Sūr (as in the text) and Bulākī (who was the commandant of the fort) in it, and himself went to the "fortress of Bahrkunda." According to Ferishtah, on this second occasion Shīr Khān خود بجانب کوهستان چهار کنڈ رفت. Col. Briggs apparently mixes the two sieges up, and says "Julāl Khān who commanded there, left the defence to Ghazy Khān Soor, and retired to the hills of Jharkund, from whence he returned and annoyed the besiegers."

came into the possession of the great officers of the daily-increasing greatness, by amicable arrangement, as has been already narrated.

Hazrat Jinnat Ashīānī (then) left Dost Beg in the fort, and turned towards Shīr Khān. During the time, that Jinnat Ashīānī was occupied with the siege of Chunār, Shīr Khān had sent his son, Jalāl Khān, and Khawās Khān, and the greater part of his troops to conquer Bengal; and [1] had brought it into his possession. When Jinnat Ashīānī reached Garhī, which is the boundary of Bengal, he sent Jahāngīr Qulī Beg and other *amīrs* forward. Jalāl Khān, who was at Garhī fought with and defeated them. Jinnat Ashīānī sent an army a second time, and himself advanced to the neighbourhood; and Garhī was taken; and Jalāl Khān went to his father. When Jinnat Ashīānī had passed through Garhī, Shīr Khān evacuated the city of Gaur, and [2] went towards Jharkand. He sent a message to the Rājā of fort Rohtās, that as the Mughals were coming behind him, would he give a place for his family in the fort, and by much persuasion and cajolry made him agree. [3] He arranged a thousand

[1] The Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī says that when Jalāl Khān, Khawās Khān and the troops "entered Bengal, Sultān Mahmūd, unable to oppose them, retired to the fort of Gaur." Jalāl Khān and his troops made themselves masters of the surrounding country, and besieged the fortress, before which daily skirmishes took place.

[2] The object of this is not quite clear unless it was to take possession of Rhotas. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī contains an account of the negotiations between Humāyūn and Shīr Khān, which were nearly concluded on the basis of Shīr Khān surrendering Behar and being allowed to retain Bengal, but were broken off by the former, when Sultān Mahmūd of Bengal went to the presence and made an appeal to him (Humāyūn), and he then again commenced his march against Shīr Khān. The latter then sent off the forces with him "to Rohtās, and he himself with a few horsemen, in order that he might not be traced, set off from that place towards Gaur secretly. From thence he proceeded, unknown to anyone to the hills, and lay hid there, and sent spies into the camp of the Emperor, in order to discover his intentions." This explains Shīr Khān's movements, but it appears that it took place after he had taken possession of Rhotās, and not before as would appear from the text.

[3] The story of the capture of Rohtās given in the text is denied by the authors of the Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī and of the Makhzan-i-Afghānī, who both say that the fort was acquired by negotiation with the Rājā, through his *Naib* Churāman Brāhman. Presents were given to the latter, and also to the Rājā;

dolis, and in each *doli* he had one selected Afghān soldier with his arms, and sent them up to the fort. He had women in a few of the *dolis*, which were in front. When the *darbāns* or guards of the fort commenced to examine the *dolis*, Shīr Khān sent a message, that he could not allow the secluded ones (i.e. the women of his family) to be seen by anybody, as it would be a great insult to him. The Rājā then forbade the searching of the *dolis*. When all the *dolis* had passed into the fort, the Afghāns took up their arms, and advanced towards the house of the Rājā; and others went to the gate. Shīr Khān, who was ready with his troops also came to the gate; and the fort of Rohtās, which for its strength had no equal in Hindustan, came into his hand with the greatest ease; and leaving his family and dependants there, he had his mind completely at rest.

Couplet: By trickery, you can a difficult feat achieve;
In time, a tree breaks out in blossoms bright.

Hazrat Jinnat Ashīānī halted for three months in the city of Gaur, which in ancient books is denominated as Lakhnauti; and passed the time in pleasure and enjoyment. During this period, news came that Mirza Hīndāl had raised the standard of hostility in Agra and [1] Mīwāt; and had put Shaikh [2] Bahlol to death; and Mīrza Kāmrān had come to Agra to put down this revolt.

His Majesty then left Jahāngīr Qulī Beg with five thousand selected horsemen in Gaur; and started (towards Agra). The army had become disorganised on account of excessive rains, and [3] mud and mire; and most of the horses of the troopers having died from fatigue, there was great disorder and unpreparedness in the army.

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and the latter was threatened that if he did not give the fort peacefully, it would be the worse for him; and finally the Rājā's guards were forcibly turned out of the fort. On the other hand the author of the Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lūdī and Ahmad Yādgār repeat the *doli* story. The former says, there were 1,200 *dolis* with two armed Afghāns in each; the latter, that there were 300 with two soldiers in each, and four Rohilla bearers.

[1] Mīwāt is left out in some of the MSS., but is to be found in one MS., and in the Lith. Ed., and in Ferishtah, who copies the Tabaqāt almost word for word.

[2] Var. Bhūl.

[3] The actual words are گل ولای. گل is mud or mire; and لای is viscous mud.

[1] Shīr Khān, knowing it to be a great opportunity, came with an army more numerous than ants and locusts, and obstructed his passage, and sat down in the neighbourhood of Chausa, erecting an entrenchment round his army; and after exchange of messages, he sent a person of the name of [2] Shaikh Khalīl, whom he esteemed as his religious preceptor, to attend on Jinnat Ashīānī with the message; "I shall leave the country of Behār as far as Garhī, in the possession of the officers of his Majesty; and shall have the public prayers and the coin in his Majesty's august name." As the question of peace was thus settled, the imperial troops became free from anxiety, compared with other days; and erected a [3] bridge over the river of Chausa. Early in the morning of Saturday in the [4] year 946 A.H., Shīr Khān

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī gives long accounts of the march of Humāyūn's army towards Gaur, and the negotiations that went on between him and Shīr Khān, and the various obstacles that the latter put in his way, and also of Humāyūn's march on his return from Gaur, and the negotiations which went on, culminating in the embassy of Shaikh Khalīl. This gentleman "descendant of Shāikh Farīd Shakarganj," after advising Shīr Khān to accede to Hūmāyūn's terms, in a public interview, afterwards, after receiving very valuable presents, including, it may be mentioned in passing, money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, from Shīr Khān, advised the latter, in a private interview, to fight with Humāyūn; and told him, that there was complete disorder in the Mughal army, that there were no horses or cattle in it, and that Humāyūn's own brothers were in rebellion against him. Truly an honourable envoy and a holy man!

[2] See the preceding notes. As mentioned there, the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, he was sent by Humāyūn to Shīr Khān, while, according to our author, he was Shīr Khān's religious preceptor and the latter sent him.

[3] Humāyūn found this bridge broken when he attempted to cross the river by it.

[4] The date and month are not given in any of the MSS., or in the Lith. Ed., or in Ferishtāh. The date according to the Akbarnāma was the 9th *Safar* 946 (7th June, 1539); but the date assigned by Ni'amat-ul-lah (author of the Makhzan-i-Afghānī) is Muharram 946. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī gives an account of the encounter, from which it would appear that Humāyūn was very brave, but at the same time entirely worthless as a general. The account is "the Emperor ordered out his army to resist the attack, saying that after a short delay, and having performed his ablutions, he also would follow. The Emperor was a lion (in valour), and in the excess of his gallantry and daring. * * * * So from the pride of youth and confidence in the multitude of his forces and followers, who had no equals for intrepidity and gallantry,

began the battle with a well-arrayed army and elephants of the size of hills; and the imperial troops had no time to place themselves in order and were defeated. Jinnat Ashīānī rode his horse into the river, and accidentally becoming separated from it, came out by the help of a water-carrier; and in the greatest confusion turned towards Agra.

Verse: All the year, gems do not rise from stone;
Sometimes the earth hath peace, and sometimes war;
All the year doth not success, one crown;
Now there is bridal feast, and now destruction dire.

Shīr Khān turned back and went into Bengal; and repeatedly fighting with Jahāngīr Qūlī Beg and the troops that were with him, made them food for the sword; and assuming the [1]title of Shir Shāh, had the public prayer and coin in his own name. The next year, with great strength and splendour, he turned towards Agra. At this

he despised the forces of Shīr Shāh who were all Afghāns; and did not even inspect his forces, nor paid regard to what is necessary in an engagement; nor did he take into consideration the disorganization which the climate of Bengal had produced in his army." It goes on to say, on the authority of Masnad 'Ali Haibat Khān who was at Shīr Khān's side, that "when the Emperor Humāyūn's queen with other noble ladies and a crowd of women came out from behind the *parda* * * * * Shīr Khān at once alighted off his horse, and showed them every respect, and consoled them. * * * * * Later on he sent the heralds to proclaim throughout the army, that no person should make captive of, or keep a Mughal woman, child or female slave in his tent one night, but should bring them all to the queen's encampment." His order was implicitly obeyed, and before night the heralds brought all the wives and families of the Mughals to the queen's encampment; and assigned rations to each person. Ahmad Yādgār, author of the Tārīkh-i-Salātīn Afāghana (MS., p. 234) says there were no less than 4,000 Mughal women. What a contrast to the treatment of Belgian and French women by the Germans!

[1] The Tārīkh i-Sher Shāhī says that Shīr Khān hesitated to assume the title of Shāh, till he was exhorted to do so, by Masnad 'Alī 'Isa Khān, 'Āzam Humāyūn Sharwānī and other Afghān chiefs. Then he ascended the throne at a moment which the astrologers said was auspicious. There was great rejoicing, and the young men of the Afghān army came in crowds from every tribe and danced as is the custom of the Afghāns. He also took the additional title of Shāh 'Ālam. The Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqī gives the same title; but it would appear from his coins that it was Sultān-ul-'Ādil. Thomas, Chron. of the Pathān kings, p. 395.

time, when strangers should have been treated as relations and friends, Mīrza Kāmrān separated himself from the service of Jinnat Ashīānī; and went off to Lahore and the Chaghtāi Amīrs [1]laid the foundation of hostility, as has been narrated. In spite of these circumstances, Jinnat Ashīānī went forward (to meet the enemy) from Agra; and hastened to Kanauj; and crossed the river. At this place the army of Jinnat Ashīānī amounted to fifty thousand horsemen. On the [2]day of Muharram in the year 947 (17th May, 1540), the imperial army, marching, intended to encamp at a new halting place, when Shīr Khān commenced an attack and the Mughal troops [3]were routed without making any fight. Jinnat Ashīānī rode

[1] There is some variation in the readings. One MS. has و امرای چغتائی استقبال کردہ بنیاد مخالفت نہادند. The other MSS. and the Lith. Ed. omit the words استقبال کردہ and the Lith. Ed. has چغتیی instead of چغتائی. Ferishtāh gives a reason for this hostility. He says و امرای چغتائی بدان سبب کہ بادشاہ تربیت ترکمان روافض مینمایند و در عزت ایشان میکوشد تفاق کردہ بنیاد مخالفت نہادند, which means, that the Chaghtāi Amīrs for the reason that the Emperor favours the Turkmān *Rawāfiz* (*Shīās*) and endeavours to confer honours on them, laid the foundation of hostility. I cannot find this reason given in any other history.

[2] The meaning is not very clear. Ferishtāh has the identical words; but Col. Briggs omits them in his translation. What is meant, is probably explained in the following sentences of the translation of the Akbarnāma. "At length he (Shīr Khān) deceitfully and fraudulently left a body of infantry and inefficient men together with his artillery, in face of the enemy while he himself marched two stages to the rear and then encamped. The royal army, which had all along been careless, did not understand the craft of that trickster, so they followed and encamped." Shīr Khān apparently attacked Humāyūn when his army was in confusion on their new halting ground. Abul Fazl says the royal troops had not time to buckle their saddles or to close their cuirasses. Ferishtāh also says لشکر مغل بی جنگ هزیمت یافته i.e, the Mughal army was defeated without any fight. On the other hand the Afghān historians say, there was a fairly well-contested battle. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says that Shīr Khān's right under his son Jalāl Khān was defeated, but his centre and left were victorious; and the Mughal army was ultimately surrounded and defeated. Nia'mat-ul-lah, Makhzan-i-Afghānī, also says so.

[3] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says that "Shīr Khān sent the greater part of his army under Kutb Khān Bunat and Khawās Khān and others to pursue Humāyūn as far as Multan." It also says that Shīr Khān ordered the Baluch

his horse in to the river; and coming out with the greatest trouble, turned towards Lahore. Shīr Khān pursuing him went to Lahore; and he started towards Sind; and Mīrza Kāmrān hastened to Kābul, as has been mentioned in the proper place.

Shīr Khān pursuing him advanced as far as Khushāb; and Isma'il Khān and Ghāzī Khān and Fath Khān Baluch, and Wadāī who were chiefs of Baluch tribes came and saw him. Shīr Khān after examining the hilly country of [1]Nandna and the country round the Bālnāth hills, laid the foundation of a fort; at the place where the fort of Rhotās now stands. He then returned to Hindustan, leaving Khawās Khān and Haibāt Khān, with a large army. When he arrived at Agra, he heared that [2]Khizr Khān Turk who was the governor of Bengal under him, had married the daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Bangālī, and was behaving in his [3]sitting and rising up, in the manner and ways of Sultāns. Shīr Khān, considering it advisable to apply a remedy to the thing before it actually happened, started on the journey to Bengal. Khizr Khān hastened forward to meet him, and was put into prison. Shīr Khān then divided the country of Bengal into fiefs, which he granted to certain persons and made them chiefs of groups. He also appointed Qāzī Fazīlat, who was one of the learned men of the district of [4]Kara, and was possessed of great honesty and truth, and on the tongues, and in the mouths

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chiefs to brand their horses, which shows that he attended to things which others might consider to be trifles.

1 The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi says, that Sārang Ghakkar did not come and wait upon Shīr Khān. He therefore marched through the Ghakkar country and laid it waste; and built the fort of Rhotās on the Kābul road to keep the Ghakkars in check. He also siezed the daughter of Sārang Ghakkar, and bestowed her on Khawās Khān.

2 All the MSS. and the Lith Ed. call him Khizr Khān Turk. Ferishtah calls him Khizr Sharwānī and the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī Khizr Khān Bairak; and Dorn in his translation of the Makhzan-i-Afghānī calls him Khizr Khān Surk which is of course incorrect.

3 The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, he sat on the *Toki* which means an upper place. In the great mosque at Pandua in the district of Maldah, there is a large raised platform on which the Sultāns and their *entourage* sat. I cannot remember what it was called; but it was not called a *Toki*.

4 One MS. has ولایت مانکپور و کرہ i.e., of the country of Mānikpūr and Kara. The *alias* of Qāzī Fazilat according to Ferishtah was Qāzī Fasīh.

of men was called Qāzī Fazīhat, to be the [1] judge of the province; and left the peace and disturbance of the country in his jurisdiction and power; and returning went to Agra.

In the year 949, he marched out with the intention of conquering the country of Mālwah. When he arrived at Gwāliār, [2] Shujā' Khān, one of his amīrs, was already besieging the fort. [3] Abul Qāsim Beg, who was in the fort from before (the time of) Jinnat Ashīānī, came and saw Shīr Khān; and surrendered the fort. When he reached Mālwah, [4] Mallu Khān, the governor, who was one of the servants of the Khiljī Sultāns came in peaceably, and without being summoned arrived by forced marches, and saw Shīr Shāh. But after a few days, owing to a fear which found its way into his heart, he fled. Shīr Shāh then made Hājī Khān governor of Mālwah; and bestowed on Shujā' Khān a *jāigīr* in the *sarkār* of Sewās; and leaving him there turned to Ranthambhor. Just after this, Mallu Khān returned, and having fought with Hājī Khān and Shujā' Khān was

[1] The word in the MSS. and in the Lith. Ed. is امین, judge. Ferishtah has امین also. Col. Briggs says he was appointed to control the different feudatories. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says he was appointed *amīr* (manager) of Bengal. Dorn says he was appointed Trustee of Shīr Shāh's Bengal possessions.

[2] He is called Shujā' Khān in all the MSS. and in the Lith. Ed.; but he is called Shujā'at Khān in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, and by Ferishtah.

[3] Abul Fazl calls him Mīr Abul Qasīm, and says he was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says that Shuja'at Khān wrote to Shīr Shāh while he was still in Agra, that Muhammad Kāsim, as he is called in the translation, had consented to surrender Gwālīar, on certain conditions.

[4] The account about Mallu Khān agrees generally with that given in Ferishtah. In fact the latter copies from the Tabaqāt here as elsewhere. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī gives a somewhat different account. It says, that Mallu Khān, like other governors in the kingdom of Mandū, had become independent and assumed the title of Kādir Shāh, and ruled in the city of Shādmābād, i.e., in the fort of Mandū and of Ujjain Sārangpur and the fort of Rantambhor. When Shīr Shāh came to Sārangpur, Mallu Khān came and offered his submission. Shīr Shāh bestowed on him the *sarkār* of Kālpī, but he was unable to do what Shīr Shāh required of him; and he fled to the kingdom of Gujrat. Shujā' Khān had been appointed governer of Mālwah, but he was deprived of it, on account of his having negligently allowed Mallu Khān to escape.

defeated. As the victory [1] took place in the name of Shujā' Khān, Shīr Khān summoned Hājī Khān to his presence and granted the government of Mālwah on Shujā' Khān. When Shīr Khān reached the neighbourhood of Ranthambhor, he sent emissaries with clever tongues, and obtained possession of the fort from the officers of Sultān Mahmūd by peaceful means. They say, when the news of the flight of Mallu Khān reached Shīr Khān the latter at once composed and recited a hemistich, and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamāl Kambū, at once said the second hemistich. As the lines are not without beauty, they are being given here:—

Couplet: You see how Mallu the tricky slave behaved to me!
Did not the prophet say no good in stupid slave?

In short he stayed in Agra for a week, and attended to the affairs of the State. [2] He then sent an order to Haibat Khān that he should recover Multan from the possession of the [3] Baluchis; and Haibat Khān advanced against them, fought with Fateh Khān Baluch, defeated him and took possession of Multān. When news of this reached Shīr Khān, he showed favour to him; and conferred on him the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn.

[4] Pūran Mal, the son of Rājā Sālhadi Purabiya, who belonged to

[1] This is not clear. The Tārīkh-i- Sher Shāhī makes it clear. It says that Shujā' Khān first defeated Nāsir Khān, who had 6,000 horse and 200 elephants at Nilgarh, though he had only 2,000 horse, and that he was wounded by three men who wanted to seize him alive, but managed to escape; that Mallu Khān besieged Hājī Khān in the fort of Mandū; and that Shujā' Khān, although he had not recovered from his wounds, went and attacked him, and defeated him; and Mallu Khān again fled to Gujrat.

[2] According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, Shīr Shāh before sending the order to Haibat Khān, to recover Multān from the Baluchis marched towards Bengal and Behar, but he fell ill on the way at Behar and Patna (Dorn) of fever and ague, and returned to Agra, and marched against Pūran Mal. According to the Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī, Shīr Shāh remained in Agra for two years, going intermediately to Dehli, before going towards Bengal.

[3] The word بلوچان (Baluchān) has been incorrectly written as ملو خان (Mallu Khān) in all MSS. and in the Lith. Ed.; but Ferishtah who has copied the whole sentence has got the correct word بلوچان. The account of Haibat Khān's operations against the Baluchis is given in much greater detail in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī and by Dorn.

[4] This sentence is rather involved in the original. It begins with "In the year 950 A.H." I have considered it necessary to slightly re-arrange it.

the tribe of Gehlot Rajputs, had raised the standard of power and violence in the fort of Rāisīn; and had taken possession of most of the *parganas* in its neighbourhood; and had taken two thousand Hindu and Musalman [1] women into his *harem*, and had included them in a band of dancing women.

In the year 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) Shīr Khān's spirit of determination having come into motion, he determined on the conquest of Rāisīn. [2]When the period of the siege was prolonged, proposals of peace were made, and terms were agreed upon with Pūran Mal to the effect, that no injury would be done to his life or property; and that he should surrender the fort. He then came out of the fort, with his family and adherents, and four thousand Rajputs of note, and took up a station. The learned men of the age, and especially Amīr Saiyad Rafi'-ud-dīn Safvī gave a legal opinion to the effect that Pūran Mal should, in spite of the agreement with him, be slain. After this Shīr Khān sent all his soldiers and elephants, of the size of mountains, arrayed for battle against Pūran Mal's encampment; and the army surrounded it from all sides. The Rājputs then, making up their minds to die, performed such feats, that the stories of Rustam became like stories of children's games. Like moths they

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[1] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, that Pūran Mal had enslaved the families of the Musalmans in Chanderi; and had made dancing girls of their daughters. And when Shīr Shāh fell ill on his way to Bengal, he was filled with remorse, that he was going to Bengal instead of first chastising Pūran Mal. Ahmad Yādgār says that the Musalman women were chiefly captured from the families of the Saiyads of Bilgrām. Pūran Mal is of course a corrupt form of Purna Malla, but what Salhadi represents, I cannot make out, unless it is Salya Deva.

[2] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī gives a detailed account of the siege, and various incidents connected with it; a fight between 1,500 Afghāns and an equal number of Rajputs, in which the former were victorious. Shīr Shāh had ordered that the Afghāns should not fight with the Rajputs, although the latter came out of the fort and challenged them, so these 1,500 horsemen fought with the Rajputs, in spite of Shīr Shāh's order prohibiting them to do so; then the battering of the fort from mortars, which were fashioned out of the brass pots and pans in the camp, by Shīr Shāh's order; and finally the evacuation. It appears also that Shīr Shāh only ordered the attack on Pūran Mal's encampment, after he had been adjured by the widows of Chanderi to avenge the wrongs which they had suffered.

threw themselves on swords and arrows and the tusks of elephants and killed themselves. They also killed their wives and children and burnt them; and became totally extinct.

Shīr Khān then turned back, and went to Agra; and, remaining there for some months, he attended afresh to the improvement of the army. He then turned to the conquest of the country of [1] Mārwār. At each stage, he erected strong fortifications and made entrenchments round his troops, and marched with great care and caution. When they arrived on land covered with sand, and were unable to erect fortifications, [2] he with great judgment and proper thought ordered that sacks should be filled with sand, and should be placed on one another, and in this way, an entrenchment would be made. He first attacked [3] Māldeo, who was the ruler of the country of Nāgor and Jodhpūr, and was honoured among the Rājās of Hindustan for the large number of his soldiers and retainers. At this time, about fifty thousand horsemen were collected under the shadow of his standard. Shīr Khān confronted Māldeo for a month in the neighbourhood of Ajmīr. At last by writing letters to himself, purporting to come from the nobles of Māldeo, he managed in such a way, that the letters [4] fell into the hands of Rāi Māldeo, and very great

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[1] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, that before starting from Agra, Shīr Shāh consulted his chiefs and nobles in what direction he should march. They advised him to undertake an expedition to the Dekhin, where certain slaves had rebelled against their masters, and had followed the heresy of the people of the dissent, (*Shiās*). He agreed with them, but he said he would first destroy the infidels who were in possession of the country of Dehli and Mālwāh * * * * "First I will root out the infidel Māldeo, who was the servant of the ruler of Ajmīr and Nāgor; but had slain him, and taken possession of those kingdoms." According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, the army was beyond all calculation and enumeration.

[2] The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says that this was suggested by Mahmūd Khān, grandson of Shīr Shāh. It is said in a note to the translation (Elliot, IV, p. 405) that one copy reads "son," but he was grandson, being, according to the Makhzan-i-Afghānī, a son of 'Ādil Khān. Dorn (p. 128) calls him nephew. The Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān makes out, that he was a grand child by a daughter, and only seven years old, when he suggested this sagacious advice. Of course bags or sacks of sand or earth had been used for a similar purpose by Bābar.

[3] Variant of Sans. मलदेव, Malla Deva.

[4] There is a great deal of difference in the readings. The Lith. Ed. omits

fear and anxiety found their way into the latter's mind, and he fled to the fort of Jodhpur. A chief of the name of Gonhā, who was one of the great Amīrs of Rāi Māldeo, and other Rajput *Sardārs* told him that this was the result of the fraud and deception of Shīr Khān. Rāi Māldeo would not be comforted, and could not determine on a battle. At last [1]Gonhā and other Amīrs, resolving on a battle, twenty thousand horsemen separated from Māldeo and hastened to engage with Shīr Shāh in a desperate and sanguinary conflict. They determined to make a night attack, but having lost their way only five or six thousands came upon Shīr Shāh's army just before dawn; when the two armies met, a fierce conflict took place, and they fought with swords and daggers. The Rājputs dismounted from their horses, and tied their skirts together. Shīr Shāh and his army surrounded them and slew Gonhā and the other Rajputs. They say that in that battle eleven thousand Rajputs were killed, and a large number of the Afghāns were also slain.

[2] After this victory, which did not do any credit to his army,

the words, مقابله داشت اخراز زبان امرای رای مالدیو in the preceding sentence, and the words from امرای کبار رای مالدیو to افتاد. Among the MSS. also there is some difference. One has و گونهانام گفت که این مکر شیر خان است فایده نکرد before که از امرا ; two have after بقلعه جودهپور رفت ; هرچند گوبه نام وکیل او another has instead of و گونهـا نام که از امـرای کبـار رای مـالدیو بود, جیتا و گونها نام که از امرای کبار رای مالدیو بودند. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, "Jaya Chandel and Goha and others came and attacked Shīr Shāh." Ferishtah says, that "seeing Maldeo's great army Shīr Shāh repented of this coming to attack him; but as the country was not the hereditary dominion of Māldeo, but he had conquered it from other Rājās, they came to Shīr Shāh, and told him that they had up to that time borne the yoke of Māldeo's rule, but now that he had come they would desert him, and come over to his side; and they also wrote accordingly to Shīr Shāh, according to his dictation." Col. Brigg's translation does not bring out the fact that the Rājās came to Shīr Shāh. On the other hand, according to him, the stratagem suggested itself to the latter's mind.

[1] He is called Gohā in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī. One of the MSS. associates the name of Jītā with his. The former is called Jaya Chandel in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī. Dorn calls the two, "Jeeta and Koopa" Ferishtah calls him کونهیا (Konhīā).

[2] According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, after the engagement with Māldeo's chiefs, Shīr Shāh marched towards Chitor; but while he was still twelve *kos*

Shīr Shâh turned back and came to Ranthambhor. As he had given that fort to 'Adil Khān, his eldest son, the latter took leave for a few days, so that he might visit the fort, and arrange matters there, and then follow him.

Shīr Khān marched from there towards Kālinjar, which was the strongest fort in Hindustan. The [1]Rājā of Kālinjar took up a hostile attitude, and shut himself up in the fort. Shīr Khān surrounded it from all sides, busied himself in constructing [2]mines and battering rams and covered passages. When the covered passages reached the fort, Shīr Khān attacked it from all sides; and he ordered shells filled with gun-powder to be thrown against the fort from a place, where he was himself standing. It so happened, that one shell struck the wall of the fort; and falling back, broke and fell among other shells; and flames burst out. Shīr Khān with [3]Shaikh Khalīl

from there, the Rājā sent him the keys of the fort. He made Chitor over to Miān Āhmad Sarwānī, younger brother of Khawās Khān and Husain Khān Khilji; and then marched towards Kachwārā. Here 'Adīl Khān took leave to go to Rantambhor; and Shīr Shāh himself marched towards Kālinjar. On the way he heard, that 'Ālam Khān Miāni had created a disturbance in the Doāb. He turned in that direction, but when he had gone two marches, news came that Bhagwant, the slave of Khawās Khān and governor of Sarhind, had defeated and slain 'Ālam Khān. Shīr Shāh then again turned towards Kālinjar.

[1] He is called Kirat Sing (কীর্ত্তি সিংহ) in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, and Kirt Rai by Dorn.

[2] نقب و سرکوب و ساباط. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī does not mention this but says that Shīr Shāh raised mounds against it, and in a short time, the mounds rose so high, that they overtopped the fort; and the Afghāns shot the people in the streets and houses with their arrows. The cause of this tedious mode of attacking the fort, was this, that Kirat Sing had a *pātar* (slave-girl or dancing-girl); and Shīr Shāh had heard great praises of her, and wanted to take her alive; and he feared that if he stormed the fort, Kirat Sing would make *jauhar* and burn the girl. Dorn has a slightly different account. He says, that scaffolds and battering-rams and mine-pipes were erected, and Kālinjar was bombarded, and all its houses were demolished, but it was not stormed on account of the beauty and dexterity in dancing, of a lady of the Rājā's *harem*.

[3] There are differences about these names. The first is Khalīl in two of the MSS. and the Lith. Ed., and in Dorn and in Ferishtah; but Halīl in the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī and Jalīl in some of the MSS. The second is called Shaikh Nizām in both the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī and in Dorn; but Ferishtah follows the

and Mulla Nizām Dānishmand and Daria Khān Sarwānī were burnt. Shīr Shāh was carried in this condition to a [1] bastion. Every moment, that he could draw a breath, and had any consciousness, he directed the soldiers to fight by calling out to them, and sent those who were near him to give stringent directions to carry on the siege; and at the close of the day, having heard of the capture of the fort, [2] gave up the deposit of life (to the Giver). He spent fifteen years as a leader and Amīr; and he ruled Hindustan for five years.

[3] Shīr Khān was renowned for intelligence, wisdom and political insight. He left behind many pleasing remains. From Bengal and Sonārgāon to the river Sind, which is known as the Nīlāb river, which is a distance of one thousand and five hundred *karohs* at

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Tabaqat, in calling him Mulla Nizām Dānishmand. These two were learned men and priests, who accompanied Shīr Shāh. According to our author followed by Ferishtah, all four were burnt to death; but the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī says, that Shīr Shāh alone was partially burnt; and a young princess, who was standing by, was burnt to death. Dorn says, Shīr Shāh was half-burnt, and was carried to his tent in a *palankin*; where Shaikh Khalīl and Shaikh Nizām came to enquire about his health. He also says that 15 others were killed by the explosion.

[1] The word is مرحل and مرجل in some of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed.; the other MSS. do not say anything about his being taken anywhere. Ferishtah says he was carried to a مورچل. The Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī and Dorn say he was carried to his tent.

[2] No date is given by our author. According to the Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, and Dorn the accident occurred on Friday the 9th Rabi'-ul-Āwwal 952 A.H. (May 1545). According to the former the death took place on the following day; while the latter says he died at midnight on a Tuesday, i.e., after lingering for four days. Ferishtah gives the 12th Rabi'-ul-Āwwal as the date of the death. Abul Fazl's account of the death is unique. He says "on the 10th Muharram (both date and month are wrong) 952 (or 5th March 1545) he was consumed by flames of fire, which had spontaneously arisen out of the smoke-sighs of the oppressed."

[3] The Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī contains a detailed account of Shir Shah's personal qualities; and his methods of administration. It also mentions the roads he made, but it says the second road extended from Agra to Burhānpūr, and there were other roads, viz., one from Agra to Jodhpūr and Chitore and one from Lahore to Multan. The credit of establishing *dak-chaukis* belonged to Sikandar Ludi. Dorn does not give any account of Shir Shah's methods of administration, or his public works. Ferishtah., as usual, copies a great deal from the Tabaqāt, almost verbatim.

(intervals of) each *karoh*, he built a *sarāi* and in each of these, he dug a well and built a mosque, of burnt bricks and mortar; and appointed a reader (of the Quran), and an Imām (preacher), and he had fixed stipends for them. At one door of the *Sarāi* he had ordered that there should be water and cooked and uncooked food for Mussalmans, and at the other door for Hindus, and these were always ready. At each *Sarāi* he had two post horses, which in the language of India are known as *Dākchaukī*, so that every day the news from Nīlāb reached him, (even) if he was in the territory of Bengal.

Along this road on both sides he had planted rows of fruit trees, such as the [1]mango and *khirni*, etc.; so that people could come and go under their shade. In the same way from Agra to Mandū; and on this also at each *Karoh*, a *sarāi*, and a mosque were built. And the safety of the roads was such, that if an old woman had a basket filled with gold, she could sleep for nights in the desert, and had no need for a watchman.

They say that when he looked at himself in a mirror, he said, "Alas! I have arrived at sovereignty at the time of evening prayer" (i.e. in my old age); and expressed his sorrow. He composed witty verses with Indian idioms. He had this couplet engraved on his seal ring;

[2]Couplet;

Oh God! may the King forever live!
May Shīr Shāh, the son of Hasan Sūr stand forever!

At all times he devoted himself to the service of the people, and preparations for the army, and sympathetic treatment of the *raiyats*; and always remained firm on the path of justice and righteousness.

Couplet;

After death, each man that has left a name behind,
Is one, who during life to success attained.

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[1] The names of both kinds of fruit trees planted along the roads for shade are from Hindi. انبه of course, is a corruption of the Sanskrit आम्र, mango; کهرني is probably from the Sanskrit क्षीरद्रुम. It is the *Mimusops Kanki*, which is found in Behar, and further up country; but not, as far as I know, in Bengal. I do not know its English name.

[2] The meaning of the words الله شه is not very clear.

The words *Ze Atish Murd* (from fire he died) give the date of his death.

At the time, when Shīr Khān died, his son [1]Jalāl Khān was in the town of Rewā, [2] one of the dependencies of Panna: and ʿĀdil Khān, his eldest son, who was the heir apparent, was in the fort of Ranthanbhor. The [3]*amīrs* saw that ʿĀdil Khān would not be able to come soon; and the existence (appointment) of a ruler was necessary. A messenger was sent to summon Jalāl Khān. The latter arrived in five days; and by the exertions of ʿIsa Khān *Hijāb*, and other amīrs, he ascended the throne at the foot of the fort of Kālinjar on the [4]15th of the month of Rabi'-ul-Āwwal in the year 952 (25th May 1545 A.D.). He assumed the title of Islām Shāh, but on the tongues of the people of Hindustān, he was mentioned as Salīm Shāh, and on those of the Mughal soldiers as Salīm Khān.

In short, when Salīm Khān stood in the place of his father, he [5]sent a representation to ʿĀdil Khān, who was his elder brother, and

[1] His original name was 'Abd-ul-Jalīl.

[2] There is a great diversity in the names of the town and of the province. The MSS. have دیون and ریون, برن as the name of the town and تهه and بهه as that of the province. The Lith. Ed. has دیوان and تهته. The Tarikh-i-Dāudi (trans. Elliot IV) has Rewan and Bhata. Dorn does not appear to mention explicitly where Jalāl Khān was, but he is said to have been at a place about fifty miles from Kālinjar; while 'Ādil Khān was at Ranthambhor about 200 miles off. Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) has ربون in the province of بنّهنه. Col. Briggs has Reewah near Punna. I am inclined to think that Rewa and Panna are correct.

[3] Dorn in his translation of the Makhzan-i-Afghāni gives an account of a conference attended by 'Isa Khān who bore the title of *Hijāb*, and was the *Tāmbūldār* (bearer of the betel case) of Shīr Shāh, an office of great importance, Said Khān Gukboor, Jamāl Khān and Shaikh Muhammad Gukboor "all men of the first influence," and it was decided that Jalāl Khān should succeed Shīr Shāh; but they at the same time gave a letter to Mahmūd Khān, son of 'Ādil Khān, who was present, to take it with all haste to his father. In this letter 'Ādil Khān was asked to come as quickly as possible, to anticipate Jalāl Khān. This was however only a pretext to remove Mahmūd Khān from the camp, before he could learn the truth.

[4] The Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi says the 19th, but all others concur in saying the 15th. Abul Fazl however says, that Jalāl Khān succeeded his father 8 days after the latter's death.

[5] He appears to have been quite sincere in sending this, but it appears from

told him; "As you were at a distance, and I was near I have, in order to put down all disturbances, attended to the protection of the army up to the time of your arrival; and I have no other alternative but to serve and obey you." He then started from Kālinjar and turned towards Agra. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the town of Kora,[1] Khawās Khān arrived from his *jāigīr*, and rendered him service, and having arranged a grand festival of accession, placed Salīm Khān afresh on the throne. After this Salīm Khān, in the way of worldly convention, wrote another letter to 'Ādil Khān, and expressing his affection, requested an interview. 'Ādil Khān wrote to the *amīrs* of Salīm Khān, who were Qutb Khān[2] *Nāib*, 'Isa Khān Niāzī, Khawās Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jalū, (and enquired) "What do you think advisable about my coming or staying behind." He also wrote to Salīm Khān "If these four persons come, and give me assurance (of safety), I can agree to an interview. Salīm Khān sent all the four men to 'Ādil Khān; and they assured him by word and engagement; and it was settled, that he should have permission to go away at the

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the Makhzan-i-Afghāni (Dorn), that he strongly protested against his accession in supersession of his elder brother 'Ādil Khān's claims. The Tārikh-i-Dāudī says, "Islām Shah, being a monarch of a vindictive disposition, wrote to 'Ādil Shāh in this way."

[1] There are great differences in the name of the town. It is written as كَرَه and كَوَرَه, كَورَه in the MSS., and as كَوَرْ in the Lith. Ed. The Tārikh-i-Dāudī does not give any name, but says when 'Islam Shāh was on the road, Khawās Khān came from his *jāigīr*. Ferishtah calls the place كَوَرْ. Is it Kara?

[2] Dorn gives in some detail the purport of the replies of Khawās Khān, 'Isa Khān (who is called *Hijāb*) and Jalāl Khān Jalu. He says that 'Ādil Khān asked that Khāwās Khān, Qutb Khān Sūr, and Jalāl Khān Jalu should be sent to him, with a safe conduct for himself, and these were accordingly sent; but before going the last named, viz., Jalāl Khān Jalu frankly told 'Islām Khan, that "as he did not intend to abide by the terms of the agreement, it would be much better if he should not send them at all; but advance the sublime banners under pretence of hunting." Apparently, even he could not advocate a thoroughly straight-forward course, so the advance of the army should be made under pretence of hunting. He however, distinctly told 'Islam Khān that the "first moment they (i.e., the *amīrs*) perceive some doubt about it (i.e., about the agreement being faithfully observed) they will abandon the party, and employ their full influence to establish and strengthen his interests."

first interview, and a *jaīgīr* should be given to him, at any place in Hindustān, which he might ask for. 'Ādil Khān then came with the *amīrs* to meet Salim Khan. When they arrived at [1] Fathepur Sīkrī, Salīm Khān went forward to meet and welcome him at Singārpūr, where a place for the meeting had according to the orders of Salīm Khān been arranged and decorated; and both showed marks of affection and fraternal feeling After sitting together for a moment they turned towards Agra.

As Salīm Khān had thought of [2] acting treacherously towards his brother, he had decided that not more than two men should be allowed to enter the fort of Agra with 'Ādil Khan; but at the gate his ('Ādil Khan's) men [3] could not be stopped; and a large number of them entered. The intention and plan of Salīm Khān having been frustrated, he had of necessity to show a [4] gentle behaviour. He said, "I have till now looked after the [5] Afghans, who were without a leader; now I make them over to you," and he placed him ('Ādil Khān) on the throne, and commenced flattering him. As 'Adil Khān was fond of pleasure and freedom from care, and knew the deceit and trickery of Salīm Khan, he did not accept Salīm Khān's offer, but got up and seated Salim Khan on the throne. He first made his obeisance and offered congratulations to him on his accession, and then each of the *amīrs* went through the ceremony

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[1] Dorn calls this place Khano. Khanwa as we have seen before was another name of Fatehpūr Sikrī, or some place near it. Dorn also calls the place of the meeting Shikārpūr but our author and the Tarīkh-i Dāudī calls it Singārpūr. Ferishtah apparently says, that the interview took place at Fatehpūr Sikrī.

[2] The Makhzan-i-Afghāni says, the assassination of both him and his son. (See note 2. p. 481, Ell. IV—translation of the Tarikh-i-Dāudi.)

[3] All the MSS. (except one which has صنع بشدة) and the Lith. Ed. and Ferishtah have ممدنع بشدة. The meaning is much the same. Āhmad Yādgār says five or six thousand of 'Ādil Khān's men armed with swords found their way into the fort in defiance of all attempts to exclude them, (note 1, p. 482, Ell., Vol IV).

[4] Dorn describes in great detail Salim Khan's behaviour at the interview at Singārpur, and also at Agra, after his treacherous plan had failed.

[5] The words are افغانان بی سر. The translator of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (Ell., IV, p. 482) has translated it as "Afghāns who are very unruly." I think this is incorrect. بی سر "is without a head" or "a leader."

of offering his [1] service and allegiance, and went and stood at the place fixed for him.

At this very time, Qutb Khān and Isa Khān and Khawās Khān represented that the promise and engagement which had been made between them and 'Ādil Khān was this, that at the first interview 'Ādil Khān should be permitted to depart, and [2] Bīana with its dependencies should be allotted to him. Salīm Khān issued a *farmān* to the effect that this might be done; and he allowed 'Ādil Khān to go to Biāna and sent 'Isa Khān and Khawās Khān with him. After two months he sent Ghāzī Mahalī, who was one of his confidential adherents (with the order), that he should seize and imprison 'Ādil Khān. He also [3] sent golden fetters by his hands. 'Ādil Khān having heard this news, went to Khawās Khān, who was in Miwāt; and informed him of this breach of faith on the part of Salīm Khān, and asked for his advice. Khawas Khān was much incensed, and he sent for Ghāzī Mahalī, and put the same fetters on his legs. He then raised the standard of hostility, and wrote letters to the [4] *amīrs*

[1] The actual words are نثار و ایثار. نثار is the wave-offering, so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. It consists in pronouncing a benediction, and waving over the head of the individual some offering, which is instantly given away in charity or devotion. ایثار is the act of devoting one's self to the service of the person to whom it is offered

[2] Col. Briggs says, that "'Ādil Khān had selected Byana for his estate;" but this is not mentioned either in the Tar ikh-i-Daudi, or by our author or in Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.). They all say that the amīrs begged that it might be allotted to him. The Makhzan-i-Afghani says, it had been fixed upon as his *jāigīr*.

[3] The Makhzan-i-Afghāni says, that Salīm Khān sent 'Ādil Khān the message, "That it would afford an indelible proof of his submission and loyalty, if he for some days would allow himself to be put in chains, and repair to the court, where His Majesty would take off the fetters again, and after many favours would allow him to depart again for Bayana." The translator of the Tārikh-i-Daud from which I am quoting this, says "such nonsense would not be tolerable even in Æsop's Fables or Little Red Riding Hood.' To use more up-to-date language, it has quite a Gilbertian air about it. The word which has been translated as chains or fetters is given in the MSS. and in the Lith. Ed as زولانه or زولبه, زولبه. One MS substitutes زنجیر. Ferishtah has جولانه.

[4] There are some variations in the readings here Several MSS and the Lith. Ed. have با سراى عمراه سلام خان بودند; but the others have با امرای

who were with Salīm Khān, and took secret steps to make them combine with him. He then marched towards Agra with a large army. Qutb Khān and 'Isa Khān, who had also been parties to the promises and agreement, were also angry with Salīm Khān; and [1] wrote persuading 'Ādil Khān to come to them; and it was so settled that the latter should arrive in Agra, while yet a part of the [2]night should be left; so that the men might without any shame separate themselves from Salīm Khān and come to him. It so happened, however, that when 'Ādil Khān and Khawās Khān arrived at Fatehpur Sīkrī, they went to Shaikh Salīm, who was one of the great Shaikhs of that age. It was the *Shab-i-barāt*, and Khawās Khān was delayed on account of the performance of the *Namāz* (prayers) that was fixed for that night; so that it was the time of the early morning meal, when they reached the neighbourhood of Agra.

Salīm Khān, becoming aware of the manner of their coming, said in great distress to Qutb Khān and other *amīrs*, "If I have acted

که باو یار بودند. I have adopted the former, as Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) and the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (in Ell. IV) have the same reading; and besides, it was not necessary to make the *amīrs* who were already friendly to him to combine with him. It is curious, that Abul Fazl, although he describes (p. 401, Vol. I of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma) Islām or Salīm Khan as surpassing even his father in wickedness, describes Khawās Khan as a strife monger (p. 615, *ibid.*).

[1] The word in the MSS. and in the Lith. Ed. is مرغبات or مرغیات which probably means persuasions. Ferishtah has ترغیبات which is better.

[2] This is another instance of the Afghāns being ashamed to do a thing in broad day light, which they did not have any scruple in doing under cover of the darkness of night. We saw one instance of it when the Afghāns, who had no hesitation about deserting Ibrāhīm Lodi in the battle between him and 'Ālam Khān and his confederates, in the darkness of night, were ashamed to do so openly in day light. About this, the translator of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (Ell. V. p. 483) says in a note, that "This ridiculous false modesty of the traitors is represented by Āhmad Yādgār, as being felt or professed only by the instigators themselves. He reasonably concluded that such notions were foreign to the sentiments of obtuse artisans and phlegmatic shop-boys, and could only be entertained by sensitive or delicate *Jāigīrdārs*." I think, however, that the sentiment was felt by Afghāns in general, and that the "obtuse artisans and the phlegmatic shop-boys" could not act without being led by the *Jāigīrdārs*.

towards ʿĀdil Khān with bad [1]faith, why did not Khawās Khān and ʿIsa Khān write something to me, so that I should have turned away from my intention. Qutb Khān seeing Salīm Khān's distress said, "There is no fear, things have not gone beyond remedy, and I engage myself to put down this disturbance." Salīm Khān gave permission to Qutb Khān and the other *amīrs*, who were in a way united with ʿĀdil Khān to go to the latter. It was his (Salīm Khān's) intention, that after sending these men to a distance from him, he should fly towards the fort of Chunār to get hold of the treasure there, and after again equipping and furnishing his army, engage in battle and warfare. [2]Isa Khān *Hujjāb* dissuaded him from carrying out this intention, and said: "If you have no faith in other men, the [3]ten thousand men who have been your special servants from the time when you were *Shāhzādah* deserve to be trusted by you. It is surprising, that possessing all this power and splendour, you do not place any reliance on your God-given greatness, and determine to fly without fighting (your enemies). Although the *amīrs* may have secret hostility to you, it is entirely outside all prudence and caution, to send them yourself to the enemy. It is fit and proper that placing yourself at the [4]head of all the troops, you should stand firmly in the field of battle, for no one will go over to the enemy before your face." Salīm Khān feeling emboldened, decided on staying where he was; and sending for Qutb Khān and the other *amīrs*, whom he had previously given permission to go, said "I shall not with my own hands make you over to the enemy. They will perhaps treat you ill."

[1] All the MSS. and the Lith. Ed. say اگر از من در باب عادل خان اضطراب گونه شده بود which means literally, if from my side, in respect of ʿĀdil Khān something like distress or confusion has happened. This is not at all clear Ferishtah has the same language but substitutes for اضطراب گونه واقع بد عهدی, which means, any bad faith has occurred; which is much clearer.

[2] This ʿIsa Khān *Hujjāb*, *Hājib* or *Tāmbuldār* (betel carrier, one of the highest officers in the royal establishment,) is of course different from ʿIsa Khān Niāzī, who was one of the leaders of the rebels, or rather one of the partisans of ʿĀdil Khān.

[3] The translator of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī has 5,000 instead of 10,000. Ferishtah has ده هزار کس افغان فرملی وغیره ten thousand Afghāns, Farmulis, etc.

[4] All the MSS. except one, and the Lith. Ed. have بر تمام لشکر سبقت نموده One MS. substitutes بیعت for سبقت

After that he became prepared for a battle and coming out stood (ready for battle). The [1]men who were in league with ʻĀdil Khān, seeing Salīm Khān on the battle field refrained from going over, and [2]joined the (latter's) army: and the battle took place in front of the city of Agra. Heavenly aid being propitious to Salīm Khān defeat fell on ʻĀdil Khān, and Khawās Khān and the latter's army. Khawās Khān and ʻIsa Khān went into Miwāt; and ʻĀdil Khān went unaccompanied and alone towards [3]Patna; and no one knew anything more about him.

After this, Salīm Khān sent an army in pursuit of Khawās Khān and ʻIsa Khān Niāzī. They [4] had a battle in Firozpūr, Miwāt, and Salīm Khān's army was defeated, but after that Khawās Khān and ʻIsa Khān Niāzi, being unable to continue the struggle, went towards the Kumāūn hills. Salīm Khān appointed Qutb Khān *Naib* and a large force to attack them; and [5] he, posting himself in the skirts of

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[1] Most of the MSS. and the Lith. Ed. have بعادل خان همسخن بودند, but one MS. has بعادل خان عهد داشتند

[2] There is considerable difference in the MSS. and the Lith. Ed., در سال داخل شدند, دریسال داخل شدند, در لشکر داخل شدند. Ferishtah has دریساول داخل شدند.

[3] There is much variation about the name of the place. The MSS. have تهه, تنهه, بهنه, پتّنه, which can only be deciphered by guess. The Lith. Ed. has تهنه Thatha. The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (trans.) has Bhata and a note says "The original reads like Pāta." Ahmad Yādgār says Pāya. Dorn says Patna. The Makhzan-i-Afghānī says "crossing the Jumna he arrived at Chandwār, and thence fled through the jungle tract into the country of Thatta." The Tārīkh-i-khān Jahān Lodi has Pata; Briggs has Patna. Ferishtah in the Lith. Ed. has عادل خان تنهه به پتّنه رفت و نا پیدا شد i.e. ʻĀdil Khān went alone to Patna, and (there he) disappeared, I do not know where Bhata is, or whether there is such a place, so the alternative appears to be between Thatha and Patna. The details given in the Makhzan-i-Afghānī would incline one to adopt Thatha; but ʻĀdil Khān was more acquainted with Behar and Patna, and I have accepted the latter.

[4] Most of the MSS. have جنگ کردند; but the Lith. Ed. and Ferishtah have جنگ واقع شد. The place where the battle took place is called in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudi "Firozpur (Jharka) near Mewat."

[5] This agrees with Ferishtah, but according to the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudi (Ell. IV. P. 484) it was Khawās Khān who "for a long time devastated

the hills, constantly attacked and plundered and devastated the country.

At this time [1]Salīm Khān went towards Chunār. On the way he put Jalāl Khān Jalu, and his brother Khudādād, to death on account of their having combined with 'Ādil Khān. When he arrived at Chunār, he took out the treasure from there, and sent it to Gwāliār He then returned and took up his residence in Agra. As Qutb Khān had a share in summoning 'Ādil Khān, and in initiating the disturbance, he on account of the suspicion and fear which he had in his mind, fled from the skirts of the Kumāūn hills, and went to [2]Ā'zam Humāyūn Niāzī at Lahore; and Salīm Khān sent an order to Ā'zam Humāyūn, to send Qutb Khān to him. Ā'zam Humāyūn complied with the order. Salīm Khān imprisoned Qutb Khān, and sent him with some other prisoners, such as Shahbāz Khān Nuhānī, who was the husband of his (Salīm Khān's) sister and [3]Barmzīd Kur and some others, being fourteen persons in the aggregate, to Gwāliār. He then sent for Shujā' Khān, governor of Mālwa, and Ā'zam Humāyūn. The former came and saw Salīm Khān, and the latter wrote excuses (for not coming). Shujā' Khān obtained permission, and went back to Mālwa.

After that Salīm Khān again moved towards Rohtās and Chunār, to bring the treasure from there. Sa'īd Khān, brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn, who had always remained with him, fled from the

the territory of Islām Shāh in their (i.e., the Kumaun Hills') vicinity." Dorn says that "Kutb Khan and other *Omras* were commissioned to build a citadel in a proper place between the Doab, and reside there in order to prevent Khuvaz Khan from molesting those provinces; or if occasion offered to fight him."

[1] According to the Tārīkh-i-Dāudi, Salīm Khān before going to Chunār "became mistrustful of all his father's nobles and took measure to overthrow them." * * * "he placed his own nephew Muhammad Khān, the son of 'Adil Khān, under surveillance and ruined first Kutb Khān Sūr then Barmazid Sūr, Jalāl Khān Sūr and Zain Khān Niāzi; * * * he put many others to death, amongst whom were Khawās Khān, who bore the title of Masnad-i Ali, who was implicated on some frivolous pretext, * * * and continued for a long time to disturb the whole of his subjects; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity."

[2] His name was Haibat Khān Niāzī.

[3] All the MSS., and the Lith. Ed. have Barmzīd Kūr or Gūr; but I suppose he is identical with Barmzīd Sūr mentioned in the Tārīkh-i-Dāudi.

way, and went to Lahore. Salīm Khān also turned back from the road, and came to Agra; and gave orders for the mustering of the troops; and then started for Dehli. Shujā' Khān heard this news; and with a few persons among his particular friends, came by rapid marches, and presented himself before Salīm Khān, and was treated with kindness. After staying for a few days at Dehli, Salīm Khān after organising his army started for Lahore. Ā'zam Humāyūn and the hostile *amīrs*, combining with Khawās Khān and the army of the Punjāb, hastened forward to meet him; and the two armies met together in the vicinity of the town of Ambāla. They say that when Salīm Khān came close to the Niāzī army, and took up a position, he himself, with a few of his immediate attendants, went to reconnoitre it, and stood on an embankment. When his eye fell on the hostile army, [1] he, while standing there, said "it does not consist with my self-respect that after seeing the rebel army, I should take up a position in front of it." Then he ordered the troops to be arranged in order of battle, and to engage the enemy.

During the night preceding the day of battle Ā'zam Humāyūn and his brothers had a [2] conference with Khawās Khān about the appointment of a ruler (in place of Salīm Khān). Khawās Khān intended that the sovereignty should be allotted to 'Ādil Khān, who was the eldest son of Shīr Khān; but the Niāzīs said:

Couplet; [3]None, by inheritance, can kingdom grasp,
Till he, with both his hands, the sword doth smite.

[1] The meaning is not very clear. The following quotation from the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī will make it clearer, "News was brought that the Niāzī troops had advanced within a very short distance of the royal camp. Islām Shāh said, The Afghāns have no sense: He made an enclosure with all his wheeled carriages like a fortress, into which he caused the whole of his army to enter, and went in person to reconnoitre the Niāzīs from an elevated position. When he beheld the foe he said, "I shall be disgraced if I do not fight the rebel troops, and ordered the chains with which the carriages were fastened together to be removed."

[2] The conference was held in Khawās Khān's tent, according to the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī. As Salīm Khān had not yet been defeated, it was rather premature to fix upon another in his place, though if the two parties to the conference had not quarrelled, it is not improbable that they should have defeated him.

[3] Two of the MSS. have only the first line of the couplet, but the others,

[1]Khāwas Khān was pained to learn their intention, and when the armies were arranged in lines, and the two armies faced each other, he fled under some pretext without engaging in the fight. The Niāzīs did everything in their power, and did not make any default in the battle; but as the result of [2]base ingratitude (*harām nimakī*) cannot be anything but misfortune and disgrace, their army was routed and Salīm Khān was victorious.

Couplet; To him, whom fortune doth befriend,
Who's there that over him can dominate

[3]Sa'īd Khān, brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn with ten of his companions, as he was fully armed, and no one would recognise him,

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the Lith. Ed. and Ferishtah all have both lines. Apparently the Niāzīs wanted the sovereignty for one of themselves.

[1] According to the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī he "secretly sent a verbal message to one of the confidential servants of Islām Shāh, requesting him to inform the king, that although His Majesty looked on him (Khawās Khān) as an unfaithful servant, yet that his heart had always inclined towards Sher Shāh's family and offspring, and that although he had sided with 'Ādil Khān, who were the Niāzīs that he should be guilty of disloyalty to his benefactor on their account, and for the sake of their alliance? That his wish to be of service, should with the consent of the Almighty, be made manifest on the day of battle." In the description of the battle, most of the MSS., and the Lith. Ed. and Ferishtah say that خواص خان بی جنگ هزیمت نمود. One MS., substitutes فرار for هزیمت. In the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, it is said that Khawās Khān started from his post, but attacked no one, and succeeded in making his way into the open country.

[2] As usual, to fight against the constituted ruler is base ingratitude, although the ruler in no way deserves gratitude, but is on the other hand a cruel and faithless tyrant.

[3] The passage is as I have got it, with some slight variations, in several of the MSS., and in Ferishtah, but the other MSS., have سعید خان برادر آعظم همایون بادة کس ، معطلی که فتح شد ، خواهند که درمیان مردمی که مبارکباد فتح میدادند خود را بسلیم خان رسانیدة کار او را بسازند ؛ فیلبانی خبردار شدة نیزة برو حواله نمود لهذا از میان فوج بیرون رفتند I consider this reading incorrect. The meaning of بضرب راست in the reading I have adopted is not clear. In the Lith. Ed. of Ferishtah, the word طرف is substituted for ضرب. This would mean that Sa'īd Khān escaped to the right, but even that is not very clear. The translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī gives a different version of the incident. It says "Sa'īd Khān.....was shortly afterwards recognised by one of

wanted to get to Salīm Khān, on the pretext of congratulating him, and slay him; but a *Mahout* recognised him and struck him with a spear; but he escaped, coming out of the circle of elephants, and Salīm Khān's special troops with a severe wound. In short the Niāzīs fled towards Dinkot, which is near Roh, and Salīm Khān pursued them as far as the fort of Rohtās. He then appointed Khwāja Wais Sarwānī with a large army to attack them, and returned to Agra; and from there went to Gwāliār.

[1] At this time, Shuja' Khān went one day to the top of the fort of Gwāliār to see Salīm Khān. A man of the name of 'Usmān, whose hand Shujā' Khān had at one time cut off, stood in ambush, on his path and sought for an opportunity. He at once sprang upon Shujā' Khān, and [2] wounded him. The latter went to his house in the wounded state, and suspecting that the act had been done at the instigation of Salīm Khān, fled from Gwāliār, and went to Mālwah. Salīm Khān pursued him as far as Mandū. Shujā' Khān retired to [3]Banswāla. Salīm Khān left 'Isa Khān Sūr with [4]20,000 horsemen at Ujjain and returned. These events happened in the year [5]954 A.H. (1547 A.D.).

Khwaja Wāis, who had been appointed against Ā'zam Humāyūn, fought with him in the neighbourhood of Dinkot, and was defeated: and Ā'zam Humāyūn pursued him as far as Sarhind. When this news reached Salīm Khān, he got together an immense army, and sent it to crush the Niāzīs. Ā'zam Humāyūn turned back and went again to [6]Dinkot; and when Salīm Khān's army arrived in the

the elephant-drivers, who gave the alarm, and was slain by a thrust of Sa'īd's spear."

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (Ell. IV, pp. 489 and 492) gives a more detailed and circumstantial account of the whole incident.

[2] Two of the MSS., have, instead of زخمي بر شجاع خان انداخت, which the other MSS., and the Lith. Ed. and Ferishtah have, شمشيري بر شجاع خان زد.

[3] The place is called Bānswāra in the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, and بانسواڑہ Bānswāda in Ferishtah.

[4] The number is 22,000 in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī.

[5] It appears from a note in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī that Ferishtah, the Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān and the Makhzan-i-Afghānī all give this date.

[6] The place is called Mānkot in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī,

neighbourhood of that place, another battle was fought at Mouza [1]Sambla in its vicinity; and the party of the rebels were routed; and the [2]children and the mother of Ā'zam Humāyūn were taken prisoners, and were sent to the presence of Salīm Khān. The Niāzīs now took shelter with the Gakkhars, and retired to the hilly country adjacent to Kashmir. Salīm Khān came with a large army into the Punjab to put down the rebellion of the Niāzīs, and carried on warfare with the Gakkhars for a period of two years. [3]During this time a man, on one occasion, came upon Salīm Khān, on the top of the fort of Mānkot, with a naked sword in his hand and attacked him. He, however, with great agility and dexterity, defeated and slew the man. He recognised the sword to be one which he had himself given to Iqbāl Khān. As the Gakkhars were now completely defeated and beaten, and had no more strength left in them, Ā'zam Humāyūn retired into Kashmir. The rulers of that country, out of regard for Salīm Khān, obstructed him on the road, and there was a severe fight; and Ā'zam Humāyūn, Sa'īd Khān and Shāhbāz

though Dinkot was given as the name of the place to which the Niāzīs had fled. Ferishtah calls the place دهکوٹ in both places.

[1] The name appears to be Sambla, سنبلہ, in all the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. and Ferishtah. It is called Sambhal in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī.

[2] The following note about them is quoted from the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī: The "Makhzan-i-Afghānī tells us that the unfortunate females on the establishment of Ā'zam Humāyūn, Sa'īd Khān and 'Isa Khān Niāzī were ignominiously exposed once a week during two years in the common hall of audience, and the three chiefs were proclaimed aloud as rebels. In the end, they were assassinated."

[3] There is a circumstantial account of this attempted assassination of Salīm Khān in pp. 495-6, of the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (Ell. IV.). It appears that the man was instigated by certain nobles, towards whom Salīm Khān had behaved harshly, and had given no money to them, and to the army for three years. He, however, acted with great bravery when he was attacked: and he ordered the assassin to be immediately put to death, because he did not want him to be the cause of the ruin of many people, whom he was sure to accuse falsely, of having instigated him to act in that way. Iqbāl Khān had been a common foot-soldier, whom Salīm Khān had raised to high rank and great wealth. Salīm Khān punished him by ordering him to take his own place again.

Khān were slain; and the ruler of Kashmir sent their heads to Salīm Khān. [1] The latter being now freed from all anxiety returned (to the capital).

At this time, Mīrza Kāmrān fled from Jinnat Ashiānī, and came for shelter to Salīm Khān. The latter [2] treated him with pride and hauteur, and did not behave towards him in the way he should have done; so Mīrza Kāmrān fled from him, and retired to the Sīwālīk hills, and from there went to the Gakkhar country. These incidents have been mentioned in detail among the events (of the reign) of Jinnat Ashiānī. In short Salīm Khān, having arrived at Delhi, halted there for [3] a few days. In the meantime, news came that Jinnat Ashiānī had arrived on the bank of the Nīlāb river. They say that at that moment, Salīm Khān was being bled by having leeches applied to his neck. [4] He at once mounted and started.

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[1] The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī says, that before Salīm Khān left the Punjab, and before indeed the attempt on his life was made, all the *Zamindārs* along the foot of the hills and the Rājās of Sewālik submitted to him and he built the fort of Mānkot, or rather five forts which he called respectively Shīrgarh, Islāmgarh, Rashīdgarh, Firozgarh, and the fifth which retained the original name of Mānkot or Māngarh.

[2] According to the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, Kāmrān appears to have come to Salīm Khān, while the latter was still in the Gakkhar country, and that although they meant him no good, by the advice of certain nobles, he "continued to treat him with fitting distinction, nevertheless the Mirza fled from his presence into the Siwālik hills, and from thence went into the Ghakkars."

[3] The actual words are چند روز. The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī however says that he stayed in Dehli for some months, and it appears from a note in the translation, (Ell. Vol. IV, p. 498), that according to the Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān, it was on this occasion, that he set about building the fort of Salīmgarh, on the banks of the Jumna opposite Dīnpanāh, which had been erected by Humāyūn..... That emperor however, on his restoration, changed the name of Salīmgarh into Nurgarh. It appears however from another note (Ell. Vol. IV, p. 499) that Āhmad Yādgār says plainly that "Islām Shāh remained two years at Lahore and that when the rumours of Humāyūn's approach had died away, he came to Dehli, where he built Islāmgarh opposite to Dīnpanāh, in the middle of the waters of the Jumna, so that no fort should be so strong in all Hindustān, for it looks as if it was cut out of one stone."

[4] The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī says "Salīm Khān, at that moment, heard an Afghān musician singing, 'when the whole universe is inimical to me. If you befriend me why should I be afraid?' and taking it to be the best omen of success, he

On the first day he made a march of three *karohs*. As he had the artillery, he arranged it in order, and took it with him, and as at that time oxen for the gun carriages were not available in the neighbouring places, and he wanted to march with great quickness, he ordered that [1] men should drag the gun carriages instead of the oxen; and each cannon was dragged along by one or two thousands of men; and they marched towards Lahore, with great rapidity. Jinnat Ashiānī had however before this gone back, as has been mentioned, in its own place. Salīm Khān also returned from Lahore and took up his station at [2] Gwāliār. It so happened, that one day he was hunting in the neighbourhood of [3] Antri, when a body of turbulent men, instigated by some people, stood on the road, by which he would have to pass, intending treachery; but by chance he returned by a different road; and the assassins were unable to carry out their nefarious purpose. When the truth of the matter reached Salīm Khān's ears, he caused [4] Bahā-ud-dīn, Mahmūd and Mudārā, who were the ringleaders in the conspiracy, to be punished.

paid no attention to the selection of an auspicious moment, nor did he consult the astrologers."

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (Ell. Vol. IV, p. 499) says he had 300,000 men employed in pulling the gun carriages.....1500 of whom were provided with mattocks for the purpose of entrenching the camp. Each gun was pulled by 2,000 men, on foot, and it is said in a note at the foot of the page, 'the Mākhzan-i-Afghāni says that there were 60 large guns; that each gun was drawn by one thousand men; and that he marched twelve *kos* a day, the artillery always reaching the ground before anything else came up.' The Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān says, there were 60,000 draught-men, and that each gun required from 1,000 to 2,000 men.

[2] This is not the well-known place of that name in central India, but is a hill, on the right hand towards the south, amongst the hills, as you go to Kangra and Nagarkot (See Trn. of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, Ell. Vol. IV. p. 494.).

[3] The name of the place is written in the MSS., as انترى, اسرى and سرى In the Lith. Ed. it is اثرى, but in the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, Dorn's history of the Afghāns and Ferishtāh it is انترى Antrī.

[4] There is no dispute about the first two names, but the third name is given in several of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed., as Mudārā. Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) has Mudār. Col. Briggs does not give any names, and his account of the whole incident is very different from what is given in the Lith. Ed. of Ferishtah. The name of the third man is given in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī as Madāka. Dorn does not give any names.

Salīm Khān continued to stay in Gwāliār, and he imprisoned and slew every one of his *amīrs*, whom he suspected to be too powerful and turbulent; till in the beginning of the year [1] 961 A.H. (1554 A.D) an [2] imposthume appeared in his private part, and he suffered great pain, and his blood became vitiated, and he passed away. He reigned for a period of [3] nine years. He caused another *sarāi* to be built in each of the *sarāis* of Shīr Khān from the Nīlāb to Bengal; and he caused [4] cooked food to be prepared for *faqīrs* in each *sarāi*. In the same year Sultān Mahmūd Gujārāti and [5] Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri died. They have found the date of these events in the [6] words زوال خسروان, i.e., death or ruin of monarchs.

[7] Among the strange events, which occurred in the reign of Salīm

[1] The year is given in figures in two of the MSS., as 962; while it is given as احدی ستین تسعمایة, i.e., 961 in the others. The Lith. Ed., and the Lith Ed. of Ferishtah both have 960. The Tārīkh-i-Dāudi has 961, and it is said in a note (p. 505, Ell Vol. IV) that the Makhzan-i-Afghānī and the Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān both have 26th Zi-l-Hijjah 961 A.H. (November 1554 A.D.); and the chronogram زوال خسروان gives the year 961.

[2] The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī says, "He was confined to his bed by a painful retention of urine and a disease of the bladder. People say that he was afflicted by an imposthume in his privy parts. He never mentioned this circumstance to any one; and cauterised it with his own hand but by doing this he injured his health and brought in great suffering and weakness." According to Dorn a boil broke out on the king, from which the inflammation spread through all his limbs. The Muntakhab-ul-lubāb says دنبل بسیار در نشستگاه سلیم شاه بر آمد و دیگر عارضات بدنی علاوه ان گردید. Col. Briggs says he died of a fistula.

[3] The Makhzan-i-Afghāni is more definite, and says he reigned for 8 years 9 months and 7 days.

[4] Ferishtah says و در هر سرا طعام پخته و حام بطریق شیر شاه جهت مسافران خواه فقیر خواه غنی مقرر کرده بود,

[5] He is so called in all the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. of Ferishtah also. In the trans. of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī he is called Nizām-ul-mulk of the Dekhin. Dorn calls him Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri sovereign prince in the Deccan.

[6] The chronogram is ascribed to Shaikh Tāhir Deccani. Ferishtah says his father was the author of the chronogram; but both he and Col. Briggs incorrectly say that the numerical value of it is 960.

[7] The following passage occurs before this paragraph in one MS. only, but not in any of the others, nor in the Lith. Ed., گویند که بی‌بی بانی ، که دختر عم و

Khān, were the incidents connected with [1] Shaikh 'Alāi; and these, briefly stated, are as follow. The father of Shaikh 'Alāi was named Shaikh Hasan; and he was engaged, in the manner of Shaikhs, in the teaching of [2] students under the supervision of Shaikh Salīm in the town of Biānah. When he departed for the world of permanence, Shaikh 'Alāi, who was the most spiritual of his sons, and had attri-

زن سلیم خان بود، و سلیم خان او را بغایت دوست میداشت؛ روزی بی‌بی بائی از سلیم خان التماس کرد، که چون توجه و اخلاص شما از آفتاب عالمگیر تر است، میخواهم که از اخلاص شما اثری بر صفحی عالم بماند، که ازان اهل عالم تا دامن قیامت صدقه باشند؛ و ان اینست که چون شما یک زن دارید فرمایند که تمام امرایان شما نیز بیش از یک زن دیگر نکنند؛ اگر یکنند ازو بر منی نگزیند. سلیم خان حکم کرد، که جمیع امرایان او از یک زن زیاده نداشته باشند. در مدت سلطنت او که نه سال بود تمام خوانین او از یک زن بیش نداشته باشند *i.e.*, they say that Bībī Bāī who was the daughter of the uncle, and also the wife, of Salīm Khān, and whom he was very fond of, one day she represented to him "As your regard and sincerity is of wider compass than the sun, and I want that a mark of your sincerity may be left on the surface of the world, so that the people of the world may speak about it to the skirts of the resurrection; and that is this, that as you have one wife you may be pleased to order that all your *amirs* also should not have more than one wife. If they have they should not take * * * * ." Salīm Khān ordered that all his *amīrs* should not have more than one wife each. In the period of his reign, which extended to nine years all his Khāns did not have (more) than one wife. The meaning of the words represented by the stars can not be found.

I think this passage is interpolated. I have seen nothing corresponding to it, in any other history. The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī says a great deal about Bībī Bāī's affection; one may almost say infatuation for Mubārīz Khān, who was her brother. Salīm Khān repeatedly warned her that her son would be in great danger from that man. Even on his death bed he sent for her and said to her, "I have the reins still in my hand, and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do it, and I will cause your brother, Mubariz Khān, to be removed." On this Bībī Bāī began to weep. Islām Shāh said, "You know best;" and then suddenly as he was speaking he gave up the ghost, in the twinkling of an eye and departed to the next world in the year 961. "As will appear later on, this same Mubāriz Khān slew the poor helpless boy, apparently with his own hands, and ascended the throne; and styled himself Sultān Muhammad 'Ādil commonly known as Sultān Muhammad 'Adali.

[1] The Tārikh-i-Dāudī contains an account of Shaikh 'Alāi, but it does not give such a detailed account of the early part of his life as our author.

[2] The actual word is طلبا which means seekers, most probably of spiritual knowledge. An ordinary student is a طالبعلم a seeker of learning or knowledge.

butes of wisdom and excellence, took up his father's position and occupied himself in imparting spiritual knowledge to the seekers after such knowledge. It so happened, that Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Niāzī Afghān, who was a renowned disciple of Shaikh Salīm Chishti, returned from a journey to Mecca, having adopted the practices of *Mahdism*; according to which, Saiyad Muhammad Jaunpūrī is the promised Mahdī, and took up his residence in Biānah. As Shaikh 'Alāi was pleased with his manner, he became fascinated with his society. He abandoned the ways and practices of his ancestors; and called upon the people to adopt the practices of *Mahdism*. He took up his residence, according to the customs of that sect, outside the city, in proximity to the abode of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah; and with a large body of his friends and companions, who had turned to him, lived placing entire reliance on God, and altogether untrammelled by any ties. Every day at the time of prayer he explained the holy Qurān in such a way, that all, who were present at his assemblies, did not again take up their avocations, and leaving their families and children, entered the circle of the Mahdists; or having repented of all sins and forbidden practices, became disciples of Mīr Saiyad Muhammad. If any of them still engaged in agriculture or tillage or in trade, he expended a tenth part of his income in the service of Almighty God. Many of them lived in this way, that father separated from son, brother from brother, and wife from husband; and all followed the path of poverty and content; and all, young and old, shared equally in the gifts and offerings which came to him (*i.e.*, Saiyad Muhammad). If nothing came, they passed two or three days in fasting; and never revealed the fact. And they passed their time in uttering the name of God with every [1] inspiration and respiration. They always carried swords and shields, and all kinds of weapons, and going into cities and *bazars*, wherever they saw anything, that was contrary to the law of the prophet, at first they forbade these things, with gentleness and courtesy. If this did not succeed, they made people give up the forbidden practices, using force or violence for the purpose. Among the officers in charge of the cities, those who were on their side,

[1] The words are پیاس انفاس which mean uttering the word "Allah" with each inspiration, and the word "hu" with each respiration.

attempted to help them; and those, who did not accept their views did not possess the power to oppose them.

When Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah saw that he (Shaikh 'Alāi) had got the common people as well as the well-to-do on his side, he directed him to undertake a journey to the *Hijāz*. Shaikh 'Alāi in the circumstances and condition in which he was, with [1] six hundred or seven hundred householders, began that journey. When he arrived at Khawaspūr, which is situated within the boundaries of [2] Judhpūr, the celebrated Khawās Khān came to welcome him, and became one of his disciples. [3] But at last he became angry with him on account of the order to do lawful things and the prohibition of forbidden things. Then at the time, when Salīm Khān commenced his rule in Agra, Shaikh 'Alāi, on account of certain matters, which became the cause of his return, came back to Biānah. Then being summoned by Salīm Khān, he attended in his court, but did not show himself, to be bound by the rules of courtesy shown to kings. He merely made the salutation, permitted by the *Shara'* to Salīm Khān, and the latter said the *alaik-us-salām* (lit. "to thee also be peace," the return salutation, made by one Musalman to another, who has saluted him), with displeasure. This made those, who were attached to Salīm Khān, very angry. Mullah 'Abd-ul-lah Sultānpūrī, celebrated as Makhdūm-ul-mulk, disagreeing with Shaikh

[1] The Tārīkh-i-Dāudī says he started on the pilgrimage accompanied by six or seven thousand followers; but all the MSS., as well as the Lith. Ed. have six or seven hundred. Ferishtah has سی صد و هفتاد which Col. Briggs translates as 370 followers. Farishtah says that Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah directed Shaikh 'Alāi to undertake the pilgrimage, as he feared that there would otherwise probably be disturbances.

[2] Most of the MSS., and the Lith. Ed., and the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī have Judh pūr; but one MS. has, by mistake, Jaunpūr.

[3] This is explained by Ferishtah thus اما در اندک فرصتی فساد مذهب مهدویه بخاطر آورده از ایشان بر گشت ؛ و شیخ علائي این معني را فهمیده ، بدان بهانه که در امر معروف و نهي منکر بواجبی اطاعت نمي کند ، اظهار رنجش از خواص خان کرده از خواصپور برآمده فسخ عزیمت سفر حجاز نموده ، جانب بیانه بر گشت i.e. but in a short time he perceived the disturbances (which would be the consequence) of the Mahdist faith, and turned from them; and Shaikh 'Alāi understanding this, showed his displeasure with Khawās Khān on the pretext, that he did not properly obey the directions about self-evident duty and forbidden things; came out of Khawāspūr, and cancelling his resolution of a journey to the Hijāz returned towards Biānah.

'Alāi, gave a *fatwah* (legal opinion or judgment) for the latter's death. Salīm Khān ordered [1]Mir Saiyyad Rafi'-ud-dīn, and Mullah Jalāl Bhalīm Dānīshmand and Mullah Abu-l-Fath Thānessarī, and other learned men of that period, to attend; and an enquiry into the matter was entrusted to them. In these assemblies for disputation [2]Shaikh 'Alāi by the strength of his intellect defeated every one of them. Sometimes he explained the meaning of the Qurān in such a way, that it had great effect on Salīm Khān. The latter said to him "Oh Shaikh give up this claim, so that I may appoint you to be the censor over all my dominion; and what up to the present time you have described as religious duties, without my order, from this time you may call them so with my permission. Shaikh 'Alāi did not accept this proposal; then Salīm Khān in contravention of the, judgment of Mullah 'Abd-ul-lah, gave an order for his banishment; and sent him towards [3]Hindia Bihār Khan Sarwānī, who had from before the time of Salīm Khan, been the governor of the place turned towards him with all his troops, and came into the circle of his followers and disciples. Makhdūm-ul-mulk impressed this on the mind of Salīm Khān, in the most forcible manner, and summoned Shaikh 'Alāi from that distant place. This time also Salīm Khān summoned the learned men, and bound them to enquire more into this matter. Makhdūm-ul-mulk told Salīm Khān, "This man claims to be the Mahdi, and the Mahdi will be the Bādshāh of the whole

[1]These names are variously given in the MSS., and the Lith. Ed. The name of the first is given as in the text in one of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed.; two MSS. call him Mīr Saiyyad Rafi', while another calls him Mīr Saiyyad Rafī'-ud-din Aljī. Ferishtah calls him Mīrzā Rafī'-ud-din Anjū, but Col. Briggs makes him Meer and not Mīrza. The second name is given as in the text in all the MSS., and the Lith. Ed.; but Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) makes him Mullah Jalāl Lahīm لحيم Dānishmand; Col. Briggs omits Lahīm. As regards the third name two of the MSS., and the Lith. Ed., call him Tānessarī, while the others and Ferishtah have Thanessarī.

[2]Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) says just the opposite شيخ علائي بر هيچكدام غالب نمي شد، بلكه مغلوب گشته از جواب عاجز مي آمد. *i.e.* Shaikh 'Alāi did not vanquish any one of them, but was defeated, and was unable to reply.

[3]Ferishtah calls it قصبه هندیا, the town of Hindia. Hindia, is in Hoshangābād, Central Provinces. Imp. Gaz. S. V. Handia, and Jarrett, II. 207, where it is spelt Hindiyah.

world. All your troops have turned to him, [1] and even relations, having separated from each other, have accepted his religion. There is a possibility of danger to the State." Salīm Khān did not listen to Makhdūm-ul-mulk's words, but again sent 'Alāi to [2] Shaikh Badh Tabib Dānishmand in Behar, (whose disciple Shīr Khān used to be, and whose shoes he used to place before his feet), so that he might act in accordance with his *fatwah* (judgment). Salīm Khān then turned towards the Punjab and occupied himself with the erection of the fort of Mānkot. When Shaikh 'Alāi went to Behar, Shaikh Badh wrote a judgment, concurring with that of Makhdūm-ul-mulk; and gave it to the messenger of Salīm Khān. While these things were happening, Shaikh 'Alāi was attacked by the pestilence, which was then prevalent and there was a wound in his neck into which a wick of the thickness of a finger could be passed; and the privations of the journey being added to that, he had no strength to say anything, when he was brought before Salīm Khān. The latter said to him in his ear "you secretly say in my ear 'I am not a [3] Mahdist', and go free." Shaikh 'Alāi did not listen to his words; and Salīm Khān, becoming hopeless, ordered him to be scourged, and on the third stroke, he gave up his life to the keeper of all souls. These incidents

[1] This passage is not at all clear in the MSS. and in the Lith. Ed. Two MSS. have چنانچه خویشان از همدگر ترا جسته بمذهب او در آمده; another has از همدگر جسته; another is not very legible, being slightly worm-eaten. The translation, I have given in the text, is the best as far as the various versions go. Ferishtah who generally copies the Tabaqāt, in many places almost verbatim has a slightly different reading here, which I should prefer to those in the MSS., and the Lith. Ed. It is, چنانچه خویشان تو نیز در خفیه بمذهب او درآمده اند *i.e.* even your relations have secretly accepted his religion. The translator of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī (Ell. IV. p. 503) has a translation of what Makhdūm-ul-mulk told Salīm Shāh; but it omits this particular clause.

[2] All the MSS., and the Lith. Ed., call this man شیخ بدھ and he is called Shaikh Badh, in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī. Ferishtah however calls him شیخ برّ, and Col. Briggs transforms him into Shaikh Burey.

[3] There are some variations in the readings. Most of the MSS., have پنهان, secretly; one has تنها, alone. The reading in the Lith. Ed., is تو تنها در گوش من بگوی که من مهاروی مهستم. The last two words are incorrect. Some

happened in the year [1] 955 A.H. (1548 A.D.); and ذاكر الله, Zakir-i-Allah is its chronogram.

A NARRATION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF SULTĀN MUHAMMAD 'ADALI.

When Salīm Khān passed away, his son Firūz Khān, who was in his [2] tenth or (exactly) eleventh year, ascended the throne in the fort of Gwāliār, with the concurrence of the *amīrs*. But the period of three days had not yet passed, when Mubāriz Khān, son of Nizām Khan Sūr, who was the nephew of Shīr Khān, and the uncle of the son of Salīm Khān, and also the brother of the latter's wife, slew him, his own sister's son; and with the consent of the *Vazīrs* and *Amīrs* placed himself on the throne of greatness and sovereignty. It has been reported traditionally, that Salīm Khān, before he lay on his death bed, said repeatedly to his wife, who bore the name of Bībī Bāī, "If you love your son Firūz Khān, give me permission to remove your brother Mubāriz Khān; for he is a thorn in your path. If you love your brother, wash your hands of the life of your son, for he has much danger from Mubāriz Khān." His wife replied, "My brother Mubāriz Khan passes his life in pleasures, and occupies his time with music and songs. He has not the means nor the desire

of the MSS., have من مهدي نيستم but others and Ferishtah have من مهدوي نيستم. I prefer this last reading.

[1] All the MSS., and the Lith. Ed., and Ferishtah have خمس و خمسين و تسعمائة (*i.e.* 955); but the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī has 956 A.H. (1549 A.D.), and gives the chronogram of Zikr-ul-allah. Dorn does not, as far as I can make out, make any mention of Shaikh 'Alāī; but he mentions "A derveesh by name Khuaja Hossain of the Pat'henian Afhāns, as infringing the Mohammedan Law.....Islam Shah ordered him to be bastinadoed, and finally threatened him, in case of his further infringing the law, that he would burn him to death. To this the Derveesh replied 'Burn me if thou dost not burn thyself' and withdrew. That very morning a boil broke out on the king .....and he died in great agony." This is not narrated in any of the other histories that I have seen.

[2] Several MSS., have دوازده دو, one has دوازدو. The Lith. Ed., and Ferishtah have دوازده.

sovereignty." Although Salīm Khān spoke [1] very harshly to her in this matter it had no effect. [2] Till at last on the third day after the death of Salīm Khān, Mubāriz Khān entered the palace of Firūz Khān, and attempted to murder him. Although his sister made lamentation, and interceded for the life of her son, and said "Spare this child of mine. I shall take him away elsewhere, and he will never bear the title of Bādshāh," the hard-hearted Mubāriz Khān had no pity, and shutting the eye of reason on the purport of the couplet;

Ah! mercy! for the rule of the entire earth

Deserveth not, that a drop of blood should stain the ground

cruelly and heartlessly killed that poor helpless child. He had the public prayers read in his name by the title of Sultān Muhammad 'Ādīl; but the common people called him 'Ādali, and Āndhli.

As he had heard from tales and histories of the gifts of gold, and prodigality and benefactions of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq, thinking of following his example, in the beginning of his reign he sometimes opened the doors of his treasury and gave rewards to the people; and thus drew them towards himself. (He used to shoot arrows; [3] and every arrow that he shot was made of gold and the price of which was not less than 500 *tankas*; and into every house

[1] There is some variation in the readings here. Several MSS., and the Lith. Ed., and the Lith. Ed., of Ferishtah have ملامت بسیار میکرد; other MSS., have, instead of these words, مبالغه مینمود *i.e.* spoke with great urgency.

[2] Several MSS., omit the words تا عاقبت بعد از فوت سلیم خان مبارز خان در محل فیروز خان or some of them.

[3] Two of the MSS., omit this about the golden arrow. Dorn says, "He used to cast arrows, the points of which were worth 500 tankas, in every direction, and to give the possesser of the house into which they happened to fall down, 500 tankas on his bringing them back." Ferishtah's version is و کنه باسی که پیکان او یک توله طلا بود در اثنای سواری وغیره در خانه کمان نهاده بهر طرف مي انداخت وان در خانه هر کسی که مي افتاد یا بدست آن که در مي آمد ده عدد روپیه داده آن کته با سي را مي آوردند which means, "he used to shoot in every direction arrows, the heads of which were made of one *tola* of gold, from his bow, when he was out riding, etc. They (his servants?) used to bring the arrow by paying 10 rupees to the men into whose houses they fell, or to whose hands they got." Ferishtah goes on to say that in this way he dissipated all the treasures of Shīr Shāh and Salīm Shah in a short time. The word which I have translated as arrow is either کنه باشي or کته باسي. I cannot find it in

into which an arrow fell, they (*i.e.* I suppose his servants) gave 500 *tankas* to the owner of the house, and brought that arrow back.

At this time the office of *vazīr* in his house (*i.e.* under him) was held by [1]Shamshīr Khān, slave of Shīr Khān, who was the younger brother of the renowned Khawās Khān, and Daulat Khān, Nuhānī, Neo-muslim, who had been educated by the Nuhānīs. And [2]Himūn *Baqāl* (grocer), and inhabitant of [3]Rewāri a dependency of Miwāt, who in those days, had placed his steps higher than the superintendentship of *bazārs*, and the work of soldiering, and had risen high in the confidence of 'Adalī, and become one of those who were nearest to him. A month had not yet passed, since the accession of 'Adalī, when in various directions and provinces of India, [4]there were chiefs of groups or tribes; and on hearing the news of the death of Salīm Khān and of the murder of Firūz Khān and of the absence of all system in 'Adalī's acts, disturbances woke up from sleep in various places, as will be mentioned each in its proper place.

[5]One day 'Adalī held public court in the hall of audience in the fort of Gawālīar, and all the renowned *amīrs* were in attendance on him. He was making a distribution of *jāigīrs* or fiefs. 'Adalī gave order, that the province of Kanouj, which had long been the *jāigīr* of Shāh Muhammad Farmūlī, should be taken from him, and con-

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any dictionary, and Maulvis whom I have asked say that they have never seen the word.

[1] He is so called in all the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. I cannot find his name in any other history, except in Dorn, where he is called Shams Khān.

[2] He is called هیمون, Hīmūn, in all the MSS., and Dorn calls him Heemoon. In the translation of the Akbarnāma he is called Hīmū, and in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī Hímú. The Lith. Ed. of the Tabaqāt and Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) have هیموی, and Col. Briggs has Hemoo.

[3] In the Gurgaon district, now a Railway junction.

[4] The meaning of the words ملوک طوائف شدند is not at all clear; but they occur in two of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. Two of the MSS., in the place of ملوک طوایف شدند ، و از استماع خبر فوت سلیم خان و قتل فیروز خان و عدم انتظام امور عدلی ، فتنه جا بجا از خواب بیدار شد ؛ چنانچه هر یک بمعمل خود مذکور خواهد شد have simply got در اطراف و جوانب فتنه بر خواست.

[5] Two of the MSS., omit the words from روزی در دیوانخانه to تقسیم جاگیرهاکردند.

ferred on [1] Sarmast Khān Sarwānī. In the course of conversation, Sikandar Khān, son of the above mentioned Shāh Muhammad, who was a powerful young warrior, said harshly in the public hall; "Now-a-days, we have come to such a pass, that our *jāīgīrs* are taken from us, and made over to these dog-selling Sarwānīs." Words rose high in the altercation. His father, Shāh Muhammad Farmūlī, who was ill at the time, forbade his using these harsh and rough expressions. Sikandar said to his father, "Shīr Khān once put you into an iron cage, and had a design on your life; but at last Salīm Khān interceded for you, and became the cause of your escape from that imminent danger. At the present time, the members of the tribe of Sūr are bent on your destruction, and you do not understand it. They will not let you live. For what reason shall we suffer these indignities from them?" During this turmoil Sarmast Khān Sarwānī, who was very tall in stature, and of very bulky size, laid his hand on the arm of Sikandar, in the way of deceit and flattery, and said "Oh son! for what reason is all this harshness?" His intention was, that by this pretext, he should make Sikandar a prisoner. The latter understanding his purpose laid his hand on his dagger, and inflicted such a severe wound, [2] that receiving the cup from the hand of the angel of death, he fell down senseless. Sikandar also attacked some others, killing some and wounding others. 'Adalī got up in that great tumult, and fled into his *haram*. Sikandar pursued him, and 'Adalī fastening

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[1] This name is given, as in the text, in all the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. but one MS. has after the name كه قبيله دار بودند which I suppose means who had (or was the head of) a tribe. In Dorn the name is given as "Sermust Khan Surrabunny." Ferishtah calls him سرمست خان شرواني, which Col. Briggs transforms into "Surmust Khan Surrabunny."

[2] The reading in several of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed., is, with minor variations, كه بيک جرعه از دست اجل رفته بيهوش افتادند. The difficulty is in the word رفته. If it is changed to يافته or گرفته the translation would be what I have given in the text. The other MSS., simplify the matter by substituting for the clause بيک جرعه از دست اجل رفته بيهوش افتاد the words بقتل رسيد *i.e.* reached his death or died. Ferishtah who closely follows our author has كه در ساعت همچو مستان از پا در آمده جان بحق تسليم كرد *i.e.*" at that moment, like intoxicated men, he fell down, and surrendered his life to the Just One.

the chain of the door from inside, escaped by means of a hundred stratagems. Most of the *amīrs* of 'Adalī threw away their swords, and [1]lost their way in flight. Sikandar, like a mad man, wherever he went, struck and killed and felled down. This state of things went on for one or two *gharis*.

About this time, Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, who was the husband of 'Adalī's sister, drew his sword and smote Sikandar, and others also attacked him; and Sikandar received the reward of his blood-guilt; and Daulat Khān Nūhānī finished Shāh Muhammad Farmūli, with one blow of his sword. It so happened, that on that same day, when [2]these events happened, [3]Tāj Khān Karānī, brother of Sulaimān and 'Imad Karānī absenting himself from the audience hall of 'Adalī, had come out of the fort of Gwāliār. When he had met Shāh Muhammad Farmūlī on the way, and they had asked each other how matters were getting on. Tāj Khān had told him (Shāh Muhammad), "I am drawing away my foot from this place. Do you come also and join me. [4]Affairs are taking quite a different turn here." Shāh Muhammad had not taken his advice, and had gone to 'Adali; and then what we have seen had befallen him.

[5]Tāj Khān flying from Gwāliār took the way to Bangāla.

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[1] Two of the MSS., and the Lith. Ed., have کردند (or کم) راه فرار گم which is not very clear; but which may be translated as I have translated it in the text. Other MSS., and Ferishtah (who, as usual, copies our author rather closely) have راه فرار پیش گرفتند, *i.e.* took the way of flight, or fled.

[2] Some of the MSS., have the word منعقد between the words معرکه and شده بود.

[3] These, according to Ferishtah, were از عمده امرای سلیم شاه, *i.e.* among the great amirs of Salīm Shāh. The name of the tribe is written as کراني, کرراني and کرزاني, Karani and Karrani and Karzani in the MSS. In the Lith. Ed. it is کرواني Karwani. Ferishtah has کراني Karani. In the translation of the Tarikh-i-Daudi it is printed as Kirani. Dorn has Kerrani and Col. Briggs Kirrany.

[4] There are different readings here. Several MSS., have کار دگر گونه شده است. Other MSS., have مهم نوع دگر است. The Lith. Ed. has کار دگر گونه پیدا است. Ferishtah leaves out this clause.

[5] The translation of the history of 'Adali's reign in the Tārikh-i-Dāudī begins here.

'Adalī sent an army in pursuit of him and also himself started in pursuit. [1]He overtook him in the neighbourhood of [2]Chhabrā Mau, which is at a distance of forty *karohs* from Agra, and of thirty from Kanouj. Tāj Khān gave battle, and being defeated, went towards Chunār. [3]On the way, he seized some of the officers of the Khālsa lands of 'Adalī, and took from them whatever he could, in money and in kind, and also seized one *halqa* of elephants, which amount to one hundred in number; and having joined with 'Imād and Sulāiman and Khwājah Iliyās, who were his brothers, and who held the government of some *parganas* on the banks of the Ganges, and Khawāspūr Tānda, again took up a position of hostility. 'Adalī then started from Gwāliār for Chunār, and despatched an army against the Karāniāns; and the two sides met on the bank of the river. At this time, Hīmūn Baqāl one day said to 'Adalī "if you send one *halqa* (*i.e.* one hundred) elephants with me, I shall cross the river, and attacking the Karāniāns completely rout them. 'Adalī did so, and Hīmūn attacked the Karāniāns and defeated them.

At this juncture, [4]Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr, who had married a sister of 'Adalī, and was a descendant of one of the uncles of Shīr Khān, fled from Chunār, when his wife warned him, that 'Adalī intended to imprison him; and went to his father

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[1] Dorn's account is different. He says "'Adali made preparation to pursue him in person. But Heemoon, promising the Shah, that if a small force and some elephants should be placed under his command he would do away with the Kerranians, 'Adali charged him with the pursuit. Heemoon soon encountered the fugitives; and an action took place, in which the Kerranians were discomfited and Heemoon carried the day."

[2] The name of the place is written as صو جبرا, Jabra Mau, صو جبرا, Jhabra Mau, صو چرا, Chara Mau and صو چبرا Chhabra Mau in the different MSS. The translator of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudi (Ell. IV. p. 506) calls it Chhabra Mau. Ferishtah Lith. Ed., has صو چهپرا Chhapra Mau and Col. Briggs bas Chibra Mou.

[3] There are various differences in the readings in the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. The clause about the capture of the elephants is omitted in several MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. I have adopted the reading, which appeared to me to be the most correct, and which agrees generally with that in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudi in Ell. Vol. IV.

[4] The account of the rising of Ibrāhīm Khān agrees generally with that given by Dorn, who however calls 'Isa Khan a Lohānī and not a Niāzī, and with that in Ferishtah, which is rather shorter than that in the text.

Ghāzī Khān, who held the government of Biānah and Hindwān. 'Adalī despatched 'Isa Khān Niāzī in pursuit of him. The parties met each other in the neighbourhood of Kālpī, and a battle ensued; and 'Isa Khān Niāzī was defeated, and Ibrāhīm Khān was victorious. The latter then started towards the capital Dehli; and had the *Khutba* (public prayer) read (in his own name); and going from there to Agra, took possession of most of the territories, When 'Adalī saw that Ibrāhīm Khān had taken possession of the central part of the country, he withdrew his hand from the Karāniāns, and set forth to attack Ibrāhīm Khān. When he arrived on the bank of the Jūn (Jumna), Ibrāhīm Khan sent an emissary to him, with this message; "If [1] Ray Hasan Jilwānī and Bahadur Khān Sarwānī, who bore the title of 'Āzam Humāyūn and some of the other great nobles should come to me, I shall, after making terms and conditions with them come to you." 'Adalī sent these men to him. [2] Ibrāhīm Khān, making them all join him, decided on further hostilities with 'Adalī. The latter, becoming acquainted with this state of things, knew that he was unable to withstand them, and returned towards Chunār. Ibrāhīm Khān assumed the title of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and raised the standard of sovereignty.

At this time, Āhmad Khān Sūr, who was also one of the descendants of one of the uncles of Shīr Khān and who had married the second sister of 'Adalī, and was among the leading *amirs* of the Punjab, with the help and assistance of [3] Tātār Khān Kāsī and Haībat Khān and Nasīb Khān [4] who had been great *amīrs* of Salīm

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[1] There are some differences in the two names in the MSS., etc. The first is called Hasan (or Husain) Jilwānī or Halwānī or Halwāi; the second is Bahādur or Bahār or Pār Khān Sarwānī or Sharwānī.

[2] This agrees generally with the accounts given by Dorn and Ferishtah. The latter says that 'Adali gave up all idea of holding Dehli and Agra; and retired to Chunār.

[3] These names occur only in two of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. The name of the first is Tātār Khān Kāsī in one MS., while in the other it is given as Tātār Khāzin Kālbi, while in the Lith. Ed., it is Tātār Khān Kānsī. There is no variation in the other names. These names are also given in the translation of Nia'mat-ul-lah's history by Dorn, where they are given as Tātār Kāsī, Habeeb Kaker, and Naseeb Khān.

[4] Several MSS. leave out the words و از امرای کبار سلیم خان بودند.

Khān, assumed the title of Sultān Sikandar, and raised the standard of disturbance and revolt. He advanced against Ibrāhīm Khān, and the two parties met in the neighbourhood of the village of Farah, which is at a distance of ten *karohs* from Agra. The army of Sikandar did not even amount to ten thousand horsemen, and Ibrāhīm Khān had an army of seventy thousand cavalry; and they say that he had granted [1] pavilions of state and standards and kettle drums to two hundred persons. Sikandar, adopting a course of peace and gentleness, represented that the Punjab might be left with him. Ibrāhīm Khān, placing his trust on the greatness of his retinue and army, was very proud, and paying no attention to the softness and flatteries of Sikandar, arrayed his army for battle. In the end however, the result was in accordance with the saying, "[2] The few prevail over the many." Sikandar was victorious and Ibrāhīm vanquished. The latter fled to Sambal; and the former, crowned with success, took possession of Agra and Delhi.

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[1] There is some difference in the readings here. One MS., has سرا پردہ و مخمل, while another, and the Lith. Ed. have مخمل سرا پردہ, while the other MSS., omit the sentence from گویند to دادہ بود. I cannot make out what مخمل سراپردہ means. In Dorn, in the corresponding passage, we have velvet tents and kettle drums. I think مخمل is a mistake for مخمل velvet. سرا پردہ مخمل would mean pavilions of velvet. Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) has a reading which appears to me to be totally incorrect. It has و ما هذا دویست امیر داشت که اکثر صاحب سرا پردہ و تحمل و علم و نقارہ بودند. The words سرا پردہ و تحمل are absolutely meaningless. Col. Briggs however translated from a more correct copy. He says "and some notion of the splendour of his train may be formed when it is stated that no less than two hundred officers occupied tents lined with velvet, and having the privilege of beating the nobut." The last word is explained in a note to mean, a "musical band, composed of nine istruments, confined to kings, but conferred by them on governors, to be used only in their governments, and in the absence of any of the royal family." If the passage in Col. Brigg's copy at all resembled that in the Lith. Ed., in my use, then his translation is a very free one; but it shows that the pavilions are also described in it to have been of velvet. I have however, retained سرا پردہ مخمل, as سرا پردہ مخمل is not to be found in any MSS.

[2] The Arabic phrase is correctly given in only one MS.; it is incorrectly given in another and in the Lith. Ed.; while the other MSS., omit it. Ferishtah says Sikandar gained a victory by adopting the ruse, which had been successful

About this time, news came that His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī (Humāyūn) had come into Hindustan from Kabul, and had taken possession of Lahore. Sikandar with a well-equipped army turned towards Lahore. Ibrāhīm, who had retired to Sambal, collected a new army, and advanced towards Kālpī. It so happened, that at this time, 'Adalī sent Hīmūn Baqāl, who had become his *vazīr*, with a large army and five hundred elephants of the size of mountains and artillery, towards Agra and Dehli. When Hīmūn arrived in the vicinity of Kālpī, he considered it most important to crush Ibrāhīm, and advanced quickly to meet him. There was a great battle, and Hīmūn was victorious. Ibrāhīm fled to his father at Biānah. Hīmūn pursued him and besieged Biānah; and the siege was prolonged for a period of three months. In the meanwhile, Muhammad Khān Sūr, the ruler of Bengal, had raised the standard of hostility; and had with the armies of that country advanced to sieze Jaunpūr and Kālpī and Agra. 'Adalī therefore summoned Hīmūn, and the latter raising the siege (of Biānah) started. When he arrived at a place called [1] Mandākar, which is at a distance of six *karohs* from Agra, Ibrāhīm came from behind and gave battle. He was however defeated; and went again to his father. From there he went to the country of [2] Patna, and having fought with Rājā Rām Chand, Rāja of the place, was taken prisoner. [3] The Rājā however, with great

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on many previous occasions. He says سکندر شاه علم خود را همراه کرده در برابر خصم بداشت، و خود با جمع جوانان کار دیده در کمین ایستاد. بادشاه ابراهیم در حمله اول لشکر پنجاب را متفرق ساخت، و چون سپاهش بتاراج مشغول شدند، سکندر شاه فرصت دیده از کمین بر آمد و بر قلب بادشاه ابراهیم تاخته در یک لحظه او را منهزم گردانید.

[1] The name of the place is given as مندکر in two of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. The other MSS., leave out a few lines here. Dorn calls the place Mundagur, and Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) has مندکهر, while in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, in Ell. Vol. IV, it is called Marhākhar.

[2] Several MSS., and the Lith. Ed., have تهته which appears to be Thatha; but Dorn and the translation of the Tārīkh i-Dāudī, and Ferishtah all have پٹنه Patna.

[3] The translator of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, referring to this, says in a foot note, "this deference, the reason for which is not very evident, is also vouched for by

respect, placed him on the throne; and himself behaving in the manner of a servant attended on him. Ibrāhīm remained there [1] till a body of men of the tribe of Miānī, who had their residence within the boundaries of Rāisīn, and who had enmity with Bāz Bahādur, the ruler of Mālwa, summoned him, with the object that they might make him their chief for carrying on their struggle with Bāz Bahādur. Ibrāhīm joined them. Rānī [2] Durgāwatī, ruler, of the country of Garha, also marched from her capital to help Ibrāhīm. Bāz Bahādur however sent emissaries to her and kept her back from this enterprise; and the Rānī returned to her own place. Ibrāhīm also did not consider it advisable to remain there, and went towards Orissa, which is beyond Bangāla; and remained there, till in the year [3] 975 A.H. (1568 A.D.) when Sulaimān Karānī took possession

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the Makẖzan-i Afghānī, and the Tārīkẖ-i-Khān Jahān." Dorn says that the Rāja did this "both from generosity and policy."

[1] This is the translation of the reading as it occurs in two of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. The readings in the other MSS., are defective. These MSS. have محمد خان سور حاکم بنگاله علم مخالفت برداشته با لشکرهای بسیار متوجه جونپور و کالپی و آگره شد, and then omitting the intervening words go on to چون جماعته میانه یا باز بهادر حاکم سارنگ پور نزاع داشتند ابراهیم را از پٹنه طلب نموده بر سر باز بهادر رفتند. Dorn says, in the corresponding passage, "he was called off by the Afghāns of Miāna, and departed accordingly for Malwa." The translation of the Tārīkẖ-i-Dāudī leaves out all mention of Ibrāhim's going to Mālwa; but says he (*i.e.* Ibrāhīm) remained there (*i.e.* at Patna) for a long time and then went to Orissa." Ferishtah has بعد از چندگاه افغانان را که در حدود رایسین می بودند با باز بهادر که حاکم مالوه بود نزاعی افتاد، و ایشان کسان نزد رامچندر فرستاد و بادشاه ابراهیم را پیش خود بردند و بر خویش حاکم ساختند. It will be seen that the قوم میاني of the text, and the جماعته میانه of some of the MSS., and the Afghāns of Miāna of Dorn have become the Afghāns of Biānah in the Lith. Ed. of Ferishtah; but Col. Briggs has "Meeana."

[2] Durgāwatī is of course the same as Sanskrit दुर्गावती, Dūrgāvatī. Her territory is called کرهه Karha in the two MSS., in which she is mentioned and in the Lith. Ed. She is not mentioned in the other MSS., or in the translation of the Tārīkẖ-i-Dāudī or by Dorn. She is mentioned by Ferishtah who calls her territory گرهه *Garha*, which I have adopted. *Garha* of course is very indefinite. It means a fort, and is usually appended to some name, as Shīrgarh, Salīmgarh, etc. It appears however, that the correct name of the country is Gadah Katinka as will appear later in the history of the reign of Akbar.

[3] All the MSS., (except one which gives the correct date خمس و سبعین

of Orissa, he came to the latter, relying on his promises and engagement, and was treacherously put to death by him.

In short Hīmūn, with great power and strength, came to 'Adalī; and the latter and [1] Muhammad Khān Kuria met each other at a place called [2] Chappar Ghatta, which is fifteen *karohs* from Kālpī, where a severe battle took place; and Muhammad Khān Kuria was slain; and 'Adalī was crowned with triumph and victory. After that, the latter went towards Chunār; and sent Hīmūn to Agra and Dehli, to oppose the army of His Majesty Khalifa-i-Ilāhī (the emperor Akbār).

[3] Sikandar Khān Uzbak and Qiyā Khān Gung, and the other nobles who were in Agra abandoned the place; and turned towards Dehli. Hīmūn also advanced to Dehli, and fought a battle with Tardī Beg Khān and defeated him. But at Pānipat he was slain by the officers of the daily increasing power, as will be narrated in the proper place. 'Adalī was at this time in the neighbourhood of Chunār, where Muhammad Khān Kuria's son, who bore the name of Khizr Khān, having had his name inserted in the public prayer and in

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و تسعمائة *i.e.* 975 A.H.) and the Lith. Ed., have خمس و خمسين و تسعمائة, 955 A.H. Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) has the correct date.

[1] All the MSS., and the Lith. Ed., and Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) call him محمد خان كوريه, Muhammad Khān Kūria. He is however called Muhammad Khān Gooria by Dorn, and Muhammad Khān Gauria in the translation of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī. Col. Briggs calls him Muhammad Shāh Soor of Bengal. In the Akbarnāma he is called Muhammad Khān without any further addition.

[2] The place appears to be چپر كتّهه in the MSS., and Lith. Ed. and in the Lith. Ed. of Ferishtah; but Dorn, the translator of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudī, Col. Briggs and the translator of the Akbarnāma all have Chappar Ghatta, with slight modifications in the spelling.

[3] The names are given as سكندر خان اوزبك and قبا خان كنك in two of the MSS. The other MSS., do not give any names, but only say امرايكه در اگره بودند "the amirs who were in Agra." The Lith. Ed. has سكندر خان اوزبك و قبا خان گنك Sikandar Khān Uzbek and Qabā Khān Gunk. Dorn has Sikandar Khān Uzbek and Kobad Khān Gunk. Sikandar Khān Uzbeg is mentioned in the Akbarnāma, but not the other man. Badāoni has اسكندرخان و قياخان كنك; but he says the former alone was in Agra, while the latter came from Itawāh to Dehli. Ferishtah does not name them, but only says, the amirs who were in Agra retired to Dehli.

the coin of the realm, and giving himself the title of Sultān Bahādur, came, and attacked him, to avenge the death of his father; and 'Adalī fought with him, and was slain, and the rule of the Afghāns was ended; and the star of the grandeur and greatness of Hazrat Khalifa-i-Ilāhī shone over the empire of Hindustan. The period of his (*i.e.* 'Aḍalī's) rule extended over nearly three [1] years.

[2] A comprehensive narration of the sublime circumstances, and the great victories of the servants of His Majesty, of the holy rank and the heavenly station, the centre of the circle of beneficence, the Polestar of the sky of the Khilāfat, the fortunate sovereign, the just and auspicious emperor, the emblem of the Divine power, the lord of the heavenly help, the exalter of the throne of greatness and grandeur, the founder of the palace of fortune and power, the conferor of sublimity to the carpet of reality and convention,

AB-UL-FATH JALĀL-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD AKBAR, BĀDSHĀH GHĀZĪ,

may God sanctify the days of his reign and prolong the shadow of his justice and benevolence.

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[1] Only one of the MSS. here adds و الله اعلم, which means "and God knows." Forishtah has a chapter about the reign of Sikandar Shah Sūr, and the decline of the Afghān power. Two of the MSS., differ greatly from the others and from the Lith. Ed. These after the words قریب سه سال بود have جلوس ابو الفتح جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملکهه ابداً . انحضرت از دهلي با رکن السلطنته بیرم خان بکوه سیوا لک بجهت دفع سکندر طعین شده بودند . چون بکلانور رسیدند خبر رسید که حضرت جنت آشیانی بعالم بقا خرامیده اند و در کلا نور بتاریخ نهم روز جمعهٔ دوم شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۹۶۳ بطالع جوزا دران قصبه جلوس واقع شد . سال اول از جلوس انحضرت است که این سال را تاریخ نوروز سلطاني که روز دوشنبه است هفتم شهر ربیع الثاني مذکور است از جهت سوانحی که در این سال روی داده سرکشي نمودن شاه ابو المعالي است and then as in the other MSS.

[2] This long and elaborate heading occurs in several MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. In the other MSS., there is a much shorter heading جلوس ابو الفتح جلال

[1] Although that asylum of all wisdom and excellence, the man, who knows all physical and spiritual truths, who is near to the threshold of sovereignty, the trusted confidant of the imperial State, the most erudite Shaikh Abul Fazl has written a description of the wonderful events of the reign of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, from the time of his auspicious birth, to this day, which is in the thirty eighth year of the Ilāhī era, corresponding with the year, one thousand and two Hijri, partially and entirely in his highly-entitled book called the Akbarnāma, with his elegantly-writing pen, yet as this servant of the threshold, Nizām-ud-dīn Āhmad *Mutasaddī*, has described the histories of all the Sultāns, who have raised the standard of sovereignty in the realm of Hindustan, it is obligatory on him to write an account of the events (of the reign) of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; consequently taking a drop from that immense ocean, he satisfies his thirsty soul. And although it is fit that a description of the events of his (Majesty's) reign should be the prefatory beginning of all books, not to speak of this one, yet as he has had a chronological arrangement before his eyes, he makes the narration of the auspicious events of His Majesty's reign, the end of the section about the Sultāns of the court of Dehli, which is the centre of Hindustān.

Let it not remain unobserved, that in the history of His Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī, we have reached to this point, that the mighty prince, *i.e* His Majesty Khalifa-i-Ilāhī was deputed from Dehli to the Siwalik hills, with the pillar of the state, Bairām Khān, in order to crush and put down Sikandar Khān Afghān. When His Majesty reached the neighbourhood of *pargana* Kalānūr, one of the dependencies of Lahore, the dreadful news of the passing away of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī arrived from behind. His Majesty felt much pain and tribulation, on hearing the terrible news of the strange occurrence.

Bairām Khān, the commander-in-chief, in concurrence with the amīrs and the great officers of the army, placed His Majesty on the throne of empire, at midday on Friday the second of the month of

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ابدا ملكهه الله خلد غازي بادشاه اكبر محمد الدين ابو الفتح جلال *i.e.* The accession of Ab-ul-fath Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzi, may God sanctify his reign to eternity.

[1] The translation of this part, in Elliot, V, is somewhat free; and the verses at the end have not been translated.

[1] Rabi'-ul-ākhir in the year 963 A.H., when [2] Orion was on the ascendant, in front of the town of Kalānūr, and proclaimed the glad tidings of justice and beneficence, to the World and all the people; and having carried out the ceremony of felicitation on the occasion, sent *farmāns* of peace and good-will to all parts of India.

Verse:

He on the throne appeared, resplendent as the Sun!
The sky its loins did gird in his service high!
He shone on high, like the glorious Sun!
And scattered fortune great, over all the world!
All the great did him felicitation give!
And by that, they themselves did exalt!
Offerings they made, that did the throne befit!
They scattered them over the triumphant prince!

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE FIRST YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

Let it not remain concealed that the Ilāhī year is the name of the solar and correct year; and its beginning has been fixed from the *Nauroz* (New Year's day). The beginning of this auspicious year (or era) is Monday, the 27th Rabī'-ul-ākhir of the year 963 A.H. (10th March 1556 A.D.).

Among the events, which occurred soon after the accession was the rebellion of [3] Ab-ul-Ma'ālī; and the details of it are these. Shāh Ab-ul-Ma'ālī was the name of a young Saiyad-zādah, belonging to the family of the Saiyads of [4] Tarmuz. He was distinguished for

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[1] The month is given as Rabi'-ul-āwwal in several of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed., but one MS., has Rabi'-ul-ākhir, which is the correct month. This is pointed out in a foot-note in p. 247 Vol. V, of Elliot's history. Badāonī has Rabi'-ul-āwwal also, but the translator refers to the foot-note in Elliot, V. Ferishtah has the correct month, Rabi'-us-sānī. One MS., in addition to the day, date, month and year of the Hijri era has روز سعد ازهر ماه جلالی.

[2] There are two readings here, بمطالع جوزا and بمطالعهٔ جوزا.

[3] Badāonī gives some account of the misdeeds of this man. Abul Fazl does not say anything clearly, but it appears from his account that Ab-ul-Ma'ālī presumed on the favour which Humāyūn had shown him; and behaved arrogantly towards the young prince.

[4] In Kāshghar.

personal beauty and elegance and intelligence and understanding. [1] Jinnat Ashiānī had felt a special regard for him. Owing to his great vanity and pride, he had wicked thoughts in his mind, and marks of bad fortune began to appear in him. The Khān Khānān, considering it proper, that Shāh Ab-ul-Ma'ālī should be destroyed, arrested him, and wanted to put him to death; but His Majesty, Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, in whose nature a love for all was innate, did not agree to the execution of a Saiyad-zādah, when the punishment would be [2] in excess of his crime, in the first year of his reign; and making him over to [3] Gulgaz *Kotwāl*, sent him to Lahore. [4] Shāh Ab-ul-Ma'ālī escaped from custody and Pahlwān ashamed of his fault, slew himself.

As the extermination of Sikandar Afghān was under consideration, the servants of His Majesty did not attend to measures for his (Shāh Ab-ul-Ma'ālī's) capture. They first of all, sent a body of experienced soldiers against Sikandar. The imperial troops came up with the Afghāns, in the neighbourhood of the hilly country of Siwalik; and after fighting with them, gained a victory and were honoured with marks of imperial favour. [5] As Sikandar had taken shelter in the defiles of the hills and jungles, the victorious standards passed three months in that neighbourhood in seeing the country and

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[1] According to Badāonī, Humāyūn had honoured him by calling him his son.

[2] In the trans. of Elliot, V, this clause has been translated "before any crime had been proved against him." The words in the MSS., are پیش از گناہ; the first word may be read either as بیش, *i.e.* in excess of, or پیش, before. I think بیش is the better reading.

[3] The name is written as گل گز in the MSS., and as گل گز in the Lith. Ed. in the trans. in Elliot, V, it is printed as Kal-gaz. Badāonī has کل گز, and in, the trans. the name is printed as Gul-Gaz. Ferishtah has in the Lith. Ed. پہلوان گل گز, and Col. Briggs has Peihlwan Goolzar. The translator of the Akbarnāma (Mr. Beveridge) thinks that Gul Gaz may mean the rose-eyed.

[4] Badāonī (Vol. II, p. 10) says, that after his escape, Ab-ul-Ma'ālī escaped to Kamāl Khān Gakkhar, and Kamāl Khān then separated from him and he went to Dibālpūr, but was arrested and sent to Bairām Khān; and was afterwards ordered to be sent to Mecca.

[5] The Akbarnāma says, the emperor went as far as Damhari in Kangra, now known as Nūrpūr—after Nūr Jahān, and also as Pāthāniya or Pathānkot.

in hunting, and made endeavours to destroy him. [1] Rājā Rām Chand, Rājā of Nagarkot, who was among the renowned Rājās of the Siwalik hills, came to kiss the threshold, and His Majesty left the place, on account of excessive rains; and remained for five months, in the neighbourhood of Jālandhar.

In the very week, in which His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī passed on the final journey, Tardi Beg Khān, one of the most renowned *amirs*, who had been in attendance on him, and who, on account of the trust imposed in him, was distinguished above all the *amīrs*, gave orders for the insertion of the renowned name of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-llāhī in the public prayers. He also took over into his own charge, in conjunction with [2] Khwāja Sultān 'Ali *vazīr* and *Mīr Munshī*, who was also the Mīr 'Arz, and the Mīr Māl, the affairs of Dehli and Mīwāt, and other *parganas*, which had at that time come into the imperial possession. He also sent Mīrza Ab-ul-Qāsim, son of Mīrza Kāmrān, with the [3] equipages of his late Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, and the elephants required for service, to the court of His Majesty. At the time, when His Majesty, Jinnat Ashiānī had started towards Hindustan, he had made over the government of Kābul and Ghaznīn to Mun'im Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs*, and had also made him the guardian (Atālīq) of [4] Shāhzāda Mirza Muham-

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[1] Dharam Chand, according to Abul Fazl, and Ferishtah. Badāonī has Rām Chand.

[2] He combined a number of great offices in his person, *viz. vazir* or prime minister, *Mīr Munshi* or principal secretary of state, *Mīr 'Arz*, or secretary in charge of petitions, and *Mīr Māl* or revenue secretary.

[3] The actual words are اسباب کارخانهای حضرت جنت اشیانی و فیلان کار آمدني which have been translated in Elliot. V, p. 249, "as the effects and establishments and war elephants of the late emperor." The corresponding words in Badāonī are کارخانهای شهنشاهي و فیلان چیده, which have been translated, as "the imperial work-shops, and some picked elephants." Ferishtah does not appear to have mentioned the *kārkhānās* and the elephants. It does not appear to me to be likely that either the imperial effects and establishments or the imperial work-shops should have been sent to the Siwalik hills. Badāonī differs from our author, as he says that the *kārkhānās* and the elephants were sent with Mirza Ab-ul-Qāsim, in company with Khwāja Sultan 'Ali, Vazīr Khān, and Mīr Munshi Ashraf Khān.

[4] Son of Humāyūn and step-brother of Akbar. The "concealed ones مخدرات, behind the veil of chastity" were the ladies of the imperial harem.

mad Hakīm, and had left all the concealed ones behind the veil of chastity there. The city of Qandahār with all its dependencies had, at the same time been allotted to Khān Khānān Bairām Khān as his fief. The government of the country of Badakhshān had also, with the help and favour of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, belonged to Mīrza Sulaimān, son of Khān Mīrza, son of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrza, son of Sultān Abu Sa'īd Gurgān.

When the news of the death of Jinnat Ashiānī reached Mīrza Sulaimān, the latter in his ill considered avarice, with his son Mīrza Ibrāhīm, started for Kābul. Mun'im Khān shut himself up in the fort, and sent a representation, containing an account of the occurrence, to the court, which was the asylum of the world. His Majesty, Khalifa-i-Ilāhī had, before the arrival of Mun'in Khān's representation, sent [1] Muhammad Quli Khān Birlās, and Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atka, and Khizr Khān Hazara and Khwāja Jalāl-ud-din Mahmūd and a number of others among the trusted *amīrs* to Kābul, in order to bring their Highnesses the pavilions of chastity. On receipt of the news of the siege of Kābul a *farmān* having the currency of fate, was issued that the above named noblemen should proceed with all haste and should release Kābul (from the siege). When the amīrs crossed the Nīlāb river, and Mīrza Sulaimān saw that he would not be successful, by carrying on the war, he sent a message to Mun'im Khān, by the interposition of Qāzī Khān Badakhshī, who was one of the most learned men of the age, and one of his trusted *amīrs*, that if he (Mun'im Khān) would insert his name, in the public prayers, he would return. [2] Mun'im Khān, also on account of the length of the time of the siege agreed; that if once the name of Mīrza Sulaimān also be read after the high titles of His Majesty Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, there would be no harm.

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[1] Badāonī gives the names of Muhammad Qūli Khan Birlās, and Atka Khān and Khizr Khān Hazāra. Ferishtah does not say that these noblemen were sent to bring the Begams. He says they were sent to help Mun'im Khān.

[2] The reading in most of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed., is (with slight variations and mistakes) منعم خان نیز بجهت اطالت مدت محاصرهٔ قبول نمود. One MS., however has چون منعم خان دید که مردم قلعه بجهت اطالت مدت محاصرهٔ در محنت اند قبول نمود.

When this intelligence reached the ears of Mīrza Sulaimān, he at that very moment, started and turned towards Badakhshān.

And also at the beginning of the exalted reign, 'Ali Quli Khān received the honourable distinction of the title of Khān-i-Zamān, and proceeded towards the *sarkār* of Sambal, with the object of putting down Shādī Khān Afghān, who was one of the *amīrs* of Sultān Muhammad 'Adalī. When he arrived, with that object, near the bank of the [1]Rahab, he sent forward some of his men (officers) with two or three thousand horsemen, so that they might cross the river, and keep watch over the enemy. The detachment crossed the river, without consideration and caution, and Shādī Khān taking advantage of such an opportunity, at once attacked them and [2]most of the detachment were slain in the battle, and a number of them were drowned in the river. When the Khān Zamān received this news, he, in consultation with the *amīrs* who were with him, such as [3]Mahdi Qāsim Khān and Bābā Sa'īd Qabchāk and Muhammad Amīn Dīwāna, wanted to cross the river, and give to the enemy the reward of their deeds. But at this time, letters came from Tardī Beg Khān, and other nobles who were in Dehli, (to the effect) that Hīmūn *vakīl* (agent) of Muhammad Khān 'Adalī had arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehli, with a large army and many elephants, ready to give battle; and it behoved them to come back with all haste. The Khān Zamān, and all the well-wishers of the State turned their bridles, without any delay towards Dehli. But [4]the Khān Zamān had not

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[1] Written as راهت, Rahat, by Ferishtah. According to Badāonī, Khān Zamān's فوج کار آمدني *i.e.* serviceable troops amounted to only two or three thousand horsemen.

[2] Ferishtah says that از سه هزار کس زیادہ از دو یا سه صد کس زندہ نماندند *i.e.* out of three thousand men more than two or three hundred did not escape with their lives.

[3] The translator in Elliot, V, has left out the names. The names do not occur in Badāonī, who only says that خان زمان در استعداد رفع و دفع او بود *i.e.* Khān Zamān was making preparations for crushing him; or in Ferishtah, who at once goes on to say that, "Hīmuī Baqqāl had taken possession of Agra, and had turned towards Dehli, so Tardī Beg summoned Khān Zamān and other nobles to return immediately."

[4] Badāonī says و خانزمان همانطرف آب جون ماند و نتوانست بایشان ملحق گشت, which has been translated "but Khān Zamān, remaining on the same

yet arrived at Dehli, when the defeat of Tardī Beg Khān occurred. As an account of the events connected with Hīmūn has been already given, in the history of Sultān Muhammad 'Adalī, it is not repeated here.

In short, when Hīmūn reached the neighbourhood of Agra, Sikandar Khān Uzbek, who was the governor of the place, found it necessary to abandon it; and joined Tardī Beg Khān. 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, and Lal Sultān Badakhshī, and 'Ali Qūli [1] Indrānī, and Mirak Khān Kūlābī, and Haidar Muhammad Akhtābegi and [2] Mirza Quli Beg Jūlī all joined Tardī Beg Khān in Dehli. Maulānā Pīr Muhammad Sarwānī, who had come from Bairām Khān, on a mission to Tardī Beg Khān also [3] joined the victorious army. When Hīmūn arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehli, the great amīrs came out of the city, and took up their stand on the field of battle; and the enemy having also advanced on the other side, the two armies met. Sikandar Khān and 'Ab-dul-lah Khān Uzbek and Lal Sultān Badakhshī, who were stationed on the right wing, dispersed and broke the hostile army by repeated assaults. When Hīmūn saw his troops discomfited, he with the men who were with him, attacked the centre of the Mughal army, placing some infuriated elephants in front of them. Tardī Beg Khān, being unable to withstand the assault, turned back from the field. But [4] Hīmūn,

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side of the river Jumna, was not able to form a junction with them," (*i.e.* with Tardī Beg and the other amīrs who had joined him).

[1] There is considerable doubt about this word. One MS., has Māzandarānī, but all the others have Indrānī, as I have got it in the text. In the translation in Elliot, V, it is Andarābī. I cannot exactly identify the name, either in Badāonī or in Ferishtah.

[2] This passage, according to all the MSS., is as I have translated it in the text. In the Lith. Ed., the words are و مرزا قلي بيگ جمع امدند خان omitting the words جولی همه در دهلي نزد تردي بيگ between قلي بيگ and خان. The translation in Elliot, V, is apparently from some MS., which agrees with the reading in the Lith. Ed.

[3] The translation in Elliot, V, is incomplete as the words نيز با عساكر منصوره همراه گشت have not been translated; but a new sentence has been added *viz.* "These all brought re-inforcements with them."

[4] This sentence appears to me to be incorrectly translated in Elliot, V, p. 251, where it is said, "but although Hīmūn had thus, by his tactics and

suspecting this to be deceit and trickery, on the part of Tardī Beg Khān, did not advance in pursuit of him. The troops that had defeated the left wing of Hīmūn's army, when they returned with a large quantity of booty, and heard that Tardī Beg Khān had placed a stain of disgrace on the forehead of his honour, and had fled, also themselves trod the path of those who had already fled. Hīmūn now acquired great power in Dehli. Tardī Beg Khān and the other amīrs turned to the presence, which was the asylum of the world. The Khān Zamān, on hearing this news, turned from the road, and joined them in the town of Sarhind.

At this time, the servants of His Majesty were in the town of Jālandhar, engaged in putting down the disturbance created by Sikandar. When the news of the defeat of the nobles reached the august hearing, Khwāja Khizr Khān, who belonged to the line of the Mughal Sultāns, and had the honour and distinction of having married Gulbadan Begam, the aunt of His Majesty, was left to carry on the war with Sikandar; and the standards were raised on a march to Dehli. When they halted in the vicinity of the town of Sarhind, the defeated amīrs came to render service. The Khān Khānān, on whose sound and wise judgment the regulation and arrangement of all State affairs depended, saw that the destruction of Tardī Beg Khān was desirable, and sent for him to his own place; and [1]had him put to death.

artifice, prevailed over Tardī Beg Khān, he did not think of pursuing him." Hīmūn did not gain the victory by tactics and artifice. He gained it by a furious attack with his elephants; and he did not pursue the defeated Mughals, because he was afraid, that Tardī Beg Khān's retreat was a ruse or feint to draw him along. This is also clear from Badāonī's account و از ترس خدیعت و باز گشت مغول تعاقب نکرد, which has been translated "but he turned back for fear of treachery and did not pursue the Mughal." Even this translation is not quite accurate. I would translate it "and from fear of a deceitful return of the Mūghals, did not pursue."

[1] Badāonī gives a circumstantial account of the execution. He says that the Khān Khānān (Bairām Khān) who was at variance with Tardī Beg Khān, but still called him *Tūgān*, or elder brother, held that the defeat was due to his treachery, and after taking the evidence of Khān Zamān and several others, impressed his own view on the emperor's mind; and obtained from the latter a sort of permission for the execution. He then invited Tardī Beg Khān,

Couplet; Even him whose back in battle thou hast seen,
Kill him, if the foe in battle did him not slay.

He also imprisoned Khwāja Sultān 'Ali, and the Mīr Munshi who were also suspected of the guilt of treachery, and were among those who had fled; together with [1] Khanjar Beg, a relation of Tardī Beg Khān. [2] When the great standards, having turned round within the boundaries of Sarāi were fixed, 'Ali Qulī Khān and Sikandar Khān and 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek, and 'Ali Quli Khān Indrānī and Lal Sultān Badakhshī and Haidar Muhammad Akhta begī and Mirza Quli Jūlī and Muhammad Khān Jalāir and Ma'sūm

and gave a signal to some men, who put the poor man to death. It is not clear how this was done. Badāonī says کار او را تمام ساختند. I wonder whether they clubbed or stabbed him. Apart from the barbarous way, in which the execution was carried out, it appears to me that according to Badāonī, Tardī Beg Khān was executed for his treachery (نفاق). There is no evidence, as far as I can see, of any treachery; but there certainly was, as Nizām-ud-dīn says, of great cowardice. The account given by Ferishtah is slightly different. He says the amīrs, who had been defeated and fled, came to the royal camp at Naushahra; and Bairām Khān Turkmān, whom Akbar had given the title of Khān Bābā, and whom he had vested with plenary powers, وقتیکه بادشاه بشکار رفته بود بمنزل رسیده و بی سخن در حضور خود دران سرا پرده گردن زد, *i.e.* "at a time, when the Bādshāh had gone to hunt, summoned (him) to his own abode, and without any words, in his own presence inside the pavilion had him beheaded.

[1] خنجر بیگ خویش تردی بیگ خان is translated in Elliot, V, p. 251 as "the Khanjar-Beg of Tardī Khān." from which it would seem, that the Khanjar-Beg was some kind of an attendant, and not a relation of Tardī Beg Khan. In the translation of Badāonī و صباح بدیوان نیامده خواجه سلطان علي و میر منشي را نیز مقید ساختند has been translated as "and in the morning, when Khwāja Sultān 'Ali and Mīr Munshī did not come to Diwān * * * he had them imprisoned." It appears to me that this is incorrect. The correct translation is 'And in the morning he did not come to the Dīwān, but had Khwāja Sultān 'Ali and the Mīr Munshī imprisoned.

[2] The meaning of the sentence is not clear. In Elliot, V, the translation is "when the royal tents were pitched." It appears however from Badāonī, vol. II, p. 15 that the battle took place in موضع کهرمنده که حالا درانجا سرای است مشهور *i.e.* in the village or place called Kharmanda, where there is now a celebrated *sarāi*. This is apparently the *sarāi* referred to in the text.

Khān Qāqshāl and Husain Quli Beg and Muhammad Sādiq Parwanchi and Shāh Qulī Mahram and Mīr Muhammad Qāsim Naishāpūrī and Saiyad Muhammad Bārha and Auzān Bahādur, the last six being the servants of the Khān Khānān were ordered that they should go in front, as a vanguard, and the Khān Khānān himself followed them.

Hīmūn, who was sounding the trumpet of pride in Dehli, and had given himself the title of [1] Rājā Bikramājīt, having collected an immense army and [2] fifteen hundred elephants hastened to oppose them. As he had sent his artillery ahead of him, a body of the imperial troops, acting with great bravery siezed it, when it arrived in the town of Pānīpat, by smiting the men with their swords.

Couplet; When a dog makes its way in a lion-infested wood,
Towards itself, it shortens the path of death!

[3] In the early morning of Friday [4] (2nd) of the honoured month of Muharram in the year 964 A.H. (5th November 1556) the news of

[1] Corruption of राजा विक्रमादित्य, Rājā Vikramāditya. Two of the MSS., have here و این بکرماجیت راجه بود که اکثر بلاد هند در تصرف خود داشت و امروز هندوان تاریخ را از زمان او اعتبار مي کنند . چون خبر نهضت رایات علي شنید, which means "and this Bikramājit was a Rājā who had the greater part of India in his possession; and even now the Hindus have their era from his time. When he heard the news of the march of the high standards." It appears from note 1, in page 252, of Elliot, V, that a similar passage occurs in the E. I. Lib. MS. But one MS., omits the words from چون to رایات علي شنید .

[2] Alfi augments the number to "nearly three thousands, a number that for many long years, had not been gathered together in India," and adds that more than a thousand were captured. Abul Fazl and Badāonī say that 1500 were captured. (Quoted from a foot-note in Elliot, V, p. 252.)

[3] No date is given in any of the MSS., or in the Lith. Ed. In the translation in Elliot, V, the date 2nd is inserted within brackets. Badāonī gives the 10th Muharram as the date. Ferishtah has 2nd.

[4] Two of the MSS. insert before this چون این خبر بهیمون رسید ، رود از نهادش برآمده فوجداران را بزیادتي مواحب (منصب one MS. has) امیدوار ساخته هر کدام فیلی را از فیلان نامي که همراه داشت تعین نمود تا برین سوار شده بلوازم جانسپاری قیام نمایند و خود بر فیلی هوای نام سوار شده روی کین بلشکر ظفر اثر آورد i.e. when the news reached Hīmūn, smoke issued from his body (*i.e.* he felt great sorrow); and he appointed each one of his *Faujdārs* to an elephant, from amongst those he

his approach was received from the scouts; and the powerful amīrs put the troops in line of battle, and devoted their energy to the destruction of the enemy. Husain Qūlī Beg, and Muhammad Sādiq Parwānchī, and Shāh Qūli Mahram, and Mīr Muhammad Qāsim Naishāpūrī and Lal Sultān Badakhshī and other renowned warriors harassed and disorganised the ranks of the enemy by bold assaults. Hīmūn, with his elephants, repeatedly threw himself on the imperial army; [1]and by successive assaults produced some confusion and disorder in the left wing. But afterwards by the exertions of the bold archers, and by onslaughts with swords and spears, that flashed like lightning, some stability was restored in the imperial forces. Hīmūn threw himself on the centre, which on account of the prowess and bravery of the Khān Zamān had stood firm, and drove all the elephants in that direction. [2]The victorious

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had with him, after giving them hopes of increase of salaries (or according to one MS. promotion in rank); so that they might, riding on them do their duties in offering their lives; and himself mounting on an elephant, which was called the 'wind', turned his face of malice against the victorious army. It appears from Badāonī, that the *Faujdārs* referred to in this passage were (chiefly) امراى افغان كه مقدم ايشان شادي خان مسواني بود, *i.e.* Afghān Amīrs, whose leader was Shādī Khān Maswānī.

[1] Badāonī goes further, and says, تذبذب و تزلزل تمام در برانغار و جوانغار انداخت which has been translated, "threw both right and left wings into great confusion." One MS. of the Tabaqāt has في الجمله خلل و تزلزل در جوانغار و برانغار راه يافت.

[2] There is a remarkable difference between the quiet, dispassionate language of our author, and the intolerant and abusive bigotry of Badāonī, in their remarks about Hīmūn. I quote the following specimen from Badāonī; و هيمون دران حالت سر برهنه چون ديوانه سگ گزيده فرياد بده و بستان ميكرد، و افسونيكه تعليم يافته بود ميخواند. ناگاه تير اجل كه هيچ سپرى دافع ان نتواند بود بر چشم احول او رسيد چنانچه از كاسه سر تهي مغز او گذشت. This has been translated as, "and Hīmūn, in these circumstances, with his head bare like one bitten by a mad dog kept shouting his battle cry 'give and take' and also repeating a charm which he had learnt. Suddenly, the arrow of death, which no shield can ward off struck his squinting eye, so that his brain passed clean out from the cup of his head." This translation is accurate; but I am doubtful about the meaning of فرياد بده و بستان; and the translation of the last clause appears to me to be incorrect. It should be "passed through the cup of his head, which was empty of brains."

army showered arrows on him. By chance an arrow struck Hīmūn in the eye, and passed through the back of his head. The men, who were exerting themselves in this neighbourhood, seeing him in that condition, held back their hands from further fighting, and dispersed. The war-seeking braves engaged in the pursuit of that ill-fated band; and threw most of them on the dust of destruction. [1]The elephant on which Hīmūn was riding as its driver was killed, and Hīmūn was lying wounded in the *jaukhandī* (howda), wandered about towards the jungle. By chance Shāh Qūlī Maharam found that elephant, and made his own driver mount it. The latter saw that a man was lying wounded in the howda. He informed Shāh Qūlī of the matter, and it was then ascertained, that the wounded man was Hīmūn himself. Shāh Qūlī Khān, considering this to be the most valuable of all booty, took that elephant, with several others, that had been captured in the battle-field, to the presence which was the asylum of the world, and brought it under the noble [2]eyes. The Khān

[1] This is the version with slight variations in several MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. It is also the version of the MS., from which the account in Elliot, V, was translated. On the other hand, one MS. has instead of the passage from اتفاقاً شاه قلي محرم بر فيلى to زخمي افتاده بود; the following فيلى كه همراه بود رسيد كه هميون بران سوار بود، خواست كه اين فيل را بغنيمت جدا ساخته، فيلبانرا بكشد; فيل بان گفت كه مرا مكش كه هيمون برين فيل سوار است but after that, this MS., follows the others from سر در جنگل زد to ميگشت; so that this MS., makes rather a jumble. The first part of the version however agrees with that of Badāonī, and in the Akbarnāma. Badāonī says و شاه قلي خان محرم برفيل هيمون رسيد و فيلبان گفت مرا نكشيد، هيمون بر فيل من سوار است; و او را بدان حال در معسكر آوردند, which has been translated, "Shāh Qūlī Khān Mahram happened to meet with Hīmun's elephant, and the elephant driver said to him, 'Do not kill me. Hīmun is riding upon my elephant.' So they brought him as he was to the camp."

[2] One MS. here has چون جميعت هيمون از هم پاشيد افواج نصرت نشان تعاقب گريختگان نموده عالم را از نوت جود (لوث وجود) ايشان پاک ساخته غنايم بيحساب بدست اوردند; ازانجمله قريب يک هزار و پانصد فيل بود كه بدست سپاه منصوره افتاد. روزى كه لشكر هراول را در قصبه پانيپت اتفاق محاربه افتاد، اعلام نصرت انجام را از موضع كرونده از توابع كرنال به پنج كروهى پانيپت اتفاق نزول افتاده، هنوز چادرها بر پا نشده بود، كه خبر رسيد كه لشكر پيش بدشمن پيوسته، اتش قتال و جدال

Khānān Bairām Khān [1] slew Hīmūn with his own hand. Sikandar Khān Uzbek in accordance with orders, went as far as Dehli in pursuit of the fugitives, and sent a large number of them to [2] hell. The next day, the victorious standards started from Pānīpat; and

افروخته شده است. بمجرد استماع این خبر شهریار گیتی‌مدار اهنگ جنگ مصمم فرموده نهضت فرمودند. چون بحوالی پانی‌پت رسیدند نسایم فتح و فیروزی وزیدن گرفت؛ و از جوانانی که از پی هم آمدند خبر فتح منتهی گشت؛ و متعاقب ان شاه قلی هربی (همون ؟) مخذول را معلوم و مقید ساخته از نظر اشرف گذرانید which

means, "when Hīmūn's army became dispersed, the victorious troops pursued them as they fled; and purified the earth from the stain of their existence; and took immense quantities of booty, among which were one thousand and five hundred elephants, which came into the possession of the victorious army. On the day on which the advance-guard commenced the fight, in the town of Pānīpat, the victorious standards (*i.e.* Akbar and the troops with him) came from the village of Karounda, one of the dependencies of Karnāl; and halted as a distance of five *karohs* from Panīpat. The tents had not yet been pitched, when news came that the troops in front had met the enemy, and the fire of battle and slaughter had flamed up. Immediately on hearing this news, the world-conquering monarch, having firmly determined to fight, started. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pānīpat, the breeze of victory and triumph began to blow; and from the warriors, who came up one after another, the news of the victory became confirmed; and following them, Shāh Qūlī having found out and seized the wretched Hīmūn, brought him before the noble eyes." This passage does not appear to have been in any of the MSS., used by the translator in Elliot, V.

[1] It is stated in a note in p. 253 of Elliot, Vol. V, that Badāoni, Abul Fazl and Faizi all state that Bairām Khān killed Hīmun, after having failed to induce the emperor to do so. This is followed, by what purports to be a quotation from Badaōnī and references also are given to the Akbarnāma, the Tārīkh-i-Alfi, and the Akbarnāma of Faizī Sarhindī. Badaōni, however, does not say that Bairām Khān asked Akbar to slay Hīmūn, with his own hand. He says شیخ گدائي کنبو و جماعته بهشاهنشاهي گفتندکه چون غزای اول‌است شمشیر را برین کافر باید ازمود. So that, it was not Bairām Khān, but Shaikh Gadāī Kambu and others who asked Akbar to slay Hīmūn with his own hand. Abul Fazl, in the Akbarnāma, however says that Bairām Khān himself begged Akbar to slay Hīmūn "or as he calls him the stock of sedition" with his own sacred hand. Nizām-ud-dīn does not say anything about any body asking Akbar to slay Hīmūn with his own hand.

[2] It is rather unusual with our author to use such language.

did not halt anywhere between that place and Dehli. Crowds of the great and common people and the low and high of that city hastened to welcome them; and carried out the ceremonies of making offerings and sacrifices. The army halted there for one month. Within that time, it came to the sublime ear, that all the children and adherents of Hīmūn, with their treasures had assembled together in Mīwāt. In accordance with orders which are obeyed by all the world, Māulāna Pīr Muhammad Sarwānī went to Miwāt, and seized all those people; and having taken possession of beautiful articles, as booty for the special treasury, [1] was exalted with the honour of being allowed to kiss the earth before the throne.

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

This year commenced on Tuesday the 9th Jamādi-ul-āwwal 964 A.H. (10th March 1557). As news came, that [2] Khizr Khwāja Khān had been defeated by Iskandar Khān Afghān, and had retired to Lahore, His Majesty Khalifa-i-Ilāhī raised his standard for a march to Lahore to redress this defeat. When the army reached Jālandhar, Sīkandar withdrew towards the hilly country of Sīwalīk. The lofty standard reached [3] Desūhah in pursuit of him, and from

[1] This passage has been translated in Elliot, V, as "and conducted them to the foot of the throne," which appears to me to be incorrect. It is said in a foot-note that Alfi adds that many Afghāns were killed: and that Mewāt was annexed to the imperial dominions.

[2] "Governor of Lahore. T. Alfi" (quoted from a foot note in Elliot, V, page 254). As to his ancestry and his relationship to the emperor, and the circumstances under which he was placed in charge of the operations against Sikandar Khān Afghan see p. 215 *ante*. He is called Khizr Khān by Badāonī. The latter says that Khizr Khān was defeated, in the neighbourhood of Chamiyārī (or Jamiyārī) 20 *karohs* from Lahore. The Akbarnāma says, that Khizr Khwāja Khān, on coming up to the town of Camyārī, detached 2,000 picked men, and sent them on in advance; and that it was this detachment that was defeated. Khizr Khwāja Khān, however, returned to Lahore.

[3] The name is written as دلنوهه in all the MSS., and as دلنوجه in the Lith. Ed. It is printed as Disāva in Elliot, V. The Akbarnāma has Dēsūhah; and it is said in a foot note that it is "in *Sarkār* Bet Jālandhar Duab, has a brick-fort. Jar. II 316." Badaōni has دلبوهه. I have adopted دیسوهه as it may be easily miswritten as دلنوهه.

that place came to [1] Damhari. As it was then ascertained, that Sikandar had taken the path of flight, and did not intend to fight, a body of renowned amīrs was sent in pursuit of him and His Majesty also himself [2] followed them. When the amīrs, marching rapidly, arrived near Sikandar's camp, the latter shut himself up, in the fort of Mānkot. The imperial army also, in close pursuit of him, encamped at the foot of the fort, and surrounding it from all sides, devoted themselves to the task of capturing [3] it.

About this time the news of the approach of Her Highness Mariam Makānī, the mother of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, with other ladies of the pavilion of chastity, from Kābul towards Hindustan arrived; and became the cause of the delight of His Majesty's heart. Muhammad Quli Birlās, and Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atkah, and all the renowned nobles who had gone to Kābul to help Mun'im Khān, and to put down the disturbance created by Mīrza Sulaimān, and had also attended on the [4] Bilqīs of the age, [5] returned towards Hindustān. When Her Highness, the chaste lady, arrived within one stage of the camp His Majesty, leaving the Khān-i-Khānān in charge, went forward to welcome them; and made their Highnesses glad and happy by the sight of himself.

In short, when after the period of the siege had been prolonged, Sikandar Afghān, behaving with great humility, sent a representation, that one of the trusted nobles of the court might be sent inside the fort, that he might submit his requests to His Majesty. The latter deputed Atkah Khān on this duty. When the latter went inside the fort, Sīkandar behaved with all humility, and said "I have acted with great presumption and rudeness. I have not the face to appear in the presence of His Majesty. If for a time, I may, in

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1 See note No. 11, p. 125, and also note 5, p. 210, from which it will be seen that Damhari is in Kāngrā, and is now known as Nūrpūr, after Nūr Jahān, and also as Pathāniya or Pāthānkot.

2 Several MSS., have instead of متعاقب روا نه شدند, متعاقب متوجه گردیدند.

3 Two of the MSS., here add روز بروز مرچلها پیش کرده کار بر اهل قلعه تنگ ساختند, which means, "and advancing the batteries day by day, made things very difficult for the besieged." This passage apparently also occurred in the MS., from which the translation in Elliot, V, was made.

4 Bilqīs was the Queen of Sheba; see Alqurān XXVII-20-45.

5 The MSS., and the Lith. Ed., here have معاودت نموده بودند, but معاودت نموده appears to me to be more correct.

accordance with His Majesty's order, go to Bengal, on condition that I shall not withdraw my head from the yoke of allegiance, and shall send my son to attend on His Majesty, it would be an act of favour to this slave." On his return, Atkah Khān in conjunction with Pir Muhammad Khān impressed these requests on the mind of the Khān Khānān, and in such a way brought them to the notice of His [1]Majesty, that they came within the bounds of acceptance. Sikandar sent his son, who was named 'Abd-ur-Rahmān with Ghāzī Khān Sūr, and some furious elephants and other presents, and surrendered the fort to the well-wishers of His Majesty on the 27th Ramazān 964 A.H. (25th July, 1557). The sublime standards then moved from that place towards Lahore, on the 2nd Shawwāl of the same year.

[2] Before this, at the time when the victorious army was

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[1] One MS. here has in the margin انحضرت كه لذت عفو بيشتر از انتقام ميدانستند التماس انها, which means "and His Majesty, who knew better the taste of forgiveness than of revenge (accepted) their request."

[2] The whole of the passage of which this paragraph is a translation occurs (with slight variations) in two of the MSS.; but is not to be found in the others or in the Lith. Ed. It was in some of the MSS., from which the translation in Elliot, Vol. V, was made; but it is stated in a foot-note to that translation (p. 256), that it was omitted in one MS., but was given in the Tārikh-i-Alfi; and the version given there agrees with that in the text. Abul Fazl also mentions the incident, but the elephant called Bakhshā is stated by him to have been named Lagnā. In the translation in Elliot, V, it is said that Bairām Khān sent a person to the emperor to enquire what fault he had committed to have been subjected to this mark of royal displeasure. And it is said in a foot-note that according to the Akbarnāma, Bairām Khān made this communication through Māham Ānka. According to the translation of the Akbarnāma in the Bibl. Ind., the message was sent to Māham Ānka (or Ānaga) through one of Bairām Khān's confidential servants, as in the text, and not to Akbar through Māham Ānka. I see that Col. Briggs also says that Bairām Khān sent Māhim Atka (as he calls her) to the king, but on referring to the Lith Ed., of Ferishtah, I find that it is also stated there پس بماهم انكه پيغام داد; and it also appears that Māham Ānka did not report the matter to Akbar, but only جواب داد كه امدن فيلان بان نواحي اتفاقي ست. Both the Akbarnāma and Ferishtah say, that as Bairām Khān continued to suspect that Atka Khān had maligned him to the king, Atka Khān went to his house at Lahore, and tried to remove the suspicion against him from the Khān Khānān's mind, by taking an oath on the Qurān.

encamped at the foot of the fort of Mānkot, His Majesty for the diversion of his mind, had arranged a fight between two elephants, one of which was named Fatūhā, and the other Bakhshā. By accident, these elephants fighting with each other, came close to the tent, in which the Khān Khānān happened to be. It so happened that the latter was suffering at that time from some imposthumes in the lower part of his body. It came into his mind that perhaps this had happened at a sign from His Majesty; and the people, who were round and before him, tried to strengthen this suspicion. He sent a message to Māham Ānka, to enquire what fault had been imputed to him by the people, who tried to create trouble, that such acts of unkindness should have been shown to him by His Majesty. Afterwards, when the capital city of Lahore became the halting station of the sublime standards, the Khān-i-Khānān again referred to this matter, and summoning Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Atkah told him "I know that these unkindnesses which have appeared from His Majesty are the result of your unkindness towards me." Atkah Khān, hearing these words, became extremely agitated; and taking all his sons with him, went to the house of the Khān-i-Khānān; and taking an oath on the holy book, removed the suspicion from the latter's mind.

After four months and fourteen days, the victorious standards marched from the capital city of Lahore in the direction of Dehli. When they halted in front of Jālandhar, the marriage of the Khān Khānān with the sublime cradle [1] Salīma Sultān Begam, daughter of Mīrza Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad, who was a cousin (sister's son خواهر زاده) of His Majesty's Jinnat Ashiānī (Humāyūn), and whom His late Majesty, in the days of his rule, had betrothed to him, took place in accordance with the (Emperor's) orders. The Khān Khānān arranged a royal feast, and prayed that His Majesty would honour it with his presence, and the latter made the assembly an object of envy to paradise by his presence, and brimful of delight and pleasure.

[1] The lady is called in the translation in Elliot, V, Sultān Begam; but Abul Fazl and Ferishtah call her Salīma Sultān Begam as in the text. Col. Briggs calls her Salīma Sultana Begum. مهد علیا, which I have translated literally, is an euphemism for a young matron of high rank, or as in this case, a young bride of high rank.

The Khān Khānān opened his hand with lavishness, and made the people happy and prosperous. In the beginning of the third year of the Ilāhī era, the standard of determination was raised for a march towards Dehli.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was [1] Wednesday the 20th Jamādī-ul-āwwal 965 A.H. (10th March 1558). On the 25th Jamīd-us-sānī [2] His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, arrived in state in Dehli, and engaging himself in studying the circumstances of the *raiyats* and the soldiery, scattered the marks of justice and generosity around the horizon. The Khān Khānān, during that time, came twice a week, in company with the nobles of the empire, and the pillars of state, into the sublime audience hall; and affairs were arranged, in accordance with His Majesty's orders.

Among the events of that time, was the story of the [3] infatuation of Khān Zamān, and the details of this brief statement are, that the son of a camel-driver named Shāham Beg, who had beauty and elegance of person, and was adorned with fascinating manners and behaviour, was enlisted among the body-guards of His late Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī. When His Majesty departed from this world, Shāham Beg was admitted into the body-guard of Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. As Khān Zamān had cast his eyes on him, he sent men secretly to him, and having allured him, summoned him. Shāham Beg fled from the sublime presence, and arrived near Khān Zamān. As

[1] In the translation in Elliot, V, the day is Tuesday, but the MSS., and the Lith. Ed., have چهار شنبه. The translation of the Akbarnāma has Friday.

[2] The Akbarnāma says, that after the New Year's rejoicings, Akbar advanced towards Dehli, hunting along the route. When he crossed the Sutlej, news came that Hājī Khān was still contending with the forces sent against him. So reinforcements were sent under Nāsir-ul-mulk. The emperor then paid a visit to Sarhind, where the remains of Humāyūn were lying in state. In the mean time, Hājī Khān's troops dispersed, on hearing of the reinforcements. These facts are not mentioned by our author.

[3] The Persian word is عاشقی, love or amour. The passage relating to this matter has not been translated in Elliot, V; but some account is given by Badāoni and in the Akbarnāma. The former gives a detailed account; and frequently breaks out into verse.

the latter had habits of excessive drinking, he sometimes stood before that young man, and addressed him as my *Bādshah*! my *Bādshah*! and saluted him and behaved with him, in the wicked manner of Transoxiana. When an account of these evil practices was submitted to His Majesty, a *farmān* was issued to Khān Zamān, that he should send Shāham at once to the court. If he made any delay in doing so, he would deserve severe punishment. *Farmāns* were also issued to the [1]amīrs, who had *jāigīrs* near his, to the effect that if he delayed in sending Shāham, they should attack him; and bring home to him, the reward of his recusancy. When Khān Zamān received information of this, he took the cotton of neglect out of his ear, and took steps to extinguish the fire of the imperial wrath. He sent a trusted servant of the name of Burj 'Alī, to the court, that he might perhaps be able to put matters right. Burj 'Alī first went to the house of [2]Pīr Muhammad Khān, and delivered Khān Zamān's message to him. Some of his words became the cause of Pīr Muhammad Khān's anger, and the latter ordered that he should be beaten with sticks, so that he should be very near the point of death; and then should be thrown from a bastion of the fort and killed. The [3]gossip and cackle of women said, "now this man has become expressive of his name." Khān Zamān, on hearing this, determined

[1] The Akbarnāma says that in order to check Khān Zamān's evil deeds, Akbar ordered that some "brave men should be settled in his neighbourhood, so that he might be removed from his unique position and absolute power; and yet not have the veil of his honour rent. For this reason, the town of Sandila (in Oude) was given in fief to Sultān Husain Khān Jalāir." But Khān Zamān had already given it to Ismael Khān, a relation of his own. There was a fight between Sultān Husain Khān and Ismael Khān, and the latter was defeated. Khān Zamān wanted to go and attack Sultān Husain Khān, but was persuaded by his friends not to do so.

[2] Who had the title of Nāsir ul-mulk, and who according to the Akbarnāma, "was all-powerful, and political and financial affairs were committed to his weighty judgment." His method of dealing with the unfortunate Burj 'Ali was however arbitrary and violent.

[3] All the MSS., have قهقهه زنان, which I have translated as gossip and cackle of women. The man was called برج علي, Burj 'Ali, and the fact of his being cast down from a برج, *burj* or bastion, became the subject of a pun. In the Lith. Ed., instead of قهقهه زنان we have قهقهه زمان . قهقهه زمان would

to separate himself from Shāham Beg; and sending for him said; "There is no alternative, except that we should, for some days, be apart from each other." After His Majesty pardons my offences, I shall petition him for pardoning yours," and bade him farewell. During the time that Shāham Beg was with Khān Zamān, the latter had entered into a *nikāh* marriage with a prostitute of the name of Arām Jān. It so happened that Shāham Beg fell in love with Arām Jān. Shāham Beg kept that woman for a time; and after that, gave her away to 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Beg, son of Mūīd Beg, on account of an intimacy that existed between them. In these days, when after leaving Khān Zamān he was wandering about, he came accidentally to the neighbourhood of [1] Sarwarpūr, which was the *jāigīr* of 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Beg: and on account of the ancient relation between them, went to his house. Then being with her, the chain of love, which Shāham Beg had with Arām Jān, again came into motion; and he begged 'Abd-ur-Rahmān to give Arām Jān back to him again. 'Abd-ur-Rahmān was high-spirited enough to refuse to hand over his *nikāh* wife to him. As Shāham Beg's disposition had become very domineering, he ordered 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Beg to be tied up, and seized Arām Jān. When this news reached Mūīd Beg, he collected a number of men and attacked Shāham Beg. The followers of the latter opposed him and fought with him. By

mean the gossip and cackle of the age. The Akbarnāma and Badāonī both ascribe the pun or joke to Pīr Muhammad Khān. The Akbarnāma says "This fellow is now an illustration of his own name (Burj, a tower)." Badaōni says و از قسادت قلب بقهقهه گفت که حال این مردک مظهر اسم خود گردید which has been translated as "with hardness of heart laughingly said this little fellow has become a victim to his name." Ferishtah (Lith. Ed.) however calls the man, فرجعلي, Furj 'Ali, and Col. Briggs has "Furokh Ally."

[1] The name is written as سرور پور, Sarwarpūr, in two of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed., and as سرهور پور Sarhūrpūr in the other MSS. In the translation of the Akbarnāma, it is called Sarharpūr; and a foot-note says it is a *pargana* in the Faizābād district of Oudh. Badaōni calls it سرهور پور که هژده کروهي جونپور است *i.e.* "Sarhūrpūr which is 18 *karohs* from Jaunpūr." According to the Akbarnāma and Badāonī, Shāham Beg did not come to the place by accident. According to the former, he had the same sort of relations with Abdur Rahmān as with Khān Zamān; and so he came to him. According to the latter Khān Zamān told him to go there.

chance, Shāham Beg was[1] wounded and [1]died. 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Beg, obtaining his freedom, turned his face to the door, which was the asylum of the world. When this news reached Khān Zamān, he put on a dress of mourning; and pursued 'Abd-ur-Rahamān Beg by forced marches. But when he arrived on the bank of the river Ganges, he learned that 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Beg had crossed the river one day before that. He returned sobbing and weeping (گریان گریان).

In this year [2] Musāhib Beg, son of Khwāja Kilān Beg, who had

[1] As I have said in a previous note, Badaōnī has more details about Shāham Beg. He says مويد بيگ برادر خورد عبد الرحمان بيگ ازروي غيرت جمعيت بهم رسانيده، قصد بالاخانه كه شاهم بيگ بارام جان بران بود نمود؛ و شاهم بيگ بمدافعه برخاست؛ كه جنگ شد. دران حالت مستى تيرى بمقتل او رسيد، و بان در گذشت. Mr. Lowe has translated this, "Muayyid Beg, the younger brother of 'Abdur Rahmān Beg assembled a body of men, and attacked the balcony where Shāhim Beg and Arām Jān were together. Shāhim Beg rose to drive them back, and a fray ensued, in which insane affair an arrow reached a mortal part of Shāhim Beg and he died." In a foot note he says the English word balcony, formerly pronounced balcōny is derived from the Persian Bālākhāna. I do not presume to question Mr. Lowe's derivation of balcony, though the concise Oxford Dictionary gives a quite different derivation; but bālākhāna does not mean a balcony, either in this passage or generally. It means "a house of more than one storey, and the upper storeys of such a house." It has the second meaning in the passage under discussion. I also think that Mr. Lowe has incorrectly translated دران حالت مستي, by the words "in which insane affair." The proper translation is "in that condition of drunkenness." As to the Chronogram, there is a difference between Mr. Lowe and Mr. Beveridge (see note II, p. 129, of his trans. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II). I cannot offer any solution of the difficulty, but I do not think that Mr. Beveridge's theory that "seh, three in Badaōnī's text is a mistake for sitta, six" is at all tenable.

[2] There is no mention of any of Musāhib Beg's evil deeds. In the translation in Elliot, V. it is said that he was put to death "because he had shown great ill-feeling and malice towards the Khān" (i.e. the Khān Khānān), but the text of none of the MSS., says so. In the Akbarnāma it is said, that Humāyūn used to call him Musāhib-i-munāfiq (the hypocritical companion), and that he had been an associate of Shāh 'Abul Ma'āli, and of 'Ali Quli Khān i.e. Khān Zāmān. Badaōnī so far as I can see, does not mention him at all. Ferishtah says كه نظر بر حقوق سوابق ابا اجداد خود كرده بر ببرم خان تركمان صاحب سى هزار سوار بود بروفق رضا سلوك نمي كرد و باوجود نصيحت اصلا متنبه نمي شد which I should translate as "mindful of the ancient services of his

been one of the great amīrs of their Majesties Firdus Makānī (Bābar), and Jinnat Ashiānī (Humāyūn), and was notorious for his innate turbulence, and was uncontrolled in hypocrisy and malevolence, was put to death by order of Bairām Khān, Khān Khānān.

[1] Another of the events of this year was this, that one day His

ancestors, he did not behave in conformity with the wishes of Biram (Bairām) Khān Turkman, who had become a commander of thirty thousand horsemen, and inspite of advice, did not at all become careful." This would show that his offence consisted in not being sufficiently deferential towards the all powerful Bairām Khān. Of course, Col. Briggs' translation is quite different from mine. He says "unmindful of the obligations he owed to Bairām Khān, began to treat him with disrespect." He was put to death in a most arbitrary and violent mannar. According to the Akbarnāma, "Bairām Khān imprisoned him and then sent him off to Mecca." It is not clear, whether he went there; but the next sentence says "he had come out of his lodging and was proceeding on his way, when his business was settled, and his foot went down to extinction. Nāsir-ul-mulk was the cause of this. By skilful management, he brought Bairām Khān to have two pieces of paper, on one of which was written 'death.' and on the other 'release.' These were to be spread out, and whichever of them should come out, and should fall face upwards, should be regarded as the Divine command, and should be acted upon accordingly. Fate favoured his design, and immediately persons were sent and he was brought to punishment." What a travesty of justice. According to Ferishtah however, this gave great offence to the Chaghtāi nobles, and to Akbar himself; but he was aparently powerless; and went away to Agra. Immediately after this Bairām Khān was displeased with Nāsir-ul-mulk himself, and sent him first to a fort, and then banished him to Gujrat and eventually to Mecca.

[1] This incident is mentioned in the Akbarnāma. It occurs in two of the MSS., and in the Lith. Ed.; but not in the other MSS. It was however in the MS., from which the translation in Elliot, V, was made. According to the Akbarnāma, "Akbar apparently to show his courage and skill, mounted Lakhna which was an exhibitor of terrific rage, at a time when it was at the height of its ferocity, evil nature, and man-killing, and made it engage with an elephant like itself, so that the proudest were surprised. The elephant Lakhna on which H.M. was riding was victorious, and was madly pursuing the other, when suddenly its foot * * * fell in to a deep ditch." I have made this quotation to explain why Lakhna was chasing the other elephant. According to the translation of the Akbarnāma by Mr. Beveridge, the rope round the elephant's neck "is called in Hindi *Kalāwa*"; a foot note however says that the word is really Persian. According to a foot note in page 256 "the rope is called *Kawāna*," in another translation of the Akbarnāma. The driver rests his fee or rather his toes on this rope.

Majesty was riding an elephant called Lakhna. That elephant was racing in pursuit of another; on the way it came upon a deep pit, and its legs went in to it. His Majesty fell off the neck of the animal, and his auspicious foot was caught in the rope, which is tied round the necks of elephants. The other man, who was seated on the elephant behind him, fell off; but His Majesty caught the rope with his hand, and remained suspended. A number of men came up, and extricated his feet from the rope; and the elephant extricated itself by its own strength. Afterwards His Majesty again mounted the elephant, and rode on it, to the palace. After six months, he went to Agra in a boat, and on the 17th Muharram 966 A. H. corresponding with the 3rd year of the Ilāhī era, the city of Agra became the envy of the world by the grandeur of His Majesty's victorious steps.

And among the events of this year were the rising and fall of Maulāna Pīr Muhammad Sharwānī. It happened in this way. Pīr Muhammad Khān was the fully empowered agent (vakīl-i-mutlaq) of the Khān Khānān, and all matters of government were entrusted to him. Things came to such a pass that he became the asylum and protector of all the great officers and nobles of the State; and among the nobles and the common people, few of those who went to the door of his house obtained an audience. About this time,[1] his health turned from the path of equability (*i.e* he became ill); and for a few days he did not go out of his house. The Khān Khānān went to his house to make the customary enquiry about his health. One of his [2] slaves, who was the door-keeper, came forward and said, "After your prayers reach (him), your honour may go inside." The Khān Khānān was angry on hearing these words. When information of this reached Pīr Mahammad, he came running out of the house

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1 This passage has been translated in Elliot, V, "His temper now became so arrogant and perverted, that for some days he would not come out of his house," which I consider to be incorrect.

2 There is some difference in the readings. One MS., and the Lith. Ed., have simply یکی از غلامان او, i.e. "one of his slaves," One MS. adds دربان, i.e., "gate-keeper," after غلامان; while another has غلامان قلماق دربان, i.e., "one of his slaves, a Qalmāq gate-keeper," while another has غلامان قلماق درمیان where the last word is manifestly a mistake.

and commenced making apologies. The Khān Khānān said, "Your door-keeper did not allow me to enter." He (Pīr Muhammad) said, "Pardon (me), he did not recognise you." The Khān Khānān said, "What do you consider my status, when you say that he did not recognise me." Inspite of all this, when the Khān Khānān went inside the house, (they) *i.e.* Pīr Muhammad Khān's servants did not allow the Khān Khānān's servants to go inside with him; but Tāhir Muhammad, his chief attendant, with some trouble, got himself admitted. The Khān Khānān sat for a moment; and then came out. He then considered how he should manage the business of Pīr Muhammad Khān. After two or three days he sent Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who in the end became Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Mīr 'Abd-ul-lah Bakhshī and Khwāja Muhammad Husain Bakhshī with some other servants of his own, to Pīr Muhammad Khān and gave him this message, [1] "You were like other students, and came to Qandahār as a *Faqīr* and a disappointed man. As I discovered sincerity in you, and some good services were also performed by you, I raised you to the rank of a Khān and a Sultān. As your spirit has no room for this high rank; and you are such that many great disturbances raised their heads through you; on account of this it is advisable that I take away from you, for some time, the paraphernalia of your pride and pomp, till that time when your disposition comes back to its (original) condition. It is best, that

[1] The message is somewhat differently translated in Elliot, V, p. 258. I do not object to it, but it appears to me that the sentence از بعضی خدمات مرضیه تو بظهور آمد has been incorrectly translated as "and (I) remembered some old services." It appears to me also, that it is hardly correct to say, 'I think it advisable to deprive you for a time of *royal* distinction and dignity.' The message is also somewhat different in the translation of the Akbarnāma. Pīr Muhammad Khān or Nāsir-ul-Mulk was extremely arbitrary, violent and cruel in his treatment of Burj 'Ali and Musāhib Beg; but he must have possessed great ability and independence of character. This latter quality is indicated briefly by our author, when he says در ساعت اسباب خانی و سلطانی را سپرده همچنانکه ملا پیر محمد بود شد. Abul Fazl is more explicit. In the the translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 131, it is said "as soon as Pīr Muhammad Khān heard this message, he being a man of independent mind, made over with an open brow, the paraphernalia of office, and with a blithe heart accepted retirement."

you should make over your standard and kettle drum and all apparatus of your pomp and pride." Pīr Muhammad immediately made over the insignia of the rank of Khān and Sultān, and again became as he had formerly been, Mulla Pīr Muhammad.

Hemistich; When a man doth not know, he loseth his way.

After some days, the Maulāna was taken, by order of the Khān Khānān to the fort of Biānah. From that place he was sent to [1] Mecca. He went to Gujrāt, and remained there. After the overthrow of Bairām Khān, he returned and again joined the court, which was the asylum of the world. When the post of the *vakīl* of the Khān Khānān was transferred from Pīr Muhammad Khān, it was entrusted to [2] Hājī Muhammad Sīstānī, who was also a servant of the Khān Khānān. At the same time, the position of the chief justice of the dominions was, with the approval of the Khān Khānān, entrusted to Shaikh Gadāī, son of Shaikh Jamāl Kambu Dehlavī, who had been on friendly terms with the Khān Khānān, during the time of their wanderings in Gujrāt. The pomp and grandeur of Shaikh Gadāī rose to such a height, that he had precedence over the great ones of Hindustan and Khurāsān.

About the same time, that leader of great men [3] Mīr 'Abd-ul-

[1] All turbulent and troublesome people, who could not be summarily disposed of, were ordered to be sent to Mecca. In this case, the order was apparently not carried out.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, "although Hājī Muhammad Khān was the nominal holder of the office, the real *vakīl* was Shaikh Gadāī, who was the *Sadr*. In all political and financial matters, Bairām Khān did nothing without consulting him, and the latter, being unhinged by the man-throwing wine of the world, did not consider the poor and weak. Arrogance, which casts down old families; what then must happen to newly made ones?—was assumed by him, and was the cause of his own fall, and of that of his patron."

[3] According to Badāonī, "he was one of the great *Saifi* Saiyyads of Qazwīn, and he came from 'Irāq to India, in the year 963. His son Mīr Ghiyās-ud-dīn was made an amīr with the title of Naqīb Khān, and was a very miracle of knowledge in manners and customs, chronology, biography, and all subjects of conversation, one of the wonders of the day." Abul Fazl says that "Mīr 'Abdul Latīf was distinguished for science, eloquence, trustworthiness, and other noble qualities. From his lack of bigotry and his broadmindedness, he was called in India a *Shiā*, and in Persia a *Sunni*. In fact he was journeying on towards the serene city of universal tolerance, and so the zealots of each sect used to censure him."

latīf Qazwīnī was honoured with the position of tutor of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and the latter sometimes read certain [1] *Ghazls* (odes) in the mystic language with him.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF GWALIAR.

This fort is celebrated for its elevation and strength. It had always been the seat, (وطن = birth or native-place) of great Rājās.

After Salīm Khān's (Islām Shah's) time it was in the possession of his slave [2] Bahīl, under the orders of Sultān Muhammad 'Adali. When the capital city of Agra became the seat of the Khalifa's throne Habīb 'Ali Sultān and Maqsūd 'Ali Kur and Qiyā Khān were appointed to the charge of conquering it. [3] After they had besieged it for some days, the garrison, being in great straits, surrendered it.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 4TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was Friday, the 2nd Jamīd-ul-ākhir 966 A.H. (10th March 1559 A.D.). During this year the Khān

[1] "Probably the Diwān-i-Hafīz, for Blochmann says 'at that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards, he was able to repeat some odes of Hafiz' Āin-i-Akbari 448," note quoted from the translation of Badaōnī, Vol. II, p. 24.

[2] This man's name is variously given. The MSS. have بهيل. Bahīl; the lith. ed. has سمبل, Sambal. In the translation, in Elliot, V, it is Suhail. In the text of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, he is called Bhīl Khān, but a note says "so spelt by Blochmann, the text has Bahabal. Badāonī Persian text has بهيل خان, which is transliterated as Buhail Khān in the translation. Ferishtah has سهيل خان and Col. Briggs Soheil Khān. He is also called Suhail in the trans. of the Tarikh-i-Alfi.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's trans. Vol. II, p. 88) "Rājah Rām Sāh, whose ancestors had been the masters of the fort, besieged it with a host of Rajputs, and had brought the garrison into straits. Qīyā Khān marched from Agra to Gwāliār and Rām Sāh left the fort and came to give him battle. He fought bravely, but Qīyā Khān stood firm, and as he sought victory from the world-conquering genius of the Shāh-in-Shāh, he defeated the enemy, and sent many to the world of annihilation. Thereafter he undertook the siege of Gwāliār." It is added in a foot note. "It was not taken till 966 A.H. See text p. 77 and Badāonī Lowe 23". I do not quite understand this note, and the references given appear to be incorrect.

Zamān was appointed to conquer Jaunpūr, which had for years been the capital of the Sharqī Sultāns, and had been during that time in the possession of the Afghāns. The Khān Zamān marched with a large force to that country, and fought battles, and by the imperial auspiciousness, [1] became the recipient of great victories; and brought that country into the (imperial) possession.

During this year also Habīb Ali Khān was sent to attack Ranthambhor. During the time of the rule of Shīr Khān Afghān, this fort was in the possession of Hājī Khān, one of his slaves. At the present time, Hājī Khān had sold the fort to [2] Rāi Sarjan, a relation of Rāi Udai Singh, who in that neighbourhood was celebrated for his wealth and the number of his followers. He in the course of time took possession of the *parganas* in the neighbourhood, and became very powerful. Habīb Ali Khān and a number of other servants of the imperial force went to the foot of the fort, and for a time besieged it; and when a long time elapsed, they plundered and ravaged the country round about the fort; [3] and went away to their own *jaigīrs*.

An account of the coming of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus from the country of Gujrāt to Agra.

As an account of [4] Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus has been inserted

[1] This was after his misconduct with Shāham Beg. According to the Akbarnāma, he took Jaunpūr from Ibrāhīm Sūr, and a large tract of country came in to his possession. Badāonī describes his battles. See Trans. Vol. II., p. 18.

[2] He is described in the Akbarnāma "as a servant of Rānā Udai Singh, who was powerful in that neighbourhood." According to Badāonī it was, Sangrām Khān a slave of 'Adali' who sold Ranthambhor to Rāi Sarjan Hādā.

[3] The siege was raised because Bairām Khān was dismissed, about this time. As Abul-Fazl says, "there happened just at this time the disruption of Bairām Khān, and prudent men thought other matters more necessary, and so did not proceed with the siege." Badāonī uses somewhat similar language to that in the text.

[4] He was the younger brother of Shaikh Bahlūl; who had been in the service of Humāyūn, and had been treated by him with great respect; and who was put to death by Hindāl. From fear of being ill-treated by the Afghāns Shaikh Ghaus had retired to Gujrāt. Our author does not say anything about his character. Abul Fazl says that both Bahlūl and he "were void of excellencies or learning, they at various times lived in mountain hermitages, and

in this book, in the history of the Shaikhs of the period, it will not be repeated here. In short, however, in the year 966 A.H. the Shaikh came to Agra, with his disciples, and a large body of followers; and was honoured with imperial favours. But as there was some ill-feeling between him and Shaikh Gadāi, and the latter had complete possession of the Khān Khānān's mind, he did not get as much attention from the Khān Khānān, as he had hoped for; and for this reason, he went away to Gwāliār, which was his place of abode, with a pained mind. He remained there to the end of his life, engaged in the performance of the duties of a Shaikh. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī granted a stipend of one *kror* on him.

And about this time, when the capital city of Agra was the abode of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, Bāhadur Khān, the brother of Khān Zamān, turned his face for the purpose of conquering it, towards the country of Mālwa, which had formerly been the seat of the Sultāns of the Khalj dynasty; and where in these days, Bāz Bahādur, the son of [1]Shujā' Khān Afghān held the rule. He went as far as the town of [2]Sīrī; when the affairs of Bairām Khān, Khān Khānān, fell into confusion; and he returned, in compliance with the Khān Khānān's orders.

practised incantations with the Divine names. They made this the proofs of their renown and credibility, and obtaining by help of easily deceived simpletons, the society of princes and amīrs, they put saintship to sale, and acquired lands and villages by fraud." Badāonī is less explicit, but as it appears from his account, that the Shaikh wrote a treatise, in which, describing the circumstances of his own exaltation, (i.e. ascent to heaven), he says that he had an interview with God who assigned to him superiority over Muhammad, there can be very little doubt that he was a charlatan.

1 More properly Shujā'at Khān, but also called Shujawal Khān. In the translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II., p. 136, he is called Sujāwal Khān. He is called Suzāwal Khān سزاول خان by Badāonī Vol. II, p. 35; and Shujāwal by Blochmann, 428. Sujāwal and Shujāwal appear to be totally incorrect, and I think Shujā'at Khān is the correct name.

2 Abul-fazl also has Sīri; but some MSS., have Sīprī. Beveridge says in a footnote, "Siri, now Shāhpūr, is in old Delhi." He thinks the text is certainly wrong, and suggests Seopuri, a town in Gwāliār and Seorhā in Bundelkhand. Badāoni has Sīprī, and a footnote in the translation says that it was about half way on the road.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 5TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was Saturday, the 16th Jamādi-ul-ākhir 967 A.H. (10th March 1560 A.D.). [1]As the administration of the affairs of the empire rested on the wise counsels of Bairām Khān, envious and wicked people were always endeavouring to place a different appearance on all things, so that they might themselves acquire all power and authority. At every opportunity, they said to His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, words which might produce disfavour in his mind (towards Bairām Khān); specially Adham Khān, who on account of his being the son of [2]Māham Ānka, had precedence over all, who were specially favoured, and always in concert with his mother followed the path of envy. But as the purity of the faith and the perfect sincerity of the Khān Khānān were patent to the bright intellect of His Majesty, if, accidentally, any words about him reached the latter's ears, they did not meet with any acceptance.

Hemistich: What can the foe achieve, if the friend is kind?

Until on the 20th Jamādi-us-sānī 967 A.H., His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī crossed the river Jamna, with the object of hunting; and the Khān Khānān remained in Agra for attending to affairs of State. When His Majesty reached the neighbourhood of the town of Sikandra, which was half-way to Dehli, [3](at this time, Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān Nīshāpūri was the governor of Dehli, and Her Highness

[1] Our author attributes the fall of Bairām Khān to the machinations of his enemies. On the other hand Abul-fazl says, it was entirely due to his own overweening idea of his own ability, and his listening to a crowd of flatterers, who led him on the path of destruction, and made him commit shameful deeds. Badāonī says something about the misrepresentations of Bairām Khān's enemies, but he also points out that Akbar felt that he had no power, that he had no privy purse, and that his servants were poor, and had but poor fiefs, while those of Bairām Khān enjoyed ease and luxury.

[2] Akbar's wet-nurse, who exercised great influence over him, and in the direction of public affairs. She attended on him, from the cradle till after his accession; and when he grew up she was the chief of his harem. See the long note about her in p. 261, Elliot, Vol. V.

[3] There is some variation in the readings; the parenthetical sentence does not occur in several MSS., and in the Lith. Ed. I have inserted it from the other MSS., though the clause كه دران ايام در دهلى بود, appears to be somewhat tautological.

Mariam Makānī, the saintly mother of His Majesty was in that city ;) Māham Ānka [1] thought in her mind, that there was no better course, than that she should persuade His Majesty and take him to Dehli ; and in concert with Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān who was in those days in Dehli, they might attempt to do whatever might be proper.

Verse ; When a difficulty comes to a man of sense,
From which his affairs come to a stand ;
He makes the wisdom of another his own wisdom's friend ;
So that it may assist in solving it.

For this reason [2] they represented to His Majesty, that Her Highness, Mariam Makānī was suffering, in these days, from illness and infirmity, and she was constantly remembering him. This produced a great yearning in the saintly mind, and he started for Dehli. Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān hastened to meet and welcome him ; and obtained the honour of rendering [3] homage.

[1] In the translation in Elliot, Vol. V, a clause is inserted here, "who was related to Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān" and in a foot-note it is added, that "this sentence is found only in the MS. in the East India Library."

[2] The Akbarnāma says, that instead of Māham Ānka and her confederates intriguing against Bairām Khān, it was Akbar himself "who spoke to Māham Anaga, who was a marvel of sense, resource and loyalty, Adham Khān, M. Sharfu-d-dīn Husain etc., that he would assume sovereignty, and would inflict suitable punishment on Bairām Khān, and his assemblage of flatterers, so that they should awake from their sleep of neglect, and long mourn over their misconduct."

Badāoni on the other hand writes as a partisan of Bairām Khān. He agrees with our author in saying that Māham Ānka represented to Akbar, that the queen Dowager had fallen suddenly ill * * * and Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān came to meet him, and he and Māham Ānka made mountains of mole hills, and prejudiced the emperor's mind against the Khān Khānān."

[3] Akbar arrived in Dehli on the 28th Jamādi-ul-ākhir, 27th March 1560 A.D. (Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 142.) The hunting expedition lasted for eight days, from the 20th to the 28th ; and Akbar was at Kūl (Aligarh), Jalesar and Sikandra. At the last named place, Māham Ānka explained their plan to Muhammad Bāqī Buglānī, father-in-law of Adham Khān ; but he revealed it to Bairām Khān, who however, did not put any credence in it. The Akbarnāma also says, "that Akbar proceeded towards Kūl, hunting as he went ; and as Her Highness Miriam Mahāni (sic) was in Dehli," and was in somewhat weak health he made this his motive and went there ; so that according to it, the story of

Māham Ānka, in concert with Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān, availed of the opportunity; and spoke words, which became the cause of a change in His Majesty's mind; they explained to him, that as long as Bairām Khān would remain, he would not allow His Majesty any authority in the affairs of the empire; and also that in reality the imperial power was in his hands; and in this way they produced exasperation in the exalted mind. In the end, they represented, "The Khān Khānān would know, that your coming to Dehli was due to our representation, and would suspect us of this offence; and we have no power of withstanding his hostility, it would be kindness to us, if your Majesty would grant us the honour of your permission to go to Mecca; so that going there, instead of rendering you personal service, we may occupy ourselves in offering prayers for you from a distance." As His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, had great affection for Māham Ānka, on account of her assiduous attention and service, he did not agree to be separated from her; and he assured her, that he would ask the Khān Khānān to excuse her fault. At the same time, he sent a message to the Khān Khānān to this effect "As I have come all this distance without consulting you, my attendants are afraid (of your displeasure).[1] It would be better if you will give them comfort, so that with composed minds, they may continue to perform their services." At the same time, Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān, acting with caution and farsightedness commenced to strengthen the fort; and to take other precautionary measures. He also took charge of all affairs of the State; and in concert with Māham Ānka, published the fact of the [2] change of the emperor's disposition towards the Khān Khānān.

After His Majesty's message reached the Khān Khānān, he sent [3]Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Mahmūd, and Hājī Muhammad Sīstānī, and

the illness of queen mother was not a fake. Badāonī agrees generally with our author.

[1] This sentence is incorrectly translated in Elliot, V, p. 262, in the following words, "Now you must make yourself quite at ease about them, so that you may continue to serve me with a tranquil mind."

[2] Some of the MSS., have ازاره رنجش خاطر انحضرت را

[3] These names agree with those given in the Akbarnāma; but Badāoni calls the first-named, Khwāja Aminā but it appears from a foot-note in the translation,

Tarsun Beg, in whose charge all affairs had been placed by him, to the court, which was the asylum of the world; and represented, that "the sincerity and the desire for the grandeur of this slave towards the servants of the court are of such extent that it is impossible that any act should be done by him which would be contrary to the wishes of the saintly mind. As regards the people who are engaged in serving and attending on you, excepting favour and kindness to them what is proper (for this slave)." As stories which had effect on the mind, and words which had impressed it, in respect of the Khān Khānān had reached the exalted ears, the words of his emissaries did not reach the place of acceptance; and they did not also receive permission to return. As the report, of the change of His Majesty's disposition, towards the Khān Khānān was widely published, all men separated themselves from him; and turned their faces towards the court, which was the asylum of the world.

Couplet; Be not surprised at time's revolutions great, for the sky,
Of such stories doth remember thousands of thousands!

Before every one else. [1] Qīyā Khān Gang was exalted by receiving the honour of kissing the royal carpet. Shahāb-ud-dīn

that the full name of the man was Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Mahmūd, as in the text, and that he came from Harit, and was a financier and calligraphist; and the prefix of the name of the second man, Hājī, is printed in the translation as *Hājji*.

[1] The name agrees with that given in the Akbarnāma; but Badāonī has قیام خان کنگ in the printed text, and Qiyām Khān Kang in the translation. Abul fazl gives greater details, of course tinged with his enmity to Bairām Khān, of the intrigues that took place. According to him when Bairām Khān heard, that his emissaries had not received a favourable reply, and had not also been allowed to leave the court, he at first thought of going to Agra, to put matters right (i.e. I suppose with a high hand). Then he thought of going "weeping and wailing and burning and melting to the entrance porch of the court of honour." On the other hand those who were round Akbar did not want him to grant an interview to the fallen minister. One party wanted Akbar to go to Lahore, and even to Kābul, to evade having an interview, while another declared for war. Akbar joined the latter party, and forbade Bairām Khān to come to Agra. The latter was not prepared to act contrary to the order, though Walī Beg and Shaikh Gadāī tried to persuade him to do so. It seemed better

Āhmad Khān, in consultation with Māham Ānka, gave every one who came to the threshold, which was as lofty as the sky, hopes of rank and *jāigīr* commensurate with his circumstances. As the Khān Khānān had always, in the secret recesses of his heart, had an inclination for lonely contemplation, and for a pilgrimage to the sacred places, he informed those *amīrs* and Khāns, who had not separated from him, of what was in his mind; and took leave of the service of the lofty-columned threshold. He sent Bahādur Khān, whom he had recalled from Mālwa, with these men (i.e. the men who were still on his side) to the emperor; and himself started from Agra, and turned his face towards Nāgor, with the intention of going on a pilgrimage to the sacred places. When he reached Biāna, he released [1] Muham-

to him that he should "act hostility under the guise of friendship." He thought of joining Bahādur Khān, and conquering Mālwa; and then prepare for further steps. He also *thought* of going to the country of the Afghāns and collecting a force there. Sometimes he *spoke* of asceticism, and spending the remainder of his days in holy places; but he "spoke of pilgrimage (*Haj*), but inwardly thought of crookedness (*kaj*). He sent Iskandar Afghān's (i.e., Sikandar Sūr's) son who was named, Abd-ur Rahmān to Ghāzī Khān Tanur, in order to stir up strife in the imperial territories. He "hastened towards Alwar in order to take his family and proceed towards the Punjāb." Akbar now sent a *farmān* to Bairām Khān, in which he admonished him, and told him to go on pilgrimage; and promised that on his doing so, he would be rewarded for his former services; but it had no effect, and Bairām Khān went all the faster in the wrong path. He went to Alwar, and then to Biānah, where he released Shāh Abul Ma'āli and Muhammad Amīn Diwāna, telling them to resort to the sublime court, but knowing full well that they would have more opportunity for sedition. The royal standards now advanced from Dehli, and stationed themselves at Nāgor, in order to prevent Bāirām Khān from planting his foot there. At one stage of the march from Dehli, Akbar sent Mir 'Abdul Latīf of Qazwīn to admonish and guide Bairām Khān; and though the latter "ostensibly accepted the admonition, in his heart he retrograded." Akbar then sent Adham Khān and others with a large body to Nāgor, to inflict punishment on him, or to arrange for his leaving the imperial domains. On hearing of the approach of the army Bairām Khān's followers deserted him; and he felt convinced that he would have to submit. So he sent a petition full of supplication and also the insignia of his office. But soon after this he turned away towards the Punjab, and declared himself a rebel. Badāonī's account does not differ materially from the text.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma he released Shāh Abul Ma'āli also; and his real object was that they should create disturbances. See the preceding note.

mad Amīn Diwāna, who was imprisoned, and sent him to the court. When the news of the departure of the Khān Khānan from the metropolis of Agra to [1] Alwar arrived, Shāhab-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān and Māham Anka informed the emperor, behind the back of Bairām Khān, that the latter had gone away from Agra, with the object of conquering the Punjab. The emperor sent Mīr Abdul-latīf to the Khān Khānān, with this message; "As your good intentions and the sincerity of your faith was known to me, I left the affairs of the empire in the grasp of your authority; and occupied myself with matters that gave pleasure and diversion to the mind. At the present moment I wish to undertake the management of the affairs of the State, it is right and proper that you, a true and sincere (servant) should turn your face of aspiration towards Mecca, the revered, which had always been present before your eyes; and from the *parganas* of Hindustan, as much as you may desire, would be fixed as your *jāgīr*; so that your agents may send to you the collections from them." When Mīr 'Abdul-latīf came to the Khān Khānān, the latter heard all these words, with the ear of acceptance; and started from Mīwāt towards Nāgor; and told all the [2] āmīrs who were with him to leave him; and no one among the great men except Walī Beg Zul Qadr, and his sons Husain Qūlī Beg and Isma'el Qūlī Beg, who were his relations, and Shāh Qūlī Mahram, and Husain Khān, nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Mahdī Qāsim Khān remained with and accompanied him. When he arrived at Nāgor, he divested himself of his standard and kettle drum, and

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[1] The MSS. have الور, Alwar, but the lith. ed. has ناگور, Nāgor. In the translation in Elliot, V, the departure from Agra is mentioned, but it is not said whether the journey ended at Alwar or at Nāgor. I have taken Alwar as the correct reading, because it appears a few lines further on that the Khān Khānān started from Nāgor after his interview with Mīr 'Abdul-latīf; and that at the time of the interview he was in Miwāt, of which Alwar was the chief town.

[2] There is a difference as to this word. Some of the MSS. have میر, *Mir*, while other have امرا, *Umra*, pl. of *amīr*. The lith. ed., has مرزا Mirza, which is clearly incorrect, because there is no mention of any Mirzā as being with him. If *Mīr* is accepted then Mīr 'Abdul-latīf would be meant, but I have adopted امرا, *Umrā*, because the next sentence shows that everyone left him except the few that are named there.

all the paraphernalia of his rank as amīr, and sent them with Husain Qūlī Beg to the sublime threshold.

At this time, His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī started from [1] Dehli with the object of going to the Punjab; and had arrived in the *pargana* of Jhajhar, when Husain Qūlī Beg [2] came and rendered homāge. [3] Among the persons present, Shāh Abul Ma'ālī wanted that he should salute the emperor while still seated on his horse. This caused annoyance to the noble mind; and the man was arrested and placed in charge of Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān. The coming of Husain Qūlī Beg, and the fact of his bringing the appurtenances of (Bairām Khān's) rank gave pleasure (to the emperor). At this time Pīr Muhammad Khān Sharwānī, whom the Khān Khānān, had banished, and (had ordered to be) sent to Mecca, the honoured, and who had been waiting in Gujrat, for the proper season, on hearing of the confusion in the affairs of the Khān Khānān, came with the greatest speed to the sublime threshold; and was exalted with (the gift of) royal favours; and was distinguished with the [4] title of Nāsir-ul-Mulk, and was favoured with a standard and kettle drum, and sent with a force after the Khān Khānān, so that he might make the

[1] The march from Dehli commenced on the 22nd Rajab (18th April), and the emperor arrived at Jhajhar on the 26th Rajab (22nd April). Jhajhar is in the district of Rohtak. Jarrett, II, 286, and Imp. Gaz.

[2] The reading in several MSS., and in the lith. ed., is دران مردم. This was also apparently the reading in the MSS., from which the translation in Elliot, V, was made, because it is said there, "Among the persons present there (with the Beg)." The other MSS., leave out دران مردم, and have شاه ابو المعالی سوارہ خواست. This is not correct, and دران مردم also appears to me to be incorrect. Badāonī, in the corresponding passage has دران منزل, "at this halting place." I think مردم in the text is a mistake for منزل.

[3] Abul Fazl says that Shāh Abul Ma'āli offered *kornish* from horse back. Mr. Beveridge says in a footnote that "it was not possible for anybody to offer a *kornish* from horse back." He thinks also that Dowson, the translator of the extracts from the Tabaqāt and Lowe, the translator of Badāonī are both wrong in translating دریافتن, by overtaking; and that it should be translated by saluting or embracing. I agree with him, though I think saluting is more correct than embracing; but I do not see why it is more difficult to offer *kornish* from horseback than to embrace from that position. Both the *kornish* and the embrace would be an extremely mutilated affair from horseback.

[4] He appears to have had this title before his banishment.

latter depart towards Mecca immediately. After Pīr Muhammad Khān had started towards the Khān Khānān, the sublime standard returned to Dehli; and a *farmān* summoning Mun'im Khān, who was in Kabul, was issued.

As [1]Rāi Māldeo, Rājā of Jodhpūr, with great power and strength, was blocking the road to Gujrat and he had a quarrel with Bairām Khān, the latter was delayed to avoid him. He left Nāgor and arrived in Bikānīr. Rāi Kalyān Mal, and his son Rāi Singh, who were among the zamīndārs of that neighbourhood, behaved towards him with loyal footsteps and carried out the rites of hospitality. After that the Khān Khānān rested there, from the fatigues of the journey; but hearing the news of the appointment of Pīr Muhammad Khān to pursue him, [2]he became terribly despondent and grieved in heart. At this time a number of men, who wanted to create a disturbance, finding a fit opportunity, became ring-leaders in the intrigue, and leading the Khān Khānān astray, determined on hostility. The Khān Khānān then turned his face towards the Punjab; and when he arrived at the fort of [3]Tabarhinda, which was the fief of [4]Shīr Muhammad Diwāna, who was an old servant of his,

[1] The correct Sanskrit form of the name is राय मल्लदेव, and of those of the Bikānīr chiefs राय कल्यान मल्ल, and राय सिंह. Abul fazl calls the last named Ray Ray Singh, and says, that at the time when he (Abul fazl) wrote his history, he was one of the devoted servants of the court, and was ranked among the great officers. His father and he were *Rāthors* of Bikānīr.

[2] It is clear that according to our author the Khān Khānān only assumed a hostile attitude, when he had no other alternative, and when he was led astray by mischief makers. Abul fazl of course says, that all Akbar's advice and admonition only served "to increase his disaffection" * * * , and that "he by his own endeavours hastened down the precipice of dishonour." Badāonī agrees with our author, but says distinctly that those round Akbar poisoned his ears against the Khān Khānān.

[3] In Sarhind. According to the Labb-ut-Tawārikh, it is now known as Bithandah, the Bhatandah of Jarrett, II, 295. Though in *Sarkar* Sarhind it lay a long way to the south, and its site is now in the Sirsa district of the Punjab. See note I, p. 166, Vol. II of the translation of the Akbarnāma. It was a place of great importance in the Afghān times.

[4] Abul fazl calls him "one of his special intimates." But it is said in a footnote that he was Bairām's adopted son, Blochmann, 316 and 524. Badāonī calls him the پسر خواندهٔ of the Khān Khānān which has been translated by

and had received many favours at his hand, out of the trust which he resposed on him, he left his son [1]Mirza Khān, who was then in his third year, and who, to-day is honoured with the title of Khān Khānān and Sipahsālār, and the other members of his family, and his goods and chattels there; and advanced further. [2]Shīr Muhammad took possession of all the goods and chattels, and treated the family and attendants of the Khān with much contumely. The Khān Khānān was in *pargana* Dibalpūr, when this news reached him; [3]and he sent Khwāja Muzaffar 'Ali Turbati his own *Diwān*, who in the end became Muzaffar Khān, with Darvesh Muhammad Uzbek, so that he might expostulate with and soothe him. Shir Muhammad, however, seized Muzaffar 'Ali, and sent him in custody to the threshold, which was the asylum of Sultāns. The Khān in confusion and anxiety started for Jālandhar.

Lowe, not quite correctly, I think as the reputed son. Adopted son, or more literally "one who had been called (or had received the name of) a son" is a more correct translation.

[1] He is called خلف صدق, which I suppose means true or legitimate son. Badāonī also calls him the جلف صدق of the Khān Khānān, which Lowe translates as lawful heir. He is named Mirza or Mīrza Khān in all the MSS., and in the lith. ed. and apparently also in the MSS., from which the translation in Elliot, V, was made, as he is there called "his son Mirza Khān." It appears from the Akbarnāma (trans. Vol. II, 204) that after he had entered Akbar's service he received the title of Mīrza Khān. Badāonī calls him میرزا عبد الرحیم, Mīrza 'Abd-ur-Rahīm. Abul fazl has "his son 'Abd-ur-Rahīm."

[2] Badāonī, like our author, simply narrates the fact. He however, goes a little further, and says that Shīr Muhammad had been bitten by a dog and had gone mad. On the other hand, Abul fazl defends him, and says he paid more regard to his real benefactor (i.e. Akbar) and separated from Bairām Khān. He says Shīr Muhammad sent Bairām Khān's family to the court.

[3] The above is a translation of the readings in all the MSS., and the lith. ed. It also agrees with the translation in Elliot, V, pp. 265-6, (of course with verbal differences); and also with Badaōnī; but Abul fazl gives a different account. According to him, it was "Darvesh Muhammad Uzbeg who imprisoned Muzaffar 'Ali, who had come to fetch him, and sent him to court, and himself bound on the girdle of loyalty." It is added in a footnote that it appears from Bāyazīd's Memoirs, that Muzaffar 'Ali was kept confined in Darvesh Muhammad's house in Dehli, and that he was released by Akbar on the representation of Afzal Khān (Khwāja Sultān 'Ali), and Mun'im Khān. Muzaffar is there called Bairām's *Diwān*, as he is in the Tabaqāt.

When the news of the departure of the Khān Khānān towards the Punjab reached the exalted hearing, (the emperor) deputed Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atka with his son Yusuf Muhammad Khān and [1] Hasan Khān, a relative of Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān, and many other amīrs towards the Punjab. When the victorious army arrived in the [2] town of Dikdār, and from thence at pargana [3] Konāwar, it blocked the Khān Khānān's path. The latter saw that there was no alternative but to fight, and had to arrange his troops for a battle, and face the imperial army.

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[1] He is called Husain Khān in the translation in Elliot, V, but all the MSS., and the lith. ed. call him Hasan Khān. The Akbarnāma gives the names of some of the other amīrs, who were sent against Bairām Khān. Among these, there is "Mīr Latīf Hasan Khān, a relation (*Khwesh*, perhaps son-in-law) of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and a number of others." This Mīr Latīf Hasan Khān seems to be identical with the Hasan Khān of the text. By the way it appears to me that Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, appears, in the sentence of the translation of the Akbarnāma quoted above, to have been by mistake divided into two persons. It appears from the Akbarnāma that Akbar sent an army with the amīrs mentioned, and also wanted to go himself in person after making certain arrangements for carrying on the administration in Dehli.

[2] Abul fazl calls it, "*pargana* Dikdār, which is near the *pargana* of Jālandhar, and lies between the Sutlej and the Biāh"; and it is added in a footnote that Dikdār is not in the list of Bet Jālandhar mahals given in Jarrett, II, 326, but it may be identical with Dakh (Tiefenthaler, I, 103) or Dakha or Dikha in a MS., of the Ain in Mr. Beveridge's possession, or the Dardāk (of the Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh), which is also a pargana of Bet Jālandhar, Jarrett, II, 100 and 316. It is called Duqdār in the translation in Elliot, V. Badaōnī has دکہدار Dik'hdār.

[3] So written in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. It is Konā in the translation in Elliot, V; and it is said in a footnote, "Badaōnī (p. 48) calls it Kanūr. Abul fazl Konajūr. Faizi says Konāchūr, one of the villages of *pargana* Rāhūn." The above note in not quite correct. Badāonī, Persian text, has کنور پہلور, Kanūr Phillaur, and the translation of the Akbarnāma by Beveridge has "Gūnācūr which appertains to Dikdār"; and in a footnote it is said, that Badāonī his Phillaur, (which again is not accurate as Badāonī has Kanūr Phillaur), which is a well-known place S.S.E. of Jālandhar. References are also made to Tiefenthaler, and Jarrett, and the Iqbālnāma, and Ferishtah, and Khafi Khān and the Darbār-i-Akbari and to Blochmann, but not to the Tabaqāt. It may be mentioned also that the Iqbālnāma has کونا جور which is very close to the کوناور of the Tabaqāt.

There was a sharp [1] fight between the parties; and in the end, the Khān Khānān's troops were routed, and he retired to the hilly country of the Siwalik. [2] Wali Beg with his son Isma'el Qūlī Beg, who to-day is included in the rank of the *Umara*, and Ahmad Beg and Ya'qūb Beg Hamadānī, and all his brothers were seized; and booty, of which no account is possible, fell in to the hands of the victorious army. This victory took place in the 5th year of the Ilāhī era, corresponding with 967 A.H.

After Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atka had advanced towards the Punjab, His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī left Khawāja 'Abdul Majīd Harwī (i. e. of Hirāt), who was in the band of *Vazīrs* in charge of the government of Dehli, after conferring on him the honour of the (title of) [3] Āsaf Khān; and himself, with pomp and splendour, turned towards the Punjab on the 2nd of Zi-l-Qāda in the year 967 A.H. He left Husain Qūlī Beg, son of Wali Beg Zu-l-Qadr, as a matter of policy in charge of Āsaf Khān; and ordered that he should be treated with humanity, and measures should be taken that no harm should happen to him. When His Majesty reached the town of [4] Ludiāna, Mun'im Khān, who had

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[1] There is an account of the battle in the Akbarnāma, which extends over nearly two pages of the translation. The royal troops were at first put to flight, but Atka Khān rallied them, and in the end, they were victorious. The battle took place in the early part of Zilhijjeh (23rd August). It appears from a note that the 23rd August was the first Zilhijjeh, but apparently Abul fazl was not quite sure of the date.

[2] He is called Wali Beg Zul Qadr in the trans. in Elliot, V. It appears from the Akbarnāma, that he was wounded and was lying hidden in a sugarcane field.

[3] Āsaf was the *vazīr* of Sulaimān (Solomon), and celebrated for his wisdom. Āsaf Khān was brought up in Herat; and in Qandahār, entered 'Askari's service; and afterwards joined Humāyūn's. The Akbarnāma says, that Husain Qūlī Beg was left in charge of Adham Khān; but Badāonī agrees with our author in saying, that he was left in charge of Āsaf Khān.

[4] Two MSS. have بقصبهٔ لودیانه. i. e. in the town of Ludiāna; but two others have بکنار دریای لودیانه, i. e. on the bank of the river of Ludiāna; while the lith. ed. has بلودیانه, i.e. at Ludiāna. But the trans. in Elliot, V, has Jālandhar. Badāonī has Ludiāna. The Akbarnāma has Sahrind. "The meeting was on Monday, the 18th Zi-l-hijja (the 10th September)." The Akbarnāma gives the names of a number of the amīrs, who came from Kabul.

in compliance with orders started from Kābul, arrived with Muqīm Khān, the nephew (sister's son) of Tardī Beg Khān, and other *amīrs*, and was exalted with the honour of kissing the dust (of the threshold). Mun'im Khān received the distinction of the appointment of *Vakīl* (agent or prime minister), and the title of Khān Khānān; and the other *amīrs* also were honoured with favours and benefactions, corresponding to their respective conditions. At the same place [1] the news of the victory, which had been achieved by Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, arrived; and the men, who had been taken prisoners in the battle, brought under His Majesty's eyes in custody and with their hands tied to their necks, and were put in to prison. Among these men, Walī Beg, who had serious wounds, died in prison. His head was cut off and sent to Dehli.

The sublime standard now [2] moved in pursuit of the Khān Khānān towards the Siwālik; and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of [3] Talwāra, which is one of the Siwālik hills, and the residence of Rājā Gobind Chand, and where the Khān Khānān had fortified himself, a number of renowned great men advanced before the others in to the hilly country; and fought with the men who had sallied out with the determination to fight; and cast most of them on the dust of destruction. Sultān Husain Jalāir attained to martyrdom in this battle. As they cut off his head and took it to the Khān Khānān, the latter wept with great

[1] According to the Akbarnāma Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Atka Khān and other loyalists also came, at the same time as the news of the victory, and rendered homage. Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Atka Khān recieved the title of Ā'azam Khān.

[2] Akbar left the army under the command of Mun'im Khān, and went to Lahore, where he arrived on the 26th Zi-l-hijja 967 (17th September, 1560); and he rejoined the army, and marched with it towards the hills, on the 10th Muharram 968 (1st October 1560).

[3] Talwāra is rather minutely described by Badāonī as, جای است منیع پس محکم در کوہ کوشمالي بر کنار اب بیاہ, which may be translated as 'a lofty place, very strong, in the Koshmālī hills, on the banks of the river Biāh. The Rāja of Talwāra is called Gobind Chand by Badāonī, as he is in the text; but Abul-fazl has Ganes. The Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh, according to a note in the Akbarnāma, II, 178, has "Gones, zamindār of Danāpur who lived at Talwāra." I suppose Gones is a mistake in transliteration. I cannot understand, how Ganes and Gones can be distinguished in Persian.

grief, and said, "My life is not of sufficient worth, that [1] on account of me, such men should be slain." And he instantly, in great sorrow and grief, sent Jamāl Khān, one of his slaves, to the court; and represented, that he felt very great shame and sorrow for his actions, although they had not been within his control. If the favour and graciousness of His Majesty were extended to this slave, and a veil of oblivion thrown over the evil deeds of this wretch, and he be pardoned, he would place his face of hope on the threshold, which is the asylum of Sultāns, and would have his head exalted by having the honour of rendering homage conferred on him. When the purport of this petition reached the sublime hearing, and the rights due to Khān Khānān's ancient services appeared on the field of the righteous mind, a noble order was issued, that [2] Maulāna 'Abd-ul-lah Sultānpūrī, who had the honour of bearing the title of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, should with some others, who were attendants of the threshold, go to the Khān Khānān, and should comfort his heart with royal promises, and bring him to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. When they returned and arrived near the camp, by the exalted order and direction (of the Emperor), all the *amīrs* and Khāns went forward to receive the Khān Khānān, and brought him to the camp, with the greatest respect. The

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[1] بتقریب من has been incorrectly translated in Elliot, V, p. 267 as "in my defence."

[2] There are some variations in the readings. One MS. has the reading I have adopted. This is also the reading adopted by the translator in Elliot, V; though it leaves a certain hiatus in the sense, as there is nothing to show that the emperor's orders were carried out; and that the Khān Khānān complied with it. Another MS., and the lith. ed. has اوردند instead of اورند. This also does not make complete sense. The two other MSS., differ materially from those already referred to. In these instead of سر افرازاید, there is سر افراز شوم, and then after مقربان there is نزد خانخانان فرستادند; and then leaving out the whole of the intervening sentence, we have چون نزدیک باردو رسیدند. According to the Akbarnāma, the Maulāna could not persude Bairām Khān to come to the court, but it was only after Mun'im Khān and others were sent at his request, that he could be induced to come in, and he rendered homage at a place called Hājīpūr, near the Dāman-i-Koh. According to Badāoni the Khān Khānān had to be brought almost by force. He says تا آنکه منعم خان با معدودي چند بل تعاشي دران جا رفته و خانخانان را گرفته باز اورد,

Khān Khānān placed the face of humility on the ground of favour; and asked for the pardon of his offences. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī favoured him with royal kindness, and distinguished him with a [1] special robe of honour; and after two days, granted him permission to go to the sacred places.

The Emperor then sent the victorious camp to Dehli; and himself went toward Hisār Firozā, hunting as he went. The Khān Khānān with his family and attendants, took the road to Gujrat; and started on his journey, and when he reached the town of [2] Pattan Gujrat, he stayed there for a few days and spent most of his time in sight-seeing. One day he went to a large reservoir or lake, which is situated in front of Pattan, and is famous as [3] *Sahas* (*ra*) *Ling*, (*Shasra* in the Hindi language means a thousand and they call a temple a *Ling*). As there are one thousand temples round this reservoir, it has become famous by this name. In short the Khān Khānān having gone there, was seated in a boat and was engaged in sight-seeing. When he got out of the boat, and turned towards his residence, a Nuhānī Afghān, of the name of Mubārak Khān, whose father had been [4] killed by the Mughals, in one of the battles, thinking of revenge, came to see the Khān; and at the time of shaking hands [5] slew him with his dagger, and Muhammad Bairām

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[1] The Akbarnāma says, Akbar "rose up, and bestowed on Bairām Khān a glorious robe, which he was wearing over his own breast." Badāonī says "a special dress of honour and a horse."

[2] This is Anahilpura, or Nahrwala Pattan. The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part I, p. 179 says "the remains of the Sahasralinga lake at Anahilpura show that it must have been a work of surprising size and richness, well deserving its name of Mahāsarah or great lake. The lake was made by Siddha Rāja Jai Sinha, who belonged to the Solānki or Chālukya dynasty, and reigned from 1094 to 1143 A.D.

[3] See the last note. Of course *Linga* means the phallic emblem of Siva, and not temple, as explained in the parenthetical sentence in the text.

[4] Badāonī says که در ابتدای فتح هندوستان خانخانان حکم بقتل پدر او فرموده بود, i.e. at the (time of the) beginning of the conquest of Hindustan, the Khān Khānān had ordered his father to be slain.

[5] The Akbarnāma and Badāonī give details of the way, in which the murder was committed. According to Badāonī, Bairām was killed at the time of the evening prayer; but Ferishtah says, he spent the night in a boat,

became a martyr. "Muhammad Bairām" is the chronogram of the martyrdom of this virtuous man. A number of the riff-raff of the place plundered his encampment; but Muhammad Amīn Diwāna and Bābā Zanbūr and others among his household servants took Mīrza 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, his intelligent son, whose age had just reached the fourth year, and who has now been honoured with the title of Khān Khānān, out of this fatal spot, to the town of Ahmadābād. Taking him from that place, they brought him with the face of hope to the threshold, which is the asylum of the world. He entered the service of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and was exalted with the imperial favour. [1] Day by day owing to the valuable services which were rendered by him, he became acceptable to the affectionate eye (of the emperor). His affairs gradually improved till he reached the title of Khān Khānānī. These matters are mentioned in their proper places.

In short after Bairām Khān had gone towards Gujrāt, His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī turned towards Hisār Firozā, with the object of hunting; and the army was ordered to march towards Dehli by the right hand road. Having hunted with certain leashes of leopards, which in the Hindi language are called *Cheetahs*, he made a grand entrance into Dehli, on the 4th of Rabi'-ul-āwwal 968 (9th Nov. 1560), and spent a few days there in pleasure and enjoyment. On the 2nd Rabi'-us-sāni, he turned the bridle of determination towards Agra, the seat of the Khilāfat, and arrived there, by boat, on the 12th of the same month.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Sunday, the 24th Jamādi-ul ākhir 968 A.H. (10th March 1561). The [2] marriage of Muhammad

moving about the lake, with a band of musicians; and he was assassinated in the morning, when he left the boat. The date is given as Friday, the 14th Jamādi-ul-āwwal, 968 (31st January 1561).

[1] There are slight variations, in the readings of this passage; the MSS. have گشته or بوده after اثر شفقت نظر, while the lith. ed. omits it. Then one MS. and the lith. ed. have میشد after میرسید, while the others do not have it.

[2] There is a long note about this marriage in the translation of the

Bāqī Khān, the son of Māham Ānka, [1] an account of the proximity of which chaste lady (to the emperor) has been described in previous pages, took place. His Majesty, at her request, went to her house, and arranged a royal feast, and for some days occupied himself in pleasure and enjoyment.

[2] AN ACCOUNT OF THE SENDING OF ADHAM KHĀN TO SĀRANGPŪR, AND OF THE CONQUEST OF MĀLWA.

In the time of Shīr Khān Sūr this country belonged to Shujā' Khān, who belonged to Shīr Khān's own tribe. After his death, it came in to the possession of his son Bāz Bahādur. At this time [3] it came to the exalted hearing, that Bāz Bahādur, the ruler of Mālwa, always occupied himself with unlawful and vicious [4] practices, and had no care of his [5] kingdom. For this reason the arms of tyrants and oppressors had become long on *Faqirs* and on the poor; and most of the *Raiyats* and the greater part of the people were stricken almost to death, by the hand of his tyranny. The honour of empire demanded, that the country of Mālwa should come into the possession of the servants of the powerful

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Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 204; but as it does not elucidate anything mentioned in the text, I do not see the necessity of any further reference to it. It is also based a great deal on suppositions and surmises. Two of the MSS. omit the passage about the marriage. In the other two the words are عیش و طرب instead of عیش و عشرت.

1 This passage appears to me to have been incorrectly translated in Elliot, V, p. 269, where it has been rendered as "with a lady, whose family connections have been explained in another place."

2 In the translation in Elliot, V, this heading is omitted.

3 Only one MS. inserts after درین ولا, اکثر بلاد هند در تصرف خلیفه الهي امد. The other MSS. and the lith. ed., have درین ولا بمسامع علیه, while one MS. omits درین ولا, and begins with بمسامع.

4 Most of the MSS. have بارتکاب ملاهي, but one has بلوازم مناهي, and the lith. ed. has بلوازم ملائي.

5 Two MSS. add و رعیت after ملک, but the others and the lith. ed. do not have these words. The two MSS., mentioned first omit the whole sentence from و از اینجهت to بجان رسیده اند. Of the MSS. which have this sentence, one has فقرا و شکستگان و مسکینان, while the other omits مسکینان, while the lith. ed. has فقرا و بیکسان.

state, and become the resting place of peace and safety. For this reason, Adham Khān, and Pīr Muhammad Khān, and Sādiq Khān, and Qiyā Khān Gang, and 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, and Shāh Muhammad Khān Qandahārī and other amīrs were appointed to go and conquer that country; and turning their faces of puisance in its direction, they started stage by stage. When they arrived within ten *Karohs* of [1] Sārangpūr, which is the centre of that country, Bāz Bahādur, who was in that city, awoke from the sleep of negligence and came to a place two *Karohs* from Sārangpūr; and entrenched himself in a fortification which he built there.

Bāz Bahādūr was unrivalled, in his time, in the art of music and in various kinds of Hindi tunes. The greater part of his time was spent in the society of prostitutes and dancing women; and in all kinds of vice.

When the victorious army arrived within ten *Karohs* of Sārangpūr, Adham Khān sent Muhammad Sādiq Khān and 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek and Qiyā Khān Gang, and Shāh Muhammad Khān, and a few other amīrs, as an advance guard, that they might go round the fort, which Bāz Bahādur had erected round his army, and making a reconnaissance, devise a plan, so that he might come out of the entrenchment. The victorious army came [2] in large numbers round Bāz Bahādūr's entrenchment. The latter arranged his troops, and [3] came forth to give battle. But the Afghān amīrs, who were pained in their hearts with him fled. Bāz Bahādūr also escaped by

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[1] It appears from the Akhbār-ul-Akhyār B.M. MS. 129 A, that Sārangpūr derives its name from one Shaikh Sārang, an officer of Sultān Firoz Shāh.

[2] The words are توپ توپ, in the lith. ed.; but the only two MSS., which have the words, have توپ توپ.

[3] The accounts of the battle as given by Abul fazl and Badāonī are somewhat different from that in the text. The former does not say that Bāz Bahādur erected any fort, or entrenched himself. He only says that Bāz Bahādur "took post three *kos* beyond it * * *. The armies faced one another at the distance of two or three *kos*." This went for some days and there were daily encounters, till the imperial troops were victorious; and Bāz Bahadur hastened off towards Khāndesh and Burhānpūr. Badāonī says, "on the 12th Rajab-ul-murajjab * * * Bāz Bahādur advanced with elephants and numerous followers within 7 *cosses* of Sārangpūr, to oppose Adham Khān * * * He gave battle and was defeated, and his retinue, and servants

flight, and [1] Rūpmati, his beloved wife, who composed verses in his name, with other members of his seraglio, and treasure fell into the hands (of the commander of the imperial army). At the time of the rout the eunuch of Bāz Bahādur wounded Rūpmatī with his sword; so that she might not fall into the hands of strangers. When Adham Khān summoned her, she, to preserve her honour, took poison and killed herself.

Adham Khān wrote an account of the victory, and sent it to the court. He kept the whole of the seraglio, and dancing and singing women of Bāz Bahādur near himself, and sent only some of the elephants with Sādiq Khān to the court. [2] The fact of his keeping the seraglio and other booty caused annoyance to the noble mind, and the interests of the empire demanded that he should himself proceed towards Mālwa. For this reason, on the [3] 21st Sha'bān 968 A.H. (8th May 1561), he left the metropolis of Agra, in the direction of Mālwa. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of the

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and wives were all taken prisoners." Badāonī then goes on to say, that large numbers of prisoners were slaughtered, by order of Adham Khān and Pir Muhammad Khān in cold blood. He appears to have been present at the battle, in attendance on his friend Mīr 'Ali Pildūz.

[1] Her exact status is not very clear. She is called او دوستدار و هرم i.e. "a beloved member of his seraglio"; it is also not clear, whether Bāz Bahādur composed verses in her name, or she composed them in his. The words in the text are که بنام او شعر گفت, which would mean, that she composed the verses in his name. In Elliot, V, the translation is "who used to recite poetry." But Abul fazl says that "Rūpmati was renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm. Bāz Bahādur was deeply attached to her and used to pour out his heart in Hindi poems descriptive of his love." Badāonī, as far as I can find, says nothing about her.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Adham Khān's mind became deranged by the victory; he kept the greater part of the spoils, and parcelled out Mālwa to the different amīrs, and behaved almost in a seditious manner.

[3] The Akbarnāma gives Sunday the 11th Sha'bān 968 (27th April, 1561) as the date of Akbar's departure for Mālwa. Badāonī has بیست و یکم in the Persian text, but in the translation the date is incorrectly given as the first of Sha'bān. In the same sentence, Akbar's return to Agra is described in the Persian text by the words بپای تخت آمدند. In the English, this has been rendered as "came back to the foot of the throne." I think the "seat of the throne" would have been more appropriate.

fort of [1] Gāgraun, which is celebrated among the forts of Mālwa for its elevation and strength, an order which had to be obeyed by all the world was issued, for the conquest of the fort. The commandant (kotwāl) of that fort, with great humility, hastened to the threshold which is the asylum of the world; and presented the keys of the fort as tribute. This submission on his part pleased His Majesty. The latter then travelled rapidly all night, and [2] arrived in the morning in the precincts of Sārangpūr. Adham Khān, who had started from Sārangpūr for the capture of the fort of Gāgraun, was honoured with the favour of being allowed to kiss the dust (near the emperor's foot) at a distance of three *Karohs* from [3] the former place; and was distinguished by the grant of royal favours. The emperor mounted again at that place, and in the city, the residence of Adham Khān was elevated to the sublime regions by his sacred sojourn. Adham Khān, having passed before the (emperor's) eyes what he had obtained in the shape of booty, wanted to keep some back; but [4] Māham Ānka, who was his mother, spoke to him; so that he presented whatever he had before His Majesty's eyes. The emperor, having passed some days in pleasure and enjoyments,

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1 In the Rājputāna state of Jhālawār (see Imp. Gaz., Jarrett, II, 209, and Rājputāna Gazetteer, II, 208, note quoted from the trans. of the Akbarnāma, II, 218).

2 The Akbarnāma says, the journey from Agra to Sārangpūr was made in 16 days; and Akbar arrived in the neighbourhood of the latter place on the 27th Sha'bān (13th May). If he did not leave Agra till the 21st Sha'bān, as our author and Badāonī say, then the arrival of Sārangpūr would take place later than the date mentioned in the Akbarnāma, i.e. on the 23rd May.

3 Two of the MSS. are very defective, and describe Akbar's expedition to Mālwa, in two or three lines. The other MSS. and the lith. ed. say distinctly, that the meeting between Akbar and Adham Khān took place در سه کروهی سارنگپور, *i.e.* "at a distance of three *Karohs* from Sārangpūr." In the translation in Elliot, V, p. 271, it is said, that "Adham Khān had left Sārangpūr in order to besiege Gāgrūn, so he met the emperor at three *kos* distance from that place" which means I suppose that the meeting was at a distance of three *kos* from Gāgraun. The Tārīkh-i-Alfī and the Akbarnāma both say, that Adham Khān was utterly confounded on seeing the emperor, who had outstripped the messengers sent by Māham Ānka to warn him.

4 This sentence is not in the lith. ed., but has been inserted from the MSS. It does not appear in the translation in Elliot, V.

turned the bridle of his determination towards the metropolis of Agra. Pīr Muhammad Khān Shīrwānī and other amīrs, who were scattered about different places in the country of Mālwa, came to Sārangpūr; and rendered homage; and being honoured with the gift of dresses of honour and horses were permitted to go back to their respective fiefs.

When His Majesty reached the neighbourhood of the town of Narwar, a tiger, for fear of which, the gall-bladders of lions turned to water, came out of the jungle. His Majesty, alone, in his august person, turned his face towards that ferocious beast; and with one blow of his sword cast her down on the ground; and other brave men killed her cubs, with their swords and arrows.

[1] Muhammad Asghar, Mīr Munshi, who was one of the Arab-shāhī Saiyads, and was distinguished for his calligraphy and his style, and had the title of Mīr Munshī in the service of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, received the title of Ashraf Khān. On the [2] 29th of Ramazān 968 A.H., the pavilions of honour were pitched in the metropolis of Agra.

When 'Adali Afghān was killed by the [3] son of Muhammad Khān Bangālī, who had been one of the amīrs of Salīm Khān Afghan, his son, who bore the name of Shīr Khān; having acquired a place on the carpet of government, in the fort of Chunar, turned his face with a large force to the conquest of Jaunpūr. When

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[1] It is not quite clear why he received the title at this particular time. There is a short paragraph in the Akbarnāma about the fact. It appears also from the Akbarnāma, that he fled at the time of the affair of Tardī Beg Khān and undertook the journey to the Hijāz. He returned to the court after the downfall of Bairām Khān, and was one of the amīrs, who were sent to assure Bairām Khān by promises, and to bring him to do homage. In the Akbarnāma, he is called Ashraf Khān, when he was sent on this mission. See Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II, pp. 178 and 179.

[2] There is again a difference of 10 days between the text and the Akbarnāma, according to which the arrival of the emperor at Agra took place on the 19th Ramazān 968 (4th June 1561). Badāonī has 29th Ramazān.

[3] Most of the MSS. have پدر, or پیر; the lith. ed. has پیر; only one MS. has پسر, which is the correct reading. The translator in Elliot, V, "has by the sons". He was killed according to one account in 964 A.H., and according to another in 968 A. H.

the Khān Zamān sent a petition (reporting this) to the sublime threshold, the amīrs who held *jagīrs* in those parts were deputed to reinforce the Khān Zamān. Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek and Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, and Shāham Khān Jalāir, and Kamāl Khān Gakhar and a number of other attendants of the threshold joined [1]'Ali Qulī Khān. [2] The Afghāns crossed the river and gave battle. The Khān Zamān fought bravely and scattered the Afghān army, and routed it; and sent a report of the fact of his having gained the victory to the high threshold.

As from certain actions of the Khān Zamān people had a suspicion of his insubordination and rebellion, the sublime standards came in to motion towards Jaunpūr, at the end of this year, by way of a journey of pleasure and hunting. When they halted in the neighbourhood of Kālpī, 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek who held [3] Kālpī as his *jāgīr* petitioned that his residence might be honoured by the pleasure-giving advent by the servants of His Majesty. His prayer fell in the place of acceptance; and his abode was made the envy of paradise. 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān stood in the place of service, and offered tributes, and was exalted by their acceptance.

When the town of [4] Karra became the place of the august

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[1] i.e., of course, Khān Zamān. One MS. has ازانطرف, after افغانان, and ازین طرف before خانخانان; but the other MSS., and the lith. ed. do not have these words.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's trans., Vol. II, p. 215), the Afghān army consisted of nearly 20,000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry and 500 elephants. A description of the battle is given in pp. 215 and 216. Akbar's men were at first victorious, but Shīr Khān came up with a body of brave men and fought valiantly. He drove the victors into the city lanes * * *. Meanwhile Khān Zamān took the lead with a number of determined men and retrieved the defeat. This victory took place before Akbar's expedition to Mālwa. After the victory, Ali Qūli Khān increased the stock of his infatuation. He did not send to the court the spoils of the victory. Akbar however considered the correction of Adham Khān the more urgent of the two matters, and it was only after his return from Mālwa, that he marched toward Jaunpūr. He started from Agra on the 4th Zilqāda 968 (17th July 1561) leaving the metropolis in charge of Muīn-ud-din Ahmad Khān Farankhūdī.

[3] Kālpī is situated on the bank of the Jumna, on the route between Agra and Jaunpūr.

[4] Karra is on the Ganges.

arrival, 'Ali Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān, and his brother Bahādur Khān, came by forced marches from Jaunpūr, which was their *jāgīr*, and had the honour of kissing the emperor's feet. As signs of their sincerity and loyalty were apparent, they were exalted by gifts of horses and robes of honour and were permitted to return to their *jāgīrs*. (The royal camp) then turned back, and on the 17th Zi-hijja of the 6th year of the Ilāhī era corresponding with the year 969 A.H. (29th August 1561) the august arrival at Agra took place.

Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atka who bore the title of Khān A'zma, and had the government of the Punjab entrusted to him, came at this time to the metropolis of Agra; and was honoured by being permitted to kiss the dust (of the threshold). The [1] affairs of the empire were placed in his charge. About the same time [2] Adham Khān came to the metropolis from Mālwa, in compliance with orders, which had to be obeyed by the world; and was distinguished by the hononr of rendering service.

On the 8th Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the year 969 A.H. (14th January 1562), His Majesty started, with the intention of making a pilgrimage to the resplendent grave of the Qutb-ul-auliyā (the Polestar of Saints) [3] Khwāja M'ūīn-ud-dīn Chishti, may his tomb be sanctified!

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma, this caused much vexation to Māham Ānka, and Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, who had up to this time been *vakīl*. The former on account of her intelligence, experience and services considered herself to be the permanent prime minister. Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad was a native of Ghazni, and began life as a common soldier under Kāmrān. He assisted Humāyūn out of the river after the battle of Kanouj; and accompanied the emperor in his exile; and his wife was one of the nurses of Akbar.

[2] He was directed to make over charge to Pīr Muhammad Khān. According to the Akbarnāma, "Māham Anaga's heart which was distressed by the separation from her honoured son, was thereby comforted; while Pīr Muhammad Khān was relieved of the burden of a colleague, and realised his hopes, and the people generally of Mālwa were freed from injustice, and gained peace and tranquillity. Adham Khān too was restrained from folly, and thus guarded against destruction."

[3] Abul fazl gives an account of the Khwāja in chapter XXXVIII, of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II of the translation, p. 238, and there are other accounts in the Safina-ul-auliyā of Dārā Shikoh, his sister Jahānārā Begam's life of the same, B.M. MS., O.R. 250, the long biography at the end of Ferishtah's history, the Khazina-ul-Asfiya, and Dorn's history of the Afghāns, Part. II, Book 3, p. 2.

When he arrived in the town of [1] Sambar, Rājā Behāri Mal, who was one of the renowned Rājās of that country, came with his son, Bhagwān Dās, and entered the imperial service, with great loyalty and sincere devotion; and was honoured with various favours and royal benefactions; and his daughter, who was veiled in chastity, was ennobled by a marriage with His Majesty, and was enlisted in the rank of honoured consorts. The victorious standards then advanced to Ajmir; and rendered the inhabitants of that holy place happy by gifts and alms and devotional offerings and stipends and grants. Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, who had a *jāgīr* in *Sarkār* Ajmīr, came in, and rendered homage, and was exalted by imperial benefactions. His Majesty appointed Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, with some of the *amīrs* of that *sūbah*, to capture the fort of Mīrtha, which is situated at a distance of twenty *karohs* from Ajmīr, and was in the possession of [2] Jai Mal; and himself, with good fortune and happiness, travelled by forced marches over one hundred and twenty [3] *karohs* in the course of a day and night, and arrived in Agra.

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also A.F.'s account in the Āīn, Jarrett, III, 361. Note quoted from the trans. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 238.

[1] The name of the place is بیانه, Biānah, in one MS., which is manifestly incorrect. In the other MSS., it is سانهر, Sānhar, and سانجر, Sānjar. The lith. ed. has سانبر, Sānbar. In the trans. in Elliot, V, it is Sāmbar. Badāon has سامبهر, Sāmbhar, and he fixes the place by saying که نمکزار بست مشهور, i.e. "which is a celebrated salt-mine." Ferishtah calls the place سنبهر Sambhar; and the Rāja Beharī Mal he calls راجه پورنمل, Rāja Pūran Mal. Col. Briggs has changed Sambhar into Sumthur. According to the Akbarnāma, the first meeting between Akbar and Rājā Behārī Mal (and some of his relations) took place at Sanganir (which according to a footnote is a town in Jaipur seven miles S. W. of the capital); and the marriage took place at سامبهر Sāmbhar. Rājā Behārī or Behār or Pahārī Mal was a Kachwāha Rajput, and was the first Rajput chief who joined Akbar's service and formed an alliance with him. He had four brothers, Puran, Rupsi, Askaran and Jagmal. He had three sons in Akbar's service, Bhagwān Dās, Jaggannāth and Salhadi. The first was a most distinguished officer, and on one occasion saved the emperor's life. His son the celebrated Rājā Mānsingh was equally distinguished and attained to the highest rank.

[2] Jai Mal was the commandant on behalf of Rāi Māl Deo. Mīrtha, Mairtha or Mirta is in Jodhpūr, R. G. II, 261.

[3] The Akbarnāma says, that Akbar traversed the long distance from

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF THE 7TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [1] Tuesday, the 7th Rajab 969 A.H. (10th March 1562). In the beginning of this year, Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, in concert with Shāh Bidāgh Khān, and his son 'Abdul-Matlab Khān, and Muhammad Husain Shaikh, and certain other amīrs besieged the fort of [2] Mīrtha. Various endeavours were made by the two sides; and in the end, a settlement took place to the effect, that the garrison should leave behind all their goods and effects, and should go out with their horses and accoutrements. When the victorious troops rose from before them, Jai Mal with his men went out. [3] But Deo Dās Rajput, out of pride and spirit which in reality is sheer ignorance, set fire to every thing that was in the fort; and coming out with a body of Rajputs passed in front of the imperial troops. Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain and the amīrs

Rantambhor (?) to Agra in less than three days, and arrived at the capital on Friday the 8th Jamādī-ul-ākhir.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, the year began on Wednesday, the 5th Rajab 969 (11th March 1562). This is not said in so many words, but it is mentioned as the day on which the Sun entered the house of Aries. It was also the birthday of the emperor.

[2] There is a fairly detailed account of the siege, in the Akbarnāma, from which it appears, that the garrison made sallies; and batteries were erected, and mines driven by the besiegers. At length a mine was exploded, and the tower crumbled down, and the garrison had to surrender. Badāonī is very brief.

[3] The whole of this passage, about Deo Dās, does not appear in two of the MSS. and in Lith. Ed.; but it appears in the other two MSS. There are slight differences between the two MSS., in which the passage occurs. The passage also occurred in the MSS., from which the translation in Elliot, V, was made. According to the Akbarnāma, Jaimal and other Rajputs informed Sharf-ud-dīn, of what Deo Dās had done and they joined in the pursuit of Deo Dās and in the engagement. Deo Dās was cut to pieces, as in the text; but it is also stated that according to some, he left the battle field wounded; and some ten or twelve years afterwards, a person appeared in a *Jogī's* dress, and assumed this name. Badāonī also mentions Deo Dās, but with his usual bigotry he says خود نیز باتش ابدی رفت و دویست کس از راجپوتان نامي او بجهنم رفتند which has been translated "he himself went into eternal fire, and two hundred of his renowned Rajputs went to hell". Ferishtah also mentions the matter; but he increases the number of Rājputs who fell to two hundred and fifty.

pursued; and came up to him; and he also turned round and attacked them, and a large number of the troops reached the grade of martyrdom, and about two hundred of the renowned Rajputs fell in this engagement. Deo Dās fell off his horse, and a body of men coming up to him, cut him to pieces. The fort of Mīrtha then came to the possession of the well-wishers (of the emperor).

At the same time, Pīr Muhammad Khān, who after the coming (re-call) of Adham Khān, held the government of Mālwa, [1] collected the troops of his province, with the determination to conquer Asīr and Burhānpūr. He besieged [2] Bijāgarh, which is one of the great forts of that country, took it by force, and having put all the troops there to the sword, went to the country of Asīr, which is commonly known as Khāndesh. He crossed the Narbada, and totally devastated most of the towns and villages of that country by slaughter and pillage. [3] He then reached Burhānpūr, and having

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1 It appears from the Akbarnāma, that before Pīr Muhammad Khān started on this expedition, he fought a battle with Bāz Bahādur, and defeated him. Badāonī does not mention this, nor does Ferishtah, though he says that Pīr Muhammad Khān عرصه مالوه را یکباره از خار تعرض متعلقان بار بهادر مصفا ساخت *i. e.* he completely purified the field of Mālwa, from the thorns of the strife of the adherents of Bāz Bahādur.

2 "Now in ruins." See I.G. "This of course is not the Bijāgarh of Warren Hasting's time." Note quoted from P. 256, Vol. II, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. The name of Bijāgarh is changed in the lith. ed., of Ferishtah which I have, into Bijanagar, though Col. Briggs has "Beejygur."

3 The account in the Akbarnāma is somewhat different. There is not much said about the wholesale slaughter and rapine carried on by Pīr Muhammad Khān. There is a fairly detailed description of the siege of Burhānpūr. After that fort was taken, Pīr Muhammad Khān, returned to Bijāgarh. There he heard, that Bāz Bahādur had taken shelter with the ruler of Khāndesh. He then made a rapid march, with only one thousand brave men, towards Burhānpūr. Then they suddenly saw the dust of the enemy's army at a distance. His advanced guard defeated it; and they reached Burhānpūr and looted it. When they were loaded with booty; and a number of them had got separated, news came that Bāz Bahādur was close at hand, with the army of Khāndesh. Pīr Muhammad Khān set his heart upon fighting, but his companions did not agree; and after a little fighting, they did not stand firm. One of them forced Pīr Muhammad Khān from the battle

seized that city by storm, gave orders for a general slaughter. He summoned many of the learned men and Saiyads to his own presence and ordered them to be beheaded. The governors of Asīr and Burhānpūr, and Bāz Bahādur, who had fled from Mālwa, and was wandering about in that neighbourhood, combined together, with all the zamīndārs of that country; and came in a large body and attacked Pīr Muhammad Khān. The latter being unable to meet them, turned towards Mandū. When he and his followers arrived on the bank of the Narbada, he and all the amīrs at once plunged into the water. It so happened that a string of camels came upon Pīr Muhammad Khān; and collided with his horse. He became separated from it, and fell into the water; and got the reward of his deeds.

Couplet :—Shed not unrighteous blood, when thou hast power;
For from its retribution, thou wilt ne'er escape.

The other [1] amīrs, who had gone to Mālwa, saw that it was beyond their power to hold it; and turned their faces to the threshold which is the asylum of the world. Bāz Bahādur pursued them, and recovered possession of the country. The amīrs, who had abandoned it without orders, remained in prison for a time. Afterwards 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek was appointed to retrieve this disaster; and [2] Mū'īn-ud-dīn Khān Farankhūdī and other Khāns,

field, and in attempting to cross the Narbada, his horse was kicked by a mule or a camel, a string of which was crossing also, and he was drowned. Although Abul Fazl does not dilate on the ruthless cruelty of the man, he also says that his death was a retribution, either of the oppression, which he had committed in this expedition, or of his conduct in Tardī Beg Khān's matter, or for some other deeds, known to the knower of secrets. It is said in a note that "A.F. could not be expected to suggest that Pīr Muhammad's death was due to his having plotted against Bairām, but the author of the Darbār-i-Akbari remarks "now all Bairām's opponents Shams-ud-dīn, Māham Anaga, Adham Khān and Pīr Muhammad Khān all perished, within a year of Bairām's fall." Badāonī is still more emphatic about Pīr Muhammad Khān's ultimate fate. He says از راه اب باتش رفت واه یتیمان و ضعیفان و اسیران کار خود کرد *i.e.* he went by way of water to fire, and the sighs of orphans and the weak and the captives did their work.

[1] The Akbarnāma mentions Qiyā Khān Kang, Shāh Muhammad Qilātī and Habīb 'Ali Khān as among the amīrs who abandoned their posts in Mālwa.

[2] "He was among the viziers of the diwān-i-bīyutāt * * was raised to the rank of a Khān, and sent with 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek in order that

were nominated to reinforce him. [1] At the end of the year 969 A.H. when 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek with the other amīrs reached the neighbourhood of Mālwa, Bāz Bahādur not having the strength to meet them fled, and some active warriors pursued him, and slew a large number of his men. Baz Bahādur remained for a time under the protection of Rānā Udaya Singh, who was among the great Rājās of the country of Mārwār; and then passed a long time in Gujrāt; and finally brought his face of supplication to the threshold which is the asylum of the world, and there sought shelter from the disasters of the times. 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān took up his abode in the city of Mandū; and the other amīrs went to their respective *jāgīrs*. Mū'īn Khān, after arranging and regulating the affairs of the province, brought his face to the threshold which resembles the heavens.

As the chain of union and friendship between His Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī (Humāyūn) and Shāh Tahmāsp Safvi had been very strong, after the death of the former, when the seat of sovereignty and the throne of government was adorned with the munificent person of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, Shāh Tahmāsp wanted that the ancient friendship should receive new strength. He therefore sent Saiyyad Beg, son of Mā'sūm Beg who was the [2]cousin (عمزاده, uncle's son) of the Shāh, and whom in the language of

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he might regulate the province, and inquire into the position of the *jāgīrdārs* and define the exchequer lands." Akbarnāma, Beveridge's Trans., Vol. II, p. 260.

[1] The account that follows agrees generally with those given by Abul Fazl and Badāonī. But the latter says that Bāz Bāhādur was imprisoned for some time after he came to Akbar's court. He also says that 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek made his headquarters at Hāndiya (and not at Mandū). Ferishtah's account is very brief, and is finished in less than two lines.

[2] There is some doubt as to the relationship between the Shāh and Saiyyad Beg. According to the text, they were cousins. Saiyyad Beg is also called the cousin of the Shāh in the translation of the Akbarnāma, which also says that his father Ma'sūm Beg was the Shāh's *vakil* or prime minister. Badāonī is silent about the relationship. Ferishtah says that Ma'sūm Beg was شاه العنان مطلق وكيل و قريبه از قرابتيان *i.e.* one of the near relatives, and minister, with full powers, of the Shāh. The presents are described in the Akbarnāma as "fiery Arab coursers and swift steeds from 'Irāq and Turkey, delicate cloths and wonderful curiosities."

kindness he had given the title of Amu Ughli, as an ambassador, with many gifts and presents to the threshold, which is the asylum of the world. When he arrived before the metropolis of Agra, some great Khāns were sent to meet and welcome him; and they brought him with all honour. [1] Seven lakhs of *tangas* were given to him as a reward. He remained for two months in the metropolis, and after having been honoured with a horse and a special robe of honour, received leave to return, with presents consisting of the curiosities of Hindustān.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF THE 8TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year corresponded with [2] Wednesday, the 18th Rajab 970 A.H. (13th March 1563 A.D.). The incident which occurred at the beginning of this year, was this that Adham Khān Kokaltāsh, son of Māham Ānka, who on account of his nearness (to the emperor) had no equal, owing to the pride of his youth and the insolence of his rank and riches, made at the instigation of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, and some others an attempt on the life of the Khān-i-Ā'zam, who was the *vakīl-us-saltanat* (prime minister), and [3] slew him in the audience hall itself. And as he had great hauteur and pride and entire confidence in the favour of the emperor, remained standing at the door of the harem. The emperor came out of the harem with his sword in his hand, and he (Adham Khān) was immediately punished

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma fourteen lakhs of *dāms* equal to seven hundred Persian *tomans* were sent to him for his maintenance. Badāonī agrees with our author, and says he had a reward of seven lakh *tankas*; but Feristhah has قریب بدو لکھہ روپیہ کہ پنجہزار تومان عراق باشد *i.e.* nearly two lakhs of rupees, which are equal to five thousand *tomāns* of 'Iraq.

[2] Thursday the 15th Rajab 970 (10th March 1563) is given as the date of the beginning of this year, in the translation of the Akbarnāma (Vol. II, p. 281).

[3] The murder actually took place on the 12th Ramazān 969 A.H., *i.e.* before the beginning of the 8th year of the *Ilāhī* era. The account given by Badāonī agrees, on the whole, with that in the Tabaqāt. The Akbarnāma gives a more circumstantial account, from which it appears that wounds were actually inflicted by Khusham Uzbeg and Khuda Bardī. (Vol. II, of the translation, p. 268, *et. seq.*)

by being [1]thrown down from the terrace of the harem with his hands and feet tied. This happened in the early morning of Monday the 12th Ramazān 970. The people who had abetted this disturbance, sequestered themselves for fear of punishment. Among these [2]Mun'im Khān, and Muhammad Qāsim Khān, Mir-i-bahar, (which may be translated as) the admiral, or the commander of the boats crossed the river Jumna and destroyed the bridge by which they had crossed. Shahāb-ūd-dīn Ahmad Khān Nishapūrī, also sequestered himself. His Majesty the emperor greatly exerted himself in comforting the hearts of Māham Ānka, and of the sons of Khān A'zam, and showing his regard and esteem for them. Māham Ānka became ill from agony and grief for her son. After forty days, she drew the baggage of her existence to the caravansarai of the hereafter. Her death took place in the month of Shawwāl of that year.

On the 2nd day (after the murder of the Khān Ā'zam) Ashraf Khān, Mir Munshi was ordered, that he should reassure the minds

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma, he was not killed by the first fall. Apparently he was thrown in such a way that he was only half killed; so he was ordered to be dragged up again by the hair of his head, and thrown down in such a way that "his neck was broken and his brains destroyed." A most barbarous way of inflicting a well-deserved punishment, which does not redound to the credit of the emperor's humanity. Mr. Beveridge says in a note, that apparently Akbar's idea was to carry out the Muhammadan principle of retaliation. Adham had stepped up to a place, where he had no business to be; so his punishment was the being thrust back again. But he was being punished, not for trespass into the precincts of the harem, but for the murder of the Khān-i-Ā'zam. Aurangzib inflicted a similar punishment, on his daughter's lover. In Akbar's case, at least, it appears to me, that the punishment was inflicted in a fit of rage.

[2] The Akbarnāma only says, that Mun'im Khān Khānan and Shahab-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān fled before His Majesty's wrath and disappeared. The account given by Badāonī is more circumstantial, and somewhat different According to it Mun'im Khān and Muhammad Qāsim Khān passed the ford of Pūyah in a boat, and went towards Ropar and Bajwārah, and continued their flight towards Kabul, where Mun'im Khān's son Ghanī Khān was governor. Then when they were in the *pargana* Sarūt in the Doab, they were seized by the governor of the *pargana*, and were sent to Agra, where Mun'im Khān was restored to his office.

of Mun'im Khān and Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and Qāsim Khān, and bring them back to the (imperial) service. [1] Mun'im Khān had got the idea imprinted on his mind, that after the deaths of Adham Khān and of the Khān-i-Ā'zam, none but he would have any power in the affairs of State; but this did not actually happen. [2] As fancies and fears of having been implicated in the disturbance had got into the mind of Mun'im Khān, inspite of the fact, that he had been (again) honoured with the title of Khān Khānān, and the position of prime minister, and of agent or guardian (اتالیق), he having got an opportunity, one night, started in company with Qāsim Khān, the admiral, from Agra for Kabul. When they arrived in *pargana* Sarut, which is in the Doab, and was the *jāgīr* of Mīr Mahmūd Munshī, a Sīstānī of the name of Qāsim 'Ali, one of the servants of Mīr Mahmūd, and the divisional officer of that *pargana*, perceived from the confusion of their behaviour that they were fleeing from the (royal) threshold. And with a number of the common people of the town, who were with him, he attacked them, seized them, and sent them to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī closed his eyes on their offences, and again put them in charge of affairs, as they had been before.

An account of the [3] Kahkar tribe and of the conquest of their country.

The whole of the country, extending from the bank of the river Sind, which is known as the Nīlāb, to the skirts of the hilly region of the Siwālīk, and as far as the boundary of Kashmīr has always been in the possession of the Kahkars, though other tribes such as the [4] Khattries, the Januhas, the Jaries, the Bhukiāls and the

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[1] This sentence does not occur in the lith. ed. and in several of the MSS.; it does not also occur in the translation in Elliot Vol. V.

[2] This agrees with Badāonī, see note 2, p. 264; only he does not say distinctly that Mun'im Khān and Qāsim Khān fled twice; and that it was in the second flight, that they went towards Kabul, and were seized and sent back to the court.

[3] They are sometimes, called Gakhars, and sometimes Kahkars.

[4] These names are rather puzzling. They are variously written in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. They are printed as Khari, Jānūba, Jatriya, Bhūkiyāl and Jat in the translation in Elliot V. The last two names in the text have

Jats, the Marias and the Munkrāls have also lived in that country, but they have been subject to the Kahkars. From the beginning of the reign of His Majesty Firdūs Makānī, Bābar Bādshāh onwards, these tribes have never excused themselves from exerting with loyalty and devotion to this exalted dynasty; but had ever enlisted themselves in the rank of those, who were willing to sacrifice their lives for it; specially Sārang Sultān, who was in advance of every one else in the race of loyalty and devotion, till the time when Shīr Khān Afghān acquired great power in the whole of Hindustan; and wanted to draw them also under the yoke of his dominion; but in no way could this intention of his be carried into effect. [1]After much trouble. Sārang Sultān was seized and (Shīr Shāh) ordered that he should be flayed alive, and his son Kamāl Khān imprisoned in the fort of [2]Gwāliār. After Sultān Sārang, his brother Ādam became the chief of this tribe. He also continued to be loyal to this dynasty; and opposed the Afghāns. When Shīr Khān passed

been omitted, and no attempt has been made to identify them. I have consulted Maclagan's "Tribes of the Punjab", but I have not been quite successful. The first name is Khattri. This tribe is well known, even now in the Punjab, though some of them now attempt to make themselves out to be Kshatriyas. I find that Kharī is said in Maclagan to be a mistake for Khattril but the last name is not found there. The second is either the Janahas, a Rajput sect, an offshoot of the Bhattis; or the Janwas, Muhammadan Jats, immigrants from Sirsa, but found in Sialkot. As regards the third, there is a reference to the passage in the text, in Maclagan, but it is also said there, that in the Wa'qiāt-i-Jahāngīrī, they are said to be of the same stock, and connected with the Gakhars, and occupying the country between Rohtas and Hatya, to which they give their name of Būgiāl. The Jats are well known, and their origin and position have been subjects of much discussion. The Marias may be either the Mairals of Ludhiana, the Marulas of Montgomery or the Maryāls of Multān. I have not been able to find out anything about the Mankrāls.

[1] This is also mentioned in the Akbarnāma (Trans., Vol. II, p. 298). Sultān Sārang waged brave war with Shīr Khān, but at last he and his son, Kamāl Khān were made prisoners. Sārang was put to death and Kamāl Khān was imprisoned in Gwāliār fort.

[2] I do not think that this is the famous fort of this name in central India; but it is a hill fort, on the right hand towards the south amongst the hills, as you go towards Kangra and Nagarkot, where Salīm Shāh lived towards the end of his reign. See note, 2, p. 189 *ante*, and also the trans. of the Tārīkh-i-Dāudi (Elliot. Vol. IV, p. 494).

away, and his son Salīm Khān became the ruler of Hindustan, he also, according to the custom of his father plundered and ravaged the greater part of the Kahkar country, and made a very great endeavour to destroy and ruin this tribe. [1]On one occasion, in order to punish the prisoners in Gwāliār he ordered that all of them should be put into a room, and the room should be filled with gunpowder to which fire should be applied. This was done. All those prisoners were blown in to the air, and their limbs were torn to pieces. But Kamāl Khān remained safe in a corner of the room, under the protection of God. When this fact reached the ear of Salīm Khān, he released Kamāl Khān from imprisonment, and administered an oath to him, that he should no longer continue to oppose the government; and showing [2]favour to him appointed him to conquer the country of the Kahkars, in concert with the governor of the Punjab.

After the country of Hindustān was adorned with the caliphate of his sublime Majesty, Kamāl Khān, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, placed the yoke of loyalty on his neck, and coming to render service, became the recipient of royal favour; and [3]*parganas* Hanswah and Fathpūr etc., appertaining to the *sarkār* of Karra Mānikpūr were granted to him as *jāgīr*. He remained there till the time when Shīr Khān, son of Salīm Khān came and attacked 'Ali Qulī, the Khan Zamān, in order to conquer that country. Kamāl Khān, who had in accordance with the emperor's orders, been appointed to reinforce 'Ali Qulī, the Khān Zamān, showed such courage and bravery in the war, that a world-obeyed order was issued, that every object which he should submit would fall in the place of acceptance. Kamāl Khān feeling the love of his father-land, prayed for a grant of his father's territory. A

[1] This is also mentioned, with some variations, in the Akbarnāma.

[2] This is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma, which says, on the other hand, that after this, "Sultān Ādam, his uncle, was in full possession of the country, while Kamāl Khān passed his days in frustration."

[3] It is said in the translation in Elliot, Vol. V, p. 279 that the *parganas* of Hanswa, Fathpūr and Karra Mānikpūr were granted to him as a *jāgīr*. This appears to me to be incorrect. Karra Mānikpūr was a *sarkār* and not a *pargana*; and the whole of it was not granted to Kamāl Khān, but only certain *parganas* appertaining to it.

sublime *farmān* was issued, that of the Kahkar country, which had formerly been in the possession of Sultān Sārang, and was now in that of Ādam Khān, one half should belong to Kamāl Khān and the other half to Ādam Khān.

Farmāns were accordingly issued to the amīrs of the Punjab, viz., [1] Mir Muhammad Khān, who was known as Khān-i-Kalān, and Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, and others; to the effect, that if Ādam Khān make any objection in this matter, the whole of that country should be taken out of his power, and be made over to Kamal Khān, so that the punishment of his disobedience should be placed on the skirts of Ādam Khān's fate. As the above named amīrs notified Ādam with the purport of the *farmān*, he and his son, Lashkarī turning their heads from it, did not agree. The imperial troops entered the Kahkar country, and made endeavours to subdue it. Ādam and his son came forward to resist and oppose them: and fought much. At last the Kahkars were routed, and Ādam Khān became a captive. His son Lashkarī escaped towards Kashmīr, and after a time he also was seized. The whole of the country of the Kahkars came into the possession of the servants of the emperor. They made it over to Kamāl Khān, and making Ādam and his son over to him, each one went back to his *jāgīr*. Kamāl Khān ordered Lashkarī to be put to death, and kept Ādam in custody till he also died a natural death.

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[1] Mīr Muhammad Khān and Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān were respectively the eldest and youngest brothers of Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, who was the foster-father of Akbar, and was therefore known as Atka Khān, and also as Khān-i-Ā'zam. The account given in the text agrees generally with that given in the Akbarnāma, only the names of all the amīrs to whom the *farmāns* were issued are not given there. Badāonī's account is rather brief. Ferishtah's account is slightly different. He says کمال خان در جنگ خان زبان بافغانان آثار شجاعت بظهور رسانید ؛ بدین سبب حکم شد که امرای پنجاب دفع سلطان آدم کهکر ، که به همایون پادشاه ایل نشده بود ، نموده کمال خان کهکر را قایم مقام او سازند . from which it will be seen, that there is no mention there of the *farmān*, giving half the country to Adam Kahkar, and half to Kamāl Khān; and the reason for the war against the former is that he did not submit to Humāyūn. Col. Briggs says "At this time Ādam Gukkar, disturbing the peace of the Punjab, the officers of that country were ordered to reduce him, and to place Kamāl Gakkar at the head of the tribe."

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEPARTURE OF MUN'IM KHAN FOR KABUL.

When Mun'im Khān[1] turned towards (i. e. came to) the threshold which is the asylum of the world, he [2]appointed Haidār Muhammad Khān [3]Akhta Begī to be the governor of Kabul. When however, Mun'im Khān received the news of the latter's bad behaviour towards the people of Kabul, he dismissed him; and appointed his own son Ghanī Khān in his place. He also sent his nephew (brother's son) Abul Fath Beg, son of Fazāil Beg, who was with him to Kabul; so that he might help Ghanī Khān in arranging the affairs of the place. [4]After sometime the people of Kabul and Māh Chūchak Begam, mother of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, being grieved to the heart from Ghanī Khān's disagreeable manners and conduct, drove the latter out of Kabul; and having put Fazaīl Beg and Abul Fath Beg to death took charge themselves of the affairs of Kabul in concert with Shāh Wali Atka.

Many unworthy acts were perpetrated by Ghanī Khān. Among these, one was that he seized Tulak Khān Qulchīn who was among the ancient servants of this dynasty, without any reason what-

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[1] After the fall of Bairām Khān in the 5th year of the reign.

[2] This agrees with Badāonī, who however says that owing to Haidar Muhammad's bad disposition Mun'im Khān superseded him and appointed Ghani Khān; but the Akbarnāma says, that Mun'im Khān "made over Kabul to his son Ghani Khān and in order to help him and instruct him, he left Haidar Muhammad Akhta Begi." It goes on to say that owing to the incapacity and childishness of both of them, things fell into disorder.

[3] This means "The Superintendent of geldings."

[4] There is a great deal of variation in the readings There is no mention of the whole of the matter of Tulak Khān in two of the MSS., and in the lith. ed., which leave out the whole passage from و از غنی خان to عادل خان خطاب کرد. The other two MSS. give the passage with certain slight differences. I have translated the passage as it occurs in these; but apparently the passage beginning with "many unworthy acts" should be inserted before the sentence about the driving out of Ghani Khān from Kabul; and so it is in the translation in Elliot, V. which runs "After a time Māh Chūchak Begam and the people of Kabul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghani Khān," etc. (see p. 280 *et. seq.* of Elliot, Vol. V.). Badāonī gives a consecutive narrative of these incidents in pp. 56-57 of the Persian text, (Vol. II.). The Akbarnāma has a somewhat more detailed account. See pp. 284-5 of Beveridge's translation, Vol. II.

ever, and kept him in prison. After some time people intervened, and procured the release of Tulak Khān. The latter then went to a place called Māmā Khātūn, which was his *jāgīr*, and waited for an opportunity. It so happened that a caravan from Balkh had arrived at Chārīkarān. Ghani Khān went alone to meet the caravan. Tulak Khān gathered together a number of his servants and relations, arrived there at midnight by forced marches, and seized Ghani Khān, and putting him in chains again returned to the village of Māmā Khātūn. He treated Ghani Khān with great contumely, and kept him in prison.

Couplet; Why dost thou try the heart of an ant to pain?
Each draught that thou dost make it drink, thou'lt drink.

In the end, people intervened, and procured the release of Ghanī Khān, taking promises and agreement from him, that he would not again be on terms of hostility with Tulak Khān. But Ghanī Khān, before even he arrived at Kabul, broke his agreements, and with a large body of men attacked Tulak Khān. The latter having received information of this betook himself to the threshold which is the asylum of the world. Ghanī Khān pursued him a part of the way and then turned back.

After some time one day Ghanī Khān went out of Kabul, for a stroll in the melon fields. The mother of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, in concert with Shāh Wali Atka and [1] Fazāil Beg and his son Abul Fath Beg got into the fort, and shut the gates in the face of Ghanī Khān. When the latter came to the neighbourhood of the fort and found the gates closed, he knew that the people had turned against him; and having no other alternative he left Kabul behind, and turned his face to the sublime threshold. The mother of the Mīrza taking charge of the affairs of Kabul, entrusted their management to Mīrza Fazaīl Beg, whom Kāmrān Mīrza had caused to be blinded, and his son Abul Fath as his deputy occupied himself with the work of management. As however, at the time of distributing the villages, he kept the best *Jāgīrs* for himself, and the bad ones for the Mīrza and all his retainers, Shāh Wali Atka and Wali Muhammad Asp and

[1] But see ante, p. 269, where it is said that they were both put to death.

others being unable to stand [1]this tyranny in the distribution made by him, made up in concert with the mother of the Mīrza, their plans for getting rid of him. [2] By accident one night, Abul Fath Beg came in a state of intoxication to the door of his house, and in a sleep fell down. Mīram Beg receiving news of this, came and attacked him; and with one blow of his sword despatched him. His father Fazāil Beg wanted to get into the Hazāra with the [3] gold and the retainers which he had; but some of the servants of the Mirza pursued him and beheaded him. After that, Shāh Wali Beg Atka, in concert with the mother of the Mīrza, assumed the title of 'Ādil Shāh.

When intelligence of these incidents reached the emperor's ear, he honoured Mun'im Khān with the post of the governor of Kabul, and of the guardian of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, and appointed Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlās, and [4] Husain Khān

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[1] The actual words are تاب ستم شریکی او نیاوردہ I am not quite sure of the meaning of the expression ستم شریکی. The same words are used by Badāonī, in the Persian text Vol. II, p. 57. بستم شریکی جایگیرهای خوب را برای خود گرفتند. There is a note of interrogation after شریکی which shows that the meaning of the word was not understood. In the translation the phrase "by combined tyranny" is used.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Wali Atka, 'Ali Muhammad Asp, etc. conspired against him, and called him out of his house, and had a drinking party in a tent, which they had erected in the courtyard of the *Chihl Situn Diwān Khānā*. He prepared several times to leave; but they prevented his doing so by drunken flatteries: and when sleep overpowered him, they drew their swords and slew him.

[3] There is a slight difference here between the two MSS. One has با زور و سپاهی and the other با زر و سپاهی They again differ as to the title which Shāh Walī Beg Atka assumed. One says he took the title of 'Ādil Khān while according to the other, he called himself 'Ādil Shāh. The translation in Elliot V. Badāonī, and Abul Fazl all agree in saying that he assumed the title of 'Ādil Shāh. Abul Fazl goes on to say that in his "folly, he gave Haidar Qāsim Kohbar the post of Khān Khānān and Khwāja Khās Malik, the eunuch the title of Ikhtiār Khān * * * in a short time, the Begam suspected him of aiming at rebellion, and sent him to the abode of annihilation." But that was of course, after she had defeated, Mun'im Khān, as mentioned in the text.

[4] He is called Hasan Khān both by Abul Fazl and Badāonī. The former also calls Taimūr Uzbek, Khan Ikka.

brother of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, and Taīmūr Uzbek and other men, to reinforce and help him. The mother of the Mīrza, collecting all her troops, and taking the Mīrza, who had at that time reached the age of ten years, with her, came to [1]Jalālābād which had formerly been named Ju-i-Shāhī, with the intention of giving battle; and waited there for the arrival of Mun'im Khān. The latter on his side, coming with great rapidity, gave [2]battle, and in the first onset was routed, and having lost all his troops and retainers came back in great distress to the sublime threshold. The mother of the Mīrza went back to Kabul after the victory, and on the suspicion that Shāh Wali Beg intended to act treacherously towards her, had him put to death: and appointed Haidar Qasim Kohbar to be the agent of the Mīrza.

In the course of this year the incident connected with Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain occurred. The particulars of this matter are; Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain was the son of Khwāja M'uīn, son of Khwāja [3]Khāwind Mahmūd, son of Khwāja' Abd-ul-lah famous as Khwājgān Khwāja (Khwāja of all Khwājas, i. e. the great Khwāja). The last named was the son of Khwāja Nāsir-ud-dīn'Abd-ul-lah Ahrār. Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, having entered the service of the emperor, was promoted to the rank of an amīr-ul-umra; and received Nāgor as his *jāgīr* or fief. There also he performed feats of bravery. His father coming from [4]Kāshghar became the recipient of royal

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[1] In the translation in Elliot V, the old name of Jalālābād is given as Jusāī. It is also Jusāī in the lith. ed.; but it is clearly written as Ju-i-Shāhī, in one of the MSS.

[2] An account of the battle is given in the Akbarnāma, from which it appears that there was great mismanagement.

[3] This name is given as خواجه جاوید محمود, in the lith. ed., and as Khwāja Jāwīd Mahmūd in the trans. in Elliot, V.; but all the MSS. have it as I have given it in the text. In the translation of the Akbarnāma, it is said that they belonged to "the noble line of the Naqsh Bandī Khwājas of Kāshghar."

[4] The lith. ed. and one of the MSS., and the translation in Elliot, Vol. V, and Badāonī say that he came from Mecca; but the other MSS. and the Akbarnāma say that he came from Kāshghar. The Akbarnāma says that "when the Khwāja heard that the reputation of his son Sharf-ud-dīn Husain had risen very high he, this year, made the intention of pilgrimage (*Haj*), a means of visiting the (*Ka'abā*) of the sacred threshold (Akbar's

favours. As fate would have it, after sometime Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, without any cause or known reason, at the instigation of envious persons, became suspicious, and [1] fled towards Nāgor. The emperor honoured Husain Qūlī Beg, son of Wali Beg Zulqadr, a relation of Khān Khānān Bairām Khān, who had by reason of excellent services been included in the group of amīrs, and had become entitled to further favours, with the title of Khān, and conferred on him the *jāgīr* of Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain. He also sent great amīrs such as, Muhammad Sādiq Khān, Muhammad Qūlī Tuqbāī, Muzaffar Maghūl and Mīrak Bahādur to assist him. An order to be obeyed by all the world was also issued, that the amīrs named should pursue the Mīrza and seize him; and if he showed himself to be ashamed of his evil deeds, should re-assure him, and bring him to the court; otherwise, they should endeavour to deal retribution to him for his acts, and should carry out his death and destruction. When Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain received the news of the approach of Husain Qūlī Khān and the other amīrs, he left Tarkhān Diwāna, in whom he placed confidence, at Ajmir, and retired in the direction of [2] Nāgor. The imperial troops besieged Ajmīr. After two or three days Tarkhān Dīwāna begged for safety, and surrendered the fort to the well-wishers of the threshold. The amīrs then hastened towards Jālor in pursuit of Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain. It so happened, that when the latter arrived at Jālor, Shāh Abul-ma'āli, who had returned from Mecca the revered, and was proceeding to the court, met him; and made an agreement with him to create further disturbance; and with this object, arranged that Abul-Ma'āli

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court), and proceeded towards India. (See Vol. II, of Beveridge's translation p. 302). It also appears from the latter part of the long note number 6 p. 301 that "M'uīn went off to Mecca after his son's flight, but died at Cambay, and his body was lost when the ship Fatahī foundered."

[1] The nature of Sharf-ud-dīn Husain's offence is not at all clear. It appears that the *amīrs* who were sent against him had orders to bring him back to the court, if he was ashamed of his evil deeds; but otherwise they were to effect his destruction.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have Nāgor, but in the translation in Elliot, Vol. V, the name is changed to Jalor, and it is said in a note that both MSS. have Nāgor, but Abul Fazl says, towards Jālor, which he had got into his power, and the context shows him to be right.

should go and attack the family and retainers of Husain Qūlī Khān, whom the latter had left at Hājīpūr; and from there should go to Kābul and bring Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm to Hindustān; while Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, on this side, would arrange to create as much disturbance as should be in his power.

Verse: When two wicked men congregate together,
And try to find fault with the affairs of the world;
Wash thou thy hands of all hope for their good.
For in the wilds of wickedness, they will roam.

When Abul-Ma'āli, taking a number of Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain's retainers with him, arrived in the neighbourhood of Hājīpūr, he learnt that Āhmad Beg and Iskandar Beg, relations of Husain Qulī Khān, had come to the place to destroy him. He therefore turned away, and marched towards Nārnaul. He appeared suddenly before the fort of of Nārnaul, and seizing [1] Mīr Gesu the commandant, took the money which had come into the treasury there; and distributed it among the men he had with him. Husain Qulī Khān on hearing this news, sent his brother Ismāil Qulī Beg and Muhammad Sadiq Khān in pursuit of Abul-Ma'āli. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Hājīpūr, and learnt that Abul-Ma'āli had proceeded towards Nārnaul, they went in pursuit of him, taking Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg with them. When they arrived within twelve *karohs* of Nārnaul, they met a brother of Abul-Ma'āli, who bore the name of [2] Khān Zāda, whom people called Shāh-i-Laundān, who had come from his *jāgīr*, and was going to meet his brother, and seized him and kept him in imprisonment. Abul-Ma'āli fled from Nārnaul, and turned towards the Punjab. Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg separated themselves from the imperial troops, and hastened by forced marches in pursuit of him.

[1] The name is transliterated as Mīr Kisu in the translation of the Tabaqāt in Elliot V, and as Mīr Gesu in the translation of the Akbarnāma, and in that of the Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh.

[2] He is called "Khān Zāda Muhammad, commonly called Shāh-i-Laundān" in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. It is also explained, in a note in it, that Shāh-i-Laundān apparently means a king of the vagabonds; but Laund or Lawand also means a sailor, and is said to be a corruption of Levantine.

A number of their retainers, who had formerly been in the service of Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, made an agreement among themselves, and confirmed it by oaths, that when they should meet with Abul-Ma'āli, they would desert from Āhmad Beg and Iskandar Beg and join him. One of the leaders of the name of Dana Qūlī separated himself from the others, and proceeding with great haste went to Abul-Ma'āli, and gave him the good news of the conspiracy. He, as soon as he heard this, withdrew into a jungle which was close to the road, and when Āhmad Beg and Iskandar Beg arrived in front of the place, he came out of the ambush and attacked them. Their retainers, who had conspired together, drew their swords and turned against their masters; and their other followers seeing what had happened, fled; and left them and went away. They fought bravely and after much exertion and many struggles attained to martyrdom.

His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, was engaged in hunting in (the neighbourhood of) the town of Mathura, when this news reached the sublime ears. He appointed Shāh Bidāgh Khān, Tātār Khān, Rūmī Khān and others to pursue Abul-Ma'āli, and directed that wherever they might overtake him, they would inflict on him the punishment for his evil deeds, and would not sit down till they had fully settled [1] this matter. The sublime standards then marched from Mathura and made the metropolis of Dehli the envy of paradise by the arrival of His Majesty. Among the strange events of the time was this, that at the time when Sharf-ud-dīn Husain fled from the court and went towards Nāgor, he directed one of the slaves of his father, who was named Kuka Fūlād, that he should conceal himself at various times, and by any means that might be in his power, try to do an injury to His Majesty. That wretched man, in order to commit this villainy, always wandered about in the imperial camp, and waited for an opportunity. It so happened, that when His Majesty was [2] returning from hunting, and was passing through

[1] There is no mention here of what happened later to Abul-Ma'āli, but it appears from the Akbarnāma, that he went to *pargana* Jhanjhūn, and then to Hisār Firoza, but the officers in charge of both places offered stout opposition, and he then went off towards Kabul.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, this happened on Wednesday, the 28th

the *bazar* of Dehli, when he arrived near the college of Māham Ānka, the wicked fellow shot an arrow, aiming at His Majesty. As however Divine mercy was always guarding the Emperor, the wound was not [1] serious, but only grazed the skin. The well-wishers (of the Emperor) immediately sent that ill-fated one to hell with blows of swords and dagger. His Majesty pulled out the arrow, and rode on to the palace. He remained under [2] treatment for the wound for some days, and on the 6th of Jamādi-us-sānī he mounted the [3] royal litter and started in the direction of the metropolis of Agra; and on the 16th of the same month in the year 971 A.H. corresponding with the eighth year of the Ilāhī era, the august arrival at Agra took place.

The events of the 9th year of the Ilāhī era.

The beginning of this year was on Wednesday the 29th Rajab of the year 971 A.H. When Abul-Ma'āli after slaying Āhmad Beg, knew that the imperial troops were coming in pursuit of him, he became much dismayed, and abandoning the straight roads, fled towards Kabul. When he arrived near the frontier of Kabul, he sent a representation to Māh Chuchak Begam, in which he expressed the sincerity of his devotion, and the truth of his loyalty, to his late Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī (Humāyūn); and began with the couplet,

I have not come to this door in search of honour and pomp,
I have come here, for shelter from evil fortune!

Māh Chuchak Begam, on becoming acquainted with the purport of the representation, wrote the following hemistich in reply;

Jumāda-ul-āwwal, when Akbar was returning from a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Āuliya.

[1] Contrary to this, however, the Akbarnāma says, that the arrow "struck H.M.'s right shoulders, and penetrated about the length of a span" (?). The Akbarnāma also says that Akbar's attendants wished to examine the would-be assassin; but the emperor directed that he should be immediately put to death, lest a number of loyalists should fall under suspicion.

[2] The Akbarnāma gives the names of the physicians, Khizr Khwāja Khān and Hakīm Ain-ul-mulk. It says they healed the wound by dry-bandaging (*Khushk-band*), and each day administered a fresh *fatila*; and the emperor was cured in a week.

[3] The word which has been translated as royal litter is *singhāsan*, or more correctly in Sanskrit *sinhāsana*, which means literally a lion-seat, and ordinarily

Show grace ! and come ! for this house is thine own !

She summoned him with all honour, and [1] gave her daughter in marriage to him. Abul-Ma'āli having obtained full power, took the management of all the affairs in the house of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm into his own hands. A number of people, who had before this been vexed with Māh Chuchack Begam, on account of the bad treatment they had received at her hand, such as Shūkūn, son of Qarācha Khān, and Shādmān and others, having joined with Abul-Ma'āli, impressed on him, that as long as the Begam was alive, his affairs would never prosper. Abul-Ma'āli considering this advice to be good, [2] slew that helpless woman, with the dagger of injustice. He took Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, who was of tender years, into his own charge; and began to manage all the affairs of the country. He seized Haidar Qāsim Kohbar, who was the minister (*vakīl*) of the Mīrza, and put him to death; and he imprisoned Muhammad Qāsim his brother. Tardī Muhammad Khān and Bāqī Muhammad Khān Qāqshāl and Husain Khān, and a number of other servants of the Begam then combined together, and started with the object of attacking Abul-Ma'āli, and avenging the murder of the Begam. [3] 'Abdī Sarmast gave information of this to Abul Ma'āli, and the latter, with a body of men who were united with him, armed and equipped themselves, and prepared to fight with them. The men

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a throne. The Akbarnāma however calls it a *sukāsan*, which may be a corruption of *sukhāsana*, a pleasant or comfortable seat.

[1] The Akbarnāma says that Māh Chuchak Begam took counsel with her confidential advisers; and these short-sighted and self-interested men represented to her, that "Shāh Abul Ma'āli was sprung from the great Saiyyads of Termiz, and that the rulers of Mughalistān and the princes of Kāshghar had formed alliances with those families." They advised her that she should treat him with all kindness, and so exalt him that he should seem to be a favourite, and that she should give him her daughter in marriage, so that he might look upon this family as his own.

[2] The Akbarnāma gives a circumstantial account, and it appears that the Begam was stabbed by Abul-Ma-āli, who broke down the door of the room in which she had shut herself up

[3] This name is given as 'Abdi Sarmast in all the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; and also in the translation of the extracts from the Tabaqāt in Elliot, Vol. V. It is however printed as 'Idi Sarmast in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma.

who were opposed to Abul-Ma'āli entered the fort by the road on the right; and he advanced to put them down. Many were slain on either side. At last, Abul-Ma'āli made a great effort, and turned his enemies out of the fort; and they became separated, and each went away in a different direction.

Muhammad Qāsim, who had been put in prison, escaped; and went to [1] Mīrza Sulaimān in Badakhshān, informed him of what had happened, and incited him to march to Kabul. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm also sent an emissary of his own to him, and begged for his presence (at Kabul). Mīrza Sulaimān on becoming fully acquainted with all that had happened, collected the army of Badakhshān,[2] and in company with his honoured wife, Khurram Begam, turned his face towards Kabul. Abul-Ma'āli also assembled the army of Kabul, and taking Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm with him, marched to the bank of the Ghurband river. The two armies, now being arranged in order of battle, the fire of slaughter rose in flames. A body of the Kabul army, which was posted at the right hand of Abul-Ma'āli, being defeated by the Badakhshān army, turned back. Abul Ma'āli, leaving Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm opposite to Mīrza Sulaimān, went himself to reinforce the troops that had been defeated. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm's servants, taking advantage of

[1] It appears to me rather curious that no representation was made to Akbar about Abul Ma'āli's proceedings in Kabul; nor did he or any of his officers do anything to avenge the murder of the Begam, or to put down Abul Ma'āli or to drive him out of Kabul. Whenever we find any reference to Akbar we find, that he is employed in hunting. Abul Fazl, whether he considered that any explanation of this was necessary or not, does as a matter of fact give it, when he says that "the inspired soul of H.M. the Shāh-in-Shāh, and his true interest in miscellaneous matters, such as hunting, etc., is to acquaint himself with the condition of the people, without the intermediary of interested persons and hypocrites, and to take proper measure for the protection of mankind."

[2] In Elliot, V. this passage is translated as "with the approval of his wife Kharram Begam marched against Kabul." It appears, however, from both the Akbarnāma and Badāonī that Mirza Sulaimān came to Kabul accompanied by his wife. She is, however, named Haram Begam, in the translation of the Akbarnāma, and in the text of Badāoni she is described as كه بولي نعمت مشهور است, *i.e.* "who is known as Wali Na'amat"; but it appears from a note in page 61 of the translation that her name was Khurram Begam.

this great opportunity, took him across the river; and conveyed him to Mīrza Sulaimān. The remainder of the Kabul army having seen this, became dispersed, and each one went into a corner. Abul-Ma'āli, when he returned to his original place, found no trace of either Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm or of his army, and in a state of great confusion fled. The Badakhshānīs pursued him, and coming up to him in the village of Chārikārān, seized him and took him to Mīrza Sulaimān. The latter with great rejoicing then came to Kabul, taking Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm with him. After two or three days, he sent Abul-Ma'āli, with his hands and neck tied up, to Muhammad Hakīm; and the latter ordered that he should be put to death, as a punishment for his crimes, by his [1] tongue being pulled out from his palate. This happened on the night of the 17th Ramzān 970 A.H. After this Mīrza Sulaimān sent for his daughter from Badakhshān, and gave her in marriage to Mīrza Muhammad. He made over [2] most of the districts (of Kabul) in *jāgīr* to his own men and having appointed Umaid 'Ali, who was in his confidence, to be the *vakil* (minister) of the Mīrza, himself went back to Badakhshān.

And it was during this year, that [3] Khwāja Muzaffar 'Ali Turbati,

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[1] I have translated the words describing the way in which he was put to death, زبان او را از حلق کشیدند literally; but in Elliot V. and the translation of the Akbarnāma and Badāonī he is said to have been strangled to death. The words in the Persian text of Badāonī are محمد حکیم او را از حلق کشیدن فرمود

[2] The Akbarnāma says more definitely "he gave three-fourths of Kabul in fiefs to his own men, and he picked out the (best) lands for them. One inferior share he alloted to M. Hakīm and the Kabulis. He thought that this kind of arrangement was a means of keeping Kabul in subjection." Badāonī says nothing about this unfair allotment of fiefs.

[3] Certain facts connected with the life and fortunes of the Khwāja are given in pages 305-6 of Vol. II of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. Badāonī apparently disliked the man and his appointment. He says according to Lowe's translation "in the year 971 Khwāja Muzaffar 'Ali Turbati received the title of *Khān*, and was made minister of finance, (the Persian text however, says *vakīl-i-kul shud*); and they found *Zālim* (oppressor) to give the date." He also says that day by day a rivalry in matters general and particular went on between the Rājā (Todar Mal) and him; and a certain wit adapted an old verse in the following manner:

A dog of a Rājā is better than Muzaffar Khān;
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Rājā.

who was one of the old servants of Khān Khānān Bairām Khān was raised to the position of minister of finance (vazārat-i-diwān 'Ala) and was honoured with the title of Khān.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE [1]CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF CHUNĀR.

This was in the possession of a slave of 'Adalī of the name of Fattu. He sent a petition, expressing his intention of surrendering the fort; and His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and Āsaf Khān. They went and took peaceful possession of the fort; which they placed in charge of Husain 'Ali Khān Turkmān. It so happened, however, that at this time, Ghāzī Khān Sūr, who had been one of the great nobles of 'Adalī, and had afterwards, for a time, been in the service of the emperor, at this time, when the government of Karra was entrusted to Āsaf Khān, fled and went into the country of Panna, and collecting a large force, commenced to create a disturbance. As Āsaf Khān was sent to the district of Karra, Ghāzi Khan, with a large body of men came and opposed him, but was defeated and was killed in the battle. Āsaf Khān acquired great power and splendour after this victory.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF GARHA, AND OF THE (HEROIC) DEATH OF RĀNĪ DŪRGĀVATĪ.

As the country of [2]Garha Katinka was close to (the place of the government of) Āsaf Khān, a desire to conquer that country entered his head. The capital of that country is the fort of Chauragarh; and it is an extensive territory having seventy thousand cultivated villages. The ruler of this country at that time was a woman named Rānī Dūrgāvatī. She had a complete share of beauty and grace. When Āsaf Khān received information about the truth of that country, the conquest of it appeared to be easy in the eye of his spirit and energy. With [3]five thousand horsemen and a large

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1 According to the Akbarnāma the fort was surrendered by Fattu. (The Iqbālnāma says his real name and title were Fateh Khān Masnad 'Ali.)

2 For an account of the country of Garha Katinka see page 323 *et. seq.* of Vol. II of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma.

3 There is a great discrepancy. Some of the MSS. and the lith. ed. have fifty thousands, other MSS. have five. The translation in Elliot V, mentions

number of foot soldiers, he turned his face with courage and mettle to the conquest of that country. The Rānī also collected her troops, and with [1] seven hundred elephants and twenty thousand infantry and cavalry hastened forward to oppose him. There was much exertion and struggle. As it was fated, however, [2] an arrow struck the Rāni, and her troops were defeated. She had a fear that she might fall alive into the hands of the enemy, and therefore ordered the driver of her elephant, and he slew her by stabbing her with a dagger. After the victory Āsaf Khān marched towards the fort of Chauragarh. The Rānī's son, who was in the fort, came out to give battle and was killed; and the fort was captured.

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the difference in a note, but has adopted fifty thousand. Abul Fazl has ten thousand cavalry. Badāonī gives no number. I have accepted five thousand as being nearer the mark than fifty.

[1] There is a discrepancy about these numbers also. In the translation in Elliot V, the word 'innumerable' appears after the word 'infantry'; but it is said in a note that the word innumerable is omitted in two of the MSS. Abul-Fazl does not give the numbers of the Rānī's elephants and troops, but he gives a graphic and detailed account of the battle, or rather series of actions, which took place. Badāonī has twenty thousand horse and foot and seven hundred powerful elephants. Ferishtah, contrary to all the earlier historians, gives her 1,500 elephants and 8,000 cavalry and infantry.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, she was first struck by an arrow on her right temple. She drew it out, though the point remained in the wound, and flung it from her. Then another arrow struck her neck. She then asked Adhār, who was her minister, and who was riding on the elephant to kill her with his dagger. He said he could not do such a thing. Then she drew out her own dagger, and "herself inflicted the blow and died in virile fashion." It appears from a note in page 330 of Vol. II of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma that the Central Provinces Gazeteer says, in one place (p. 225) that the battle took place near Sāngraur-garh, 26 miles north-west (?) of Jabalpūr; but in another place (p. 283), that it took place near Mandla. The note goes on to say that the mention of the Gaur river, which belongs to the Mandla district, and is a tributary of the Narbada, makes this probable. But it appears from another note in the same page, that the Rānī "was killed about twelve miles from Jabalpur. Her tomb is still to be seen in a narrow defile between two hills, and a pair of large round stones, which stand near, are, according to popular belief, her royal drums turned to stone, which in the dead of night are still heard, resounding through the woods and calling the spirits of her warriors from their thousand graves round her." *Sleeman's Rambles*, Constable's edition, I, 230.

The immense hoard of treasures buried in it fell into Āsaf Khān's hands, and the proud and haughty head of the latter, after the achievement of these great feats, and the acquisition of such wealth, reached to the highest heaven. He then seated himself in great state on the carpet of government at Garha.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF THE ROYAL STANDARDS TOWARDS [1] NARWAR.

On the [2] 12th of the sacred month of Zi-qāda in the year 971 A.H., corresponding with the 9th year of the Ilāhī era, the auspicious camp came into motion from the metropolis of Agra, with the [3] object of hunting elephants; and the banks of the river Chambal became the place of the pitching of the victorious tents. On account of very heavy rain and the inundation of the river, and the violence of its waters, there was a halt of ten or twelve days at that place. At the time of crossing the river, the special elephant of the emperor, which had the name of Lakhna, was drowned. When the neighbourhood of the town of Narwar became the august halting place, in those jungles which were the abode and asylum of elephants, the shadow of the royal favour was cast on the hunting of those animals, and the emperor stayed there for some days, in carrying out those pursuits. And in arranging and planning this kind of hunting which is the most arduous, he brought many curious [4] inventions into practice, and captured a large number of elephants.

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[1] A town in Gwāliār.

[2] All the MSS. and the translation in Elliot V, and Badāonī give this date, but the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation, vol. II. p. 341) gives Saturday, the 21st Zi-q'āda, 2nd July, 1564, as the date on which Akbar set out on this journey.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, the elephant-hunt was only a screen to cover Akbar's real object, which was to enquire into the conduct of 'Abd-ul-lah Khan Uzbek, the governor of Mālwa, "who was uplifting the head of rebellion in that province." Badāonī says, 'Abd-ul-lah Khan had committed some defalcations. According to Ferishtah he had captured a number of elephants and had not sent them to the emperor.

[4] Some of these are mentioned in the Akbarnāma. See Beveridge's translation, Vol. II, p. 242, *et seq.* They resemble the modern kheddah operations, and the use of ropes and tame elephants, but no stockades appear to have been erected.

When that neighbourhood became denuded of elephants, the bridle of determination was turned in the direction of Mālwa, and the town of [1] Rabud became the halting place of the victorious standards, and owing to the heavy rain, a halt of two days was made opposite to that town. The emperor marched from that place in the direction of [2] Sārangpūr. Owing to the very heavy rain, and the many streams and water courses, and the muddy state of the ground, the victorious troops pursued their way with great difficulty and labour. When the emperor arrived in the town of Sārangpūr, Muhammad Qāsim Khān Naishāpūrī, who was the governor of the place, came out to welcome him, and presented various offerings as tribute. The next day the standards of determination moved forward, and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of Mandū, 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, the governor of the place, having heard of the progress of the sublime standards, became much alarmed, as he had done certain things which might be contrary to the wishes of the emperor, took to flight, and sending forward his family started towards Gujrāt.

When this news reached the august ears of the emperor [3] he sent Muqīm Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs*, to 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, so that he might bring the latter back by a way which

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[1] The name of the town is so written in the MSS. In the lith. ed. the part of the sentence in which the name occurs is omitted. In Elliot V, the name is given as Rewar, and a note says "a very doubtful name." In the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation Vol. II. p. 344) the place is called Ranad, and (a note says Ranod, Jarrett, II, 202.) Neither Badāonī nor Ferishtah mentions this place. The former says, that Akbar after taking many elephants, passed by Sārangpūr into the country of Mandū. The latter says جریدهٔ در موسم برسات بایلغار روانه مندو شد

[2] The name is said to be derived from one Shaikh Sārang, who was originally an officer of Sultān Firoz Shāh.

[3] The Akbarnāma does not say that Muqīm Khān was sent to persuade 'Abd-ul-lah Khān and bring him back. It says that a number of officers among whom Muqīm Khān was one, were sent "in advance, in order that, by marching rapidly, they might head that devious one." Badāonī does not say that Muqīm Khān was sent to him, but he agrees with our author in saying that Muqīm Khān went to him, and offered conciliatory measures seasoned with good advice. Ferishtah does not say anything about Muqīm Khān's mission.

might be for his benefit. Although Muqīm Khān spoke words of truth and soundness, it was of no avail.

COUPLET: Whoever doth not lend his ears to his well-wisher's words,
Must twixt his teeth he bite the finger of remorse.

'Abd-ul-lah Khān knew that Muqīm Khān was guarding him with vain words and pretexts, till the imperial troops would come up and block his way, so he left Muqīm Khān there, and continued his flight. Muqīm Khān then returned without attaining his object; and stated the truth about the matter to the august ears. The royal hatred and wrath then came into action, and a *farmān*, to be obeyed by the world was issued to the effect that a number of commanders should block 'Abd-ul-lah Khān's way and should not allow him to escape; and the emperor himself also followed them with great rapidity. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of an [1] orchard, which belonged to Mandū, news came that the advance guard of warriors had come up to 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, and had lit up the fire of battle. On hearing this intelligence the victorious standards moved with greater rapidity. As, however, some of the most important men on the side of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān had fallen, and he received news of the approach of the sublime standards, he left his wives and soldiers at the mercy of the enemy; and fled in the most ignominious way. The imperial troops pursued him to the country of [2] 'Ali, which is on the border of Gujrat,

[1] All the MSS. have باغي, which would of course mean an orchard. The translation, in Elliot, V, says briefly "on reaching Mandū." It appears however from Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma "that there was a village of the name of Bāgh (note, in Gwāliar, I. G. I, 414) where Akbar received intelligence of the engagement between his advance guards and 'Abd-ul-lah Khān's men." The fact that the word باغي is followed by the words كه از محال مندوست shows that the village Bāgh is referred to. I may mention here that, there is what appears to be a curious mistake in the translation of Badāonī Vol. II, p. 67, where the sentence عبد الله خان بهر اول اندک جنگی کرد has been translated as "'Abdullah Khān for a short time made a stand at Harāwal," instead of "'Abd-ul-lah Khān had a skirmish with the advance guard"; the word هر اول *i.e.* advance guard being converted into the name of a place.

[2] The name of the country is given as 'Ali Mohān in one MS. 'Ali is 'Ali Rājpūr of I. G. and apparently the Ali Mohān of Jarrett, II, 251. It is a

and separated him from all his wives and elephants. 'Abd-ul-lah Khān went to Chengīz Khān in Gujrāt. The latter was a slave of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, who had after the latter's death become the ruler of the country.

The imperial troops, which had seized the horses and elephants and the ladies of the harem of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, then returned; and in the neighbourhood of the province of 'Ali were exalted with the honour of kissing the dust (before the emperor's feet), and had many royal favours conferred on them. The august standards moved from that place, and on the last day of Zi-hijjeh 971 A.H., they arrived in the city of Mandū. The *Zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood, brought their face of allegiance to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world, were distinguished with the honour of being allowed to kiss the dust. Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, who was the hereditary ruler of Khān-desh, sent valuable presents, with a written representation to the imperial court, by the hand of his emissaries. After a few days, the ambassadors received permission to leave, and an august *farmān* was sent to Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, that he should send one of his [1]daughters, whom he may consider to be deserving of doing service to the emperor to the court. [2]'Itmād Khān was sent with the ambassadors. When Mīrān heard this good news, he expressed his great joy and pride, and sent his daughter, with all fitting paraphernalia and retinue, to the threshold which was the asylum of the world, and considered it a very great honour.

At the time when the emperor was at Mandū, a servant of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān of the name of Khān Qulī, who was at Handia, and Muqarrab Khān one of the *amīrs* of the Deccan, came in obedience to an august *farmān*, with such followers as they possessed, and had the good fortune of receiving the honour of kissing the

native state in the south-west corner of central India, and lies N. Narbada and E. Baroda," (note quoted from translation of Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 349).

[1] According to the Akbarnāma it was Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, who represented that his daughter might be included among the ladies of H.M.'s Seraglio.

[2] He was an eunuch who was one of the confidential servants of the court. His original name appears to have been Phūl Malik.

dust (of the emperor's feet). Muqīm Khān, who in the course of this expedition, had performed brave feats, received the title of Shujā'at Khān.

In the month Muharram 972 A.H. (August, 1568), the august standards moved from the town of Mandū, and the auspicious army encamped opposite to the town of [1] Nālcha. Qarā Bahādur Khān was then appointed to be the governor of Mandū. and an august order was issued, that those of the imperial servants who were at Mandū, should continue in service under Qarā Bahādur Khān and should remain in the *sūbā* free from all anxiety. After two days, starting from that place, the bridle of determination was turned in the direction of Agra. When the emperor arrived at Ujjain, there was a halt of four days there on account of heavy rain; and from that place he arrived at Sārangpūr by four stages; and [2] from Sārangpūr, he arrived in *pargana* Khirār in the course of a week; and there opposite to that place the august standards were halted. When from that place, they arrived by successive marches near the boundary of Sīprī, the scouts employed to bring information about hunting brought intelligence of a herd of elephants, and represented that there was a [3] *mast* elephant of enormous size in it. The emperor mounted immediately, and went out hunting, and capturing all those elephants, arrived by successive

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[1] The name of the town is written as نالجه, Nālja in the MSS. in which the passage occurs, and also in the Persian text of Badāonī; but in the translations in Elliot, V, and of the Akbarnāma and Badāonī it is printed as Nālcha, or Nālca. A note in Elliot, V, says that it was "five or six miles N. of Mandū"; while a note in the translation of Badāonī says that it was "a town in the territory of Dhār in Mālwa, on the route from Mhow to Mandū."

[2] There is some difficulty about this passage. It occurs in only two of the MSS. In one the words are و از مانکپور در یکهفته بپرگنه کهوار رسیده ظاهر ان محل نزول رایات اعلی گردید. This makes good sense, and I have adopted it. The other MS. has و ازانجا بچهار منزل در سارنگپور در یکهفته بپرگنه کهیرار etc. رسیدهٔ ظاهر This does not make good sense. The translation in Elliot, V, is nearly the same as mine.

[3] "*Mast* is not always used in the modern sense of 'savage' or 'rutting.' It often merely means young and full-blooded. See Akbar's classification, in Blochmann, 124" (note quoted from Bev. trans. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II., p. 353).

marches, by way of Narwar and Gwāliār, at the metropolis of Agra, on the 3rd of the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year (972 A.H.).

During this year two imperial pearls from one shell in the form of twins, one of whom was named Hasan and the other Husain, made their joyous appearance and by their auspicious advent, made the world bright and fragrant. After a month, both of them folded up the bed of life, and wandered away to the other world.

At the time, when the emperor returned from Mandū, and was occupied with pleasure and enjoyment at the capital, he used to go often on pleasure trips to [1] Kerānī, which among the places in the neighbourhood of the capital city of Agra, was distinguished for the sweetness of its water and the delicacy of its air. As the open place there was fit for the erection of elegant buildings, a *farmān* was issued for the planning and construction of grand palaces; and within a short time, beautiful mansions and elegant structures were completed; and a great city was built, which received the name of [2] Nagar-chain.

[3] An account of the circumstances of Khwāja Mu'azzam, maternal uncle of the emperor.

He was a son of 'Ali Akbar, a descendant of his holiness Shaikh-ul-Islām, Zinda-fīl Āhmad Jān; on whom be the mercy of God!

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[1] The name of this village is given very differently in different histories. In the MSS. it is written as Kekranī and Kerānī; and it is also written Kerānī in the lith. ed. In Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma it is Kakrālī, Vol. II, p. 358. It is called Kākranī in the trans., in Elliot V, and according to a note it is written as Kagrānī in one MS. Badāonī has گهر اولی in the Persian text p. 70, and G'hrāwalī in the English trans.

[2] The name is composed of two Hindi words, meaning city and rest. There is a note in page 357 Vol. II of Bev.'s trans. of the Akbarnāma, which in reference to Nagar-chain, says, "See Badāonī, Lowe, 69. He remarks that the place had wholly disappeared. See Blochmann, 298a. See Fanthome's "A forgotten city," J.A.S.B. for 1904. He identifies Nagar-chain with the village of Kakrālī within the boundaries of Qabūlpūr, seven miles due south of Agra. I have however not been able to find the remarks attributed to Lowe, in the place cited.

[3] This account agrees generally with that in the Akbarnāma, which however is more lengthy and detailed, extending over about three and half pages

During the reign of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī he had on many occasions committed evil deeds. His Majesty, on account of his desire to please the heart of the mighty prince (Akbar), shut his eyes to them, and excused them. At last, as he was of a frantic temperament an order was issued for his banishment. He then went to Gujrāt. From there he went to the revered city of Mecca, and after remaining there for some time, again returned to the service of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī. Afterwards when the term of rule came to the emperor of the world, and the management of affairs was entrusted to the wise direction of Bairām Khān, Khān Khānān, he knowing the audacity and puerility of the Khwāja, and in accordance with the purport of the couplet:

Do not to the malevolent kindness show;
Do not do good to scorpions and to snakes;

banished him again. After that he remained for some time in Gujrāt; but later turned a hopeful face to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. This time Bairām Khān showed him some consideration, and treated him with a certain amount of favour. About this time, the affairs of Bairām Khān were ruined, in the way which has already been described. The emperor, however, continued to shower royal favours on the Khwāja, and settled certain estates on him as his *jagīr*. But as fickleness and instability were fixed and ingrained in his disposition and creed, he committed perverse act, as if without intending to do so. Among these there was the following. There was a woman of the name of Bībī Fātīmā, who had been in service in the harem of the late emperor Jinnat Ashiānī. Khwāja Mu'azzam had married her daughter Zuhra Āgha. After some time, he without any reason determined to put that helpless woman to death. When her mother came to know this, she hastened to the emperor's presence, and informed him of the truth of the matter in the shape of a complaint. It so happened, that at this time the emperor was about to go out hunting. He informed her, that in order to effect her daughter's

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of Beveridge's translation (Vol. II, pp. 334–337); and in Badāonī, which is much shorter, extending over about a dozen lines (p. 71 of Vol. II, of the Persian text, and p. 71 also of Vol. II, of the translation).

release, he would [1] cross the river by way of the Khwāja's house, and would give him some advice. He also sent Tāhir Muhammad Khān, the [2] Mīr-i-Farāghat, and Rustam Khān, one after another that they might give the Khwāja notice of his arrival. When Tāhir Muhammad Khān reached his house, the Khwāja in a great rage slew the innocent woman. When the emperor arrived there, Khwāja Mu'azzam having committed this barbarous act, was adjudged to punishment; and in accordance to orders, which were obeyed by the world, the men who were in attendance, subjected him to kicks, and blows with cudgels, and casting him in a boat, took him on the river, and soused him several times in the water. Afterwards he was sent to the fort of Gwāliār, and was imprisoned there; and he died during his imprisonment.

An account of the coming of Mirza Sulaimān for the third time to Kabul.

It has been mentioned before, that Mīrza Sulaimān came to Kabul, at the request of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, and after putting down Shāh Abul Ma'āli, at the time of his return, alloted the greater part of the country in fiefs to his own servants in lieu of their salaries. As this caused great annoyance to Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm and his men, they drove the Badakhshanīs out of Kabul. Mīrza Sulaimān then in order to avenge this insult turned towards Kabul with a [3] large army. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm left Bāqī Qāqshāl, with a body of trustworthy men of his own in Kabul, and retired towards Jalālābād and [4] Parshāwar. When Mīrza Sulai-

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[1] In explanation of this, I quote the following note from p. 336 of Vol. II, of Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma. "In Akbar's time the Jumna flowed, as it were, through the middle of Agra, many of the nobles and others having their houses on the east bank. This was evidently the case of Khwāja Mu'azzam. There was a bridge of boats across the Jumna, and probably Akbar usually went by it. This time, he went by boat, in order to land near the Khwāja's residence."

[2] What the duties of *Mīr-i-Farāghat* were, I have not been able to find out. The name of Rustam Khān is given as Dastam Khān in the translation of the Akbarnāma.

[3] There are different readings in the MSS., and the lith. ed., viz. لشکر بیکران and لشکر گران

[4] The MSS., and the lith. ed. and the trans. in Elliot, Vol. V., have Par-

mān arrived on the bank of the river [1] Bārān, and heard that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm had gone away in the direction of Jalālābād he abandoned the road to Kabul and [2] turned towards Jalālābād. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm passing by Parshāwar, arrived on the bank of the Nīlāb; and from that place sent a representation containing an account of the whole affair to the threshold which is the asylum of the world. When Mīrza Sulaimān knew, that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm had sent a petition to the court which is guarded by soldiers innumerable as the stars, he turned back from Parshāwar, but left a retainer of his of the name of Qambar, with three hundred men at Jalālābād; and turned towards Kabul. When Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm's petition reached the court, an order which had to be obeyed by the world was issued, that the amīrs, who were feudatories in the Punjab, such as Muhammad Quli Khān Bīrlās, and Khān Kalān and Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Kamāl Khān Kakhar, and other victorious troops should proceed to the assistance of the Mīrza. The great amīrs in compliance with the *farmān* came with large forces, and joined the Mirza on the bank of the Nīlāb river. They then marched towards Kabul to recover it; and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of Jalālābād, the Mīrza sent [3] men to Qambar, who by order of Mīrza Sulaimān was guarding the place, and summoned him to make submission and allegiance; but that ill-fated

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shāwar but Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma has Peshāwar. The brief statement of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm's retreat from Kabul to Jalālābād in the text agrees with that in the Akbarnāma; but Badāonī gives a longer and more detailed account of his journey, with the adventures, that occurred in the course of it.

[1] That is the name in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and in the trans. of the Akbarnāma, but in the trans. in Elliot, V., it is called the river Mārān. Bādāonī does not mention either Bārān or Mārān.

[2] That is how the passage is given in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but another MS., has گشت جلالاباد متوجه از راه گذاشته کابل راه, the additional words in this MS., have apparently no meaning. The translation in Elliot, V., is silent about Mirza Sulaimān's movements.

[3] Both the MSS. and the lith. ed. have میرزا ..... کسان را فرستاد, which I have translated as the Mirza sent men. The translation in Elliot, V., p. 293, is that "they sent Mirza *Kasān*," which appears to me to be a rather curious mistake.

man turned his head from obedience; and the imperial troops turned their attention to the capture of the fort and having done so, in the course of an hour, put to the sword of vengeance Qambar 'Ali, and the whole of the three hundred men who were in the fort.

Couplets: Thou playest with thy destruction dire,
When thou, a sparrow, dost play the hawk.
The shard that with the rock doth fight,
Is turned to dust by a single blow.

They allowed two men out of the garrison to escape, so that they may carry the news to Mīrza Sulaimān; and they sent the head of Qambar with the good news of the victory to Bāqī Qāqshāl at Kabul.

When the news of the victory of Jalālābād, and of the arrival of the imperial troops, reached the ears of Mīrza Sulaimān he turned his face in great discomfiture towards Badakhshān. And Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm in conjunction with the great nobles, returned to Kabul, and sat firmly on the carpet of government. The amīrs then all returned to their *jāgīrs* as they had been directed by the imperial *farmān;* but [1] Khān Kalān who had been appointed to the post of *atālīq* or guardian of the Mīrza, remained at Kabul. It happened then that the latter married his sister, who had formerly been married to Shāh Abul Ma'āli, to Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī, a descendant of his holiness Khwāja Bahā-ud-dīn, may the great God sanctify his soul! by a *nika* ceremony, [2] without asking for the approval of Khān Kalān. When Khwāja Hasan was strengthened by such an alliance, he took the management of the affairs in the household of the Mīrza into his own hands, and took no account whatever of Khān Kalān. The latter on account of the sharpness of his temper could not bear this, and leaving Kabul without the

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[1] According to Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II., p. 364, "the Khān Kalān foolishly resolved to take upon himself the office of the Mīrza's *vakil* and stayed in Kabul," from which it would appear, that he was not appointed to the post of *atālīq* as mentioned in the text.

[2] One MS. has بی استصواب, another has باستصواب. The lith. ed. has only استصواب, without any prefix. The trans., of the Akbarnāma has "without reference to Khān Kalān." The trans. in Elliot, V., has "without consulting Khān Kalān." Badāonī has بی استصواب خان کلان.

permission of the Mírza came to Lahore and submitted a representation of the [1] facts to the emperor.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF THE TENTH YEAR OF THE ILÁHÍ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Sunday the 9th Sha'bán 972 A.H. (11th March 1565). In the beginning of this year a wish to hunt elephants, entered the noble mind, and an order to be obeyed by the world was issued that scouts should go forward, and should bring the news wherever they might see any elephants, and the emperor himself started in state, on the 1st of the month of Rajab 972 A.H. towards [2] Narwar and Garha. When the party encamped in the neighbourhood of Narwar, the scouts came and reported, that there were some herds of elephants roaming about in the neighbouring jungles. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Iláhi mounted alone and entered the jungle aud returned after driving the whole of the elephants into a stockade. The next day he was proceeding to the victorious army, when the scouts met him on the way, and brought news, that within eight *karohs* there were many elephants roaming about in a [3] forest. The emperor turned back from the road, and came up to the elephants, and the imperial troops surrounded all of them, drove them towards the fort of [4] Panánú, and at

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[1] One MS. has حقیقت حال را عرضداشت نمود, while another is more grandiloquent, and has حقیقت حال را بپایه سریر سلیماني عرضداشت نمود. The lith. ed. omits this clause, and ends with بلاهور رسید.

[2] The readings are somewhat different. One MS. has جانب گرهه و نرور, another has جانب نرور و گرهه براه دهول پور. The lith. ed. has جانب نرور. The translation in Elliot. V., has "for Narwar and Garha by way of Dholpur." Badáoní's Persian text has بجانب نرور و گرهه; but the English Trans. has "went towards Narwar and Karah." The Akbarnáma has Narwar and Karhara; and about the latter place a note says "Qu. Karara in Gawliar, north of Jhansi, but probably it is the Karhara of Jarrett, 289, the zamíndárí of which, is said to be included under Ratan Gadh."

[3] The word in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. is صحرا, which of course means a desert, but it is hardly likely that elephants would be roaming about in a desert. The trans. in Elliot, V., has, however, got "desert."

[4] The name of the fort is written as above in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. In the trans. in Elliot, V., it is printed as Pánwa. The trans. of the Akbarnáma has Bayámwán, and a note says Bapánwa in text. See Jarrett, II, 188.

midnight put them into it; three hundred and fifty elephants were captured that day. From that place the emperor started towards the victorious encampment, which was within the boundaries of Garha and made a halt of about twenty days at that station. As it was the time of hot winds, and the season of the blowing of contrary winds, most of the inmates of the camp became ill and debilitated. The camp then marched from that place, and an [1] order, which had to be obeyed by all the world, was issued that the imperial troops should enter into the jungle, and as long as each of the chief men should not catch an elephant, he should not come into the sublime presence. After that Gwāliār became the halting place of the exalted standards, and after a few days when signs of good health made their appearance, (the emperor) marched from that place in the direction of the metropolis of Agra.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE FORT OF AGRA.

During this year, a noble order was issued that in place of the citadel in the fort of Agra, which was built of bricks and at this time had become old and ruinous, a fort should be built of dressed stone; and in accordance with the order, the foundations were laid, and the fort was completed in the course of [2] four years. It has, to-day no rival in the whole of the inhabited world. The width of its walls is ten [3] yards and the walls are built of stone

[1] The meaning of this order, when the men in the camp were in bad health, is not at all clear; but the text of two of the MSS. is exactly as I have translated it. The lith. ed. however omits the sentence, and has after اکثر اهل اردو ضعیف و بیمار شد, at once ازان مقام بدار الخلافت اگرہ نهضت فرمودند. The translation in Elliot, V. is also to the same effect. In the translation of the Akbarnāma we find that "he left some of the followers to capture the remaining elephants," (Vol. II. p. 371,), which perhaps explains the meaning of the order. Badāonī's account of the elephant-hunt is very brief, being comprised in only four lines of the Persian text. He however says that Akbar himself suffered from an attack of fever for a few days. The Akbarnāma only says that "H. M.'s constitution became somewhat affected by the climate and long marches."

[2] Badāonī says در مدت پنج سال باتمام رسید, i.e., "it was completed in five years" Persian Text. Vol. II, p. 74); while the Akbarnāma extends the period to eight years (Bev. Trans. Vol. II, p. 373).

[3] One MS. has دوازہ (mistake for دوازدہ), twelve (yards). Badāonī has ten yards. The Akbarnāma has three *bādshāhī* yards.

placed in mortar, and are faced on both sides with dressed stone which has been highly polished. The height of the fort is more than forty yards, and a moat has been dug round it, both sides of which have been built of stone and mortar. The breadth of the moat is twenty yards and its depth ten yards. Water comes into it from the river Jumna. Nearly [1] three *Krors of tankas* were spent in the construction of this great edifice. The date of the foundation of its gate was found in the words, [2] bināi Dar-i-bihisht (the foundation or building of the gate of paradise).

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION AND HOSTILITY OF 'ALI QULĪ KHĀN, KHĀN ZAMĀN, AND IBRĀHĪM AND ISKANDAR.

As before this, 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek had done certain improper acts, as has been already mentioned, His Majesty the Emperor formed in his mind a somewhat bad opinion of the Uzbek tribe. At the time, when the august standards came into motion in the direction of Narwar, with the object of elephant-hunting, an order to be obeyed by the world was issued, that Ashraf Khān, Mīr Munshī, should go to Iskandar Khān, and encouraging and re-assuring him by promises of royal favour bring him to the royal threshold. When Ashraf Khān arrived in the neighbourhood of Audh, which was the *jāgīr* of Iskandar Khān, the latter went out to meet him, and brought him with all honour to his own house, and expressing his submission to the royal mandate, showed outwardly that he was preparing to turn his face with hope, to the threshold which was the asylum of the world. But after a few days, he said

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[1] According to Badāonī the money was raised by زر سه سیری غله از سر هر جریب زمین بر ولایت تقسیم نموده محصلان تواچیان گمشاته از امرای جایگیر دار تحصیل کردند. The English translation Vol. II. page 74, appears to me to be slightly incorrect. It runs as follows "he ordered a tax of three *sers* of corn on every *jarib* of land, in the district, and appointed collectors and officers (*tawāchī*, a Turki word meaning *haut commissaire*) from the amirs who held *jāgīrs* to collect it." I would substitute "country"; for "district" and for the latter part "appointed collectors and officers to collect it from the *amirs* who held *jāgīrs*."

[2] According to Badāonī, this chronogram which amounts to 974, was the work of Shaikh Faizī.

to Ashraf Khān, that as Ibrāhīm Khān was [1] much older than himself, and was in that neighbourhood it would be better if they went to him, and uniting him with themselves, all went together to the presence. On this understanding, they went to the town of [2] Sarwār, which was the *jāgīr* of Ibrāhīm Khān. When Iskandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān met together, they came to the conclusion, that it was proper, that they should have conference with 'Ali Qulī Khān Zamān, who also belonged to their tribe, and was the emperor's representative in those parts.

To carry out their object they went to Jaunpūr, which was the *jāgīr* of Khān Zamān, with the concurrence of Ashraf Khān. After they had met, the opinions of all of them were for hostility and faithlessness to the salt. They kept Ashraf Khān under guard as a criminal; and having taken the path of sin and guilt, Ibrāhīm Khān and Iskandar Khān turned their faces with hostility towards Lucknow: and Khān Zamān marched with his brother towards Karra and Mānikpūr; and commenced a disturbance and rebellion. Shāham Khān Jalāir, Shāh Bidāgh Khān, Amīr Khān, Muhammad Amīn Diwāna, Sultān Qūli Khāldār, and all the other *jāgīrdārs* of that neighbourhood, and Shāh Tāhir Badakhshī and his brother Shāh Khālīl-ul-lah, and other *amīrs* combined together, and went and stood in the path of the rebels, and began a conflict and warfare with them. Both parties attacked each other. [3] Muhammad Amīn

[1] The Persian words are بس از ما کلان است. The translation in Elliot. V., is, "is, a much greater man than I." I think however that کلان here means senior in age, and not higher in rank. This is clear from Badāonī, who says, بسال بزرگتر از همه است, which may be translated as "in years, is senior to all." The trans. of the Akbarnāma also has, "Ibrāhīm Khān is our grey beard (Aq. Seqāl)."

[2] The name is given as سرواد, Sarwār, in the MSS. and سراور, Sarāwar, in the lith. ed. It is Sarāwar in the translation in Elliot, V.; سرهر پور Sarharpur in Badāonī, and Surharpur in both the translations of Badāonī, Vol. II, p. 76, and of the Akbarnāma. Vol. II. p. 376. Sarharpur is a *pargana* in the Fyzabad district of Oudh.

[3] Both the Akbarnāma and Badāonī say that there was a fight between the parties near Nimkhār. The Akbarnāma says "a hot engagement took place between them, i.e., the loyal amīrs and Sikandar Khān and Ibrahim Khān near the town of Nimkhār. Muhammad Amīn Diwāna attacked the

fell off his horse and was captured by the enemies. Shāham Khān and Shāh Bidāgh exerted themselves bravely; but as the hostile troops were [1] double the number of their own, they turned their backs and entering the fort of Nīmkhār shut themselves up in it. They sent a report of the true state of things to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur Khān, having become emboldened, stretched the hand of oppression to plunder the *parganas* in that neighbourhood. Maĵnūn Khān Qāqshāl who was the *jāgīrdār* of those parts, entered the fort of Mānikpūr, and shut himself up in it. He sent word to Āsaf Khān (Khwāja 'Abd-ul-maĵīd), who held the government of Gadha, informing him of what had happened, and summoned him to his side. Āsaf Khān left a body of men for the defence of the country of Gadha, and himself came to (the town of Gadha) which was his *jāgīr*, and opened his hand for distributing the treasures of Chauragarh, which had come into his hands and thus encouraged and comforted his soldiers. He also sent a large amount to Maĵnūn Khān. [2] The latter and Ashraf Khān then made a [3] firm stand; and sat down in front of the enemy; and sent a representation about the true state of things to the august threshold.

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rebels' centre, and levelled many with the dust. But during the attack, his horse stumbled, and he was thrown to the ground. The wretches crowded round him, and made him prisoner." As regards Nimkhar, a note says, it is a town in the Sitapur district of Oudh, on the left bank of the Gumti. Jarrett 276 and Oudh Gazetteer. Nimkhār is the corruption of the word Naimishāranya, a sacred place mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Nimkhār is even now a place of pilgrimage. Badāonī's account is briefer, and is slightly different, namely امرای انبدود ..... در نواحی نیم کهار بجنگ ازپیش خان زمان منهزم شدند و محمد امین دیوانه دران معرکه دستگیر گشت *

[1] The Akbarnāma is less definite, and contents itself with saying that "as the faithless to their salt were superior in number," etc.

[2] One MS. inserts before this مصرع ، که زر باشد کلید کار مشکل. which can be translated as "Hemistich; for gold is the key of all difficult tasks."

[3] It is not very clear what they did. The trans. in Elliot, V., is that "they went forth to confront the rebels." The Akbarnāma says, that Maĵnūn Khān, after being emboldened by Āsaf Khān's help, frequently sent out brave men from the fort, to contend with 'Ali Quli Khān's forces. Badāonī, like our author says, در مقابل خان زمان نشستند, i.e. they sat down in front of Khān Zamān.

When the centre of the circle of the Khilāfat (i.e. the capital) became the halting place of the victorious standards, and the petitions of the *amīrs* arrived in (rapid) succession, the determination to avenge was confirmed, and a *farmān* having the force of destiny was issued, that Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān should advance with a body of imperial troops as a vanguard: and crossing the river (Ganges) at Kanouj, attempt to put down the enemy; and the [1] emperor himself, after waiting for a few days in order to organise and arrange the affairs of the victorious army, crossed the river Jumna in the month of Shawwāl of the afore-mentioned year, and turned his face of vengeance for the destruction of the rebels and of the disturbers of the peace. When the victorious standards halted in front of Kanouj, Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, hastened to receive (the emperor); and brought with him Qiyā Khān Gung who had joined the enemies, and prayed for the pardon of his offences. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, pardoned his offences, and confirmed him in his former rank and position. A halt of ten days was made for crossing the river.

[2] When the royal pavilions were pitched on the opposite bank of the river, it was reported to His Majesty that the short-sighted [3] Iskandar Khān was sitting down at Lucknow. Immediately on hearing this news, His Majesty, with a body of loyal and devoted warriors, started by forced marches in the middle of the night, leaving the camp in charge of Khwāja Jahān, and Muzaffar Khān, and Mu'in Khān; and never taking any rest during that night and the next two days, came upon Iskandar at Lucknow, in the morning.

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma, the emperor "made over the government of Agra to Tarsūn Khān, and on Thursday, the 23rd Shawwāl (972 A. H.), 24th May 1565 he crossed the Jumna.

[2] All the MSS., and lith. ed. have, with slight variations; چون انروی اب مغیم سرادق جلال گردید, but the translation in Elliot, V., (p. 297) is "when the water subsided." I do not know whether the reading from which the translation was made was different, or the translation is incorrect. It is not likely that the river would be in flood or the waters would subside in that season (the latter part of May, see note 1, above).

[3] The epithet in the original is بی عاقبت which has been translated in Elliot V. as "heedless of what was to happen."

Iskandar, receiving the information, came out of Lucknow in great confusion and fled. As the horses in the imperial troops were completely exhausted, [1] Iskandar carried off his life in safety and reached Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān. The latter also, in great trepidation, decamped from before Majnūn Khān, and Āsaf Khān; and went away to Jaunpūr. They again started from there, and sending their adherents in advance crossed the river at the ford of [2] Narhan and encamped on the other side of the river.

The emperor sent Yusuf Muhammad Khān in advance from Lucknow; and himself followed him. When he reached the neighbourhood of Jaunpūr, Āsaf Khān and Majnūn Khān came and were exalted by being allowed the honour of kissing the (emperor's) carpet. Āsaf Khān offered superb presents; and was honoured by a glance of acceptance. The next day, he brought the troops, which he had collected together, by means of the treasures of Gadha, and the number of which amounted to five thousand horsemen, who were well-equipped, into an extensive open space, and showed them to His Majesty; and was distinguished by his praise, and honoured with royal favours. Then on Friday the [3] 12th of Zi-hijjah of the afore-mentioned year, the palaces inside the citadel of Jaunpūr became the object

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[1] There are some variations in the readings. Two of the MSS., have اسکندر خان بسلامت برده; one Ms. has اسکندر خان بسلامت بدر رفته; while the lith. ed. has اسکندر جان بسلامت برده, I have adopted the last reading. The translation in Elliot, V., is "and went off unmolested to Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān."

[2] Badāonī says از اب نرهن گذشته, but it appears that Narhan is the name of a ford, and as will appear later, in the text, it is one of the fords of the river Ganges. This appears also from the index of Lowe's translation of the 2nd volume of Badāonī, (p. 478). On the other hand, according to a note in p. 379 of the 2nd volume of Bev.'s translation of the Akbarnāma Narhan is in Champaran, Jarrett, II, 156, N. This cannot be correct, for the Ganges nowhere flows through, or even touches the district, of Champaran. There is a place called Narhan in the south of the Darbhanga district, and probably the ford was situated here. This is all the more probable from the proximity of the place to Chausa and Buxar, as will appear from Bev.'s translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II, pp. 385-6.

[3] Badāonī has the same date, Friday the 12th Zil Hijja; but in the translation of the Akbarnāma the date is given as Friday, the 14th Zil Hijja (13th July).

of the envy of the celestial regions, by the auspicious advent (of the emperor). An august *farmān* was issued, that Āsaf Khān, with a body of great *amirs*, should cross the river Ganges by the ford of Narhan, by which 'Ali Qulī Khān Zamān had also crossed it with his followers, and should halt in front of the enemy and wait for orders, which have the force and currency of fate, and should carry them out, when they should be issued. Āsaf Khān complied with the orders, and halted with the victorious troops on the bank of the river.

As there was great friendship and a strong attachment between 'Ali Qulī Khān Zamān and Sulaimān [1] Karrāni Afghān, the ruler of Bengal, the empire-adorning intellect considered it advisable, that a wise ambassador should be sent to Sulaimān, who should forbid him to render any help to 'Ali Quli Khān. For this reason, Hājī Muhammad Khān Sīstānī, who was noted for the sanity of his judgment, was appointed to the mission. When he reached the fort of Rhotās, some of the Afghān *sardārs* who were in communication with Alī Qulī Khān, seized him, and sent him to the latter. But as the foundation of friendship between him and 'Ali Qulī Khān was strong, the latter, considering his advent, a matter of great advantage to himself, showed him much respect and honour; and knowing that he would be a means for the submission of petitions for the forgiveness of his offences, wished to send his own mother with him to the imperial threshold, to intercede for him; the result of which, God willing, will ere long come under the tongue of my pen.

As during this time, the Rājā of Orissa, which is situated near the boundary of the country of Bangāla, had great power, and whose hand of acquisition reached to all places in those parts, the emperor sent [2] Hasan Khān Khazānchi, and Mahāpātar, who was supreme in

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[1] The name is written in the MSS., and in the lith ed. as سليمان كرراني In Elliott, V., it is transliterated as Sulaimān Kirānī. It is printed in the Persian text of Badāonī as it is written in the MSS., of the Tabaqat. In the English translation of Badāonī, add in that of the Akbarnāma, the name is printed as Sulaimān Kararānī; and it is said in a note in the former, that he is called also Karānī and Karzānī; and that he reigned in Bengal from 971 to 981 or 1563 to 1573 A.D.

[2] Khazānchī means treasurer. There is a note in p. 381 of Beveridge's trans-

that age, in the art of Hindu music, on a mission to him, and gave him promises of royal favours; and having brought him in to the group of the well-wishers of the threshold, persuade him, that if Sulaimān Afghan tried to help 'Ali Qulī Khān, he (the Rājā) carrying out his duties as a servant of the emperor, should put Sulaimān into such difficulties, that the desire to help 'Ali Qulī Khān should not again enter into his thoughts. After the Rājā had kept Hasan Khān and Mahāpātar for three or four months, with all honour and respect, he sent to the threshold a few great elephants with other valuable presents, with them. This Orissa is an extensive country, the capital of which is the city of Jagannāth, and Jagannāth is an idol from which, this city is named and for which it is celebrated.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FLIGHT OF ĀSAF KHĀN TO THE COUNTRY OF GADHA.

After Āsaf Khān had come to the threshold, and mustered his troops in the royal presence, [1] Muzaffar Khān becoming hostile to

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lation of the Akbarnāma which is as follows; "Blochmann 611 N. Mu'tamad Khān says he knew the Oriya language, so probably he came from Orissa. He was formerly in the service of Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat." The index number of this note is at the end of the sentence, "The two went together to Orissa." It is therefore difficult to say, to whom the note refers, whether to Hasan Khān Khazānchī or to Mahāpātar; but I suppose it refers to the former. As regards Mahāpātar, he is described by Badāonī as, مهاپاتر باد فروش كه از يار يافتگان شير شاه و اسليم شاه بود و در فن موسيقي و شعر هندي بى عديل بود which has been rendered in the English translation as "Mahāpātra bādfarosh (who had been one of the favoured courtiers of Shīr Shāh and Islīm Shāh, and was without a rival in the science of Music, and Hindu poetry)." In notes to the translation, it is said that Mahāpātra is a Sanskrit word from *Mahā* equal to great, and *Patra* equal to vessel; and bādfarosh means, seller of wind. This is quite correct, but *pātra* means various other things besides a vessel, such as a bride-groom, a minister, and generally a personage. Mahāpātra is even now a caste name in Orissa. Mahāpātra received the Persian title of bādfarosh or bard According to Badāonī, Hasan Khān and Mahāpātar returned from Orissa after Akbar had gone back to Agra.

[1] Apparently the court of Akbar was a hot-bed of corruption and intrigue. This man, Muzaffar Khān, Ali Turbati, who was made finance minister, then prime-minister, and afterwards governor of Bengal, is charged by Badāonī with شومي طمع وحرص This is translated "violence of nature and avarice"; though طمع

him, persuaded the people that they should talk about him, in connection with the treasures of Chaurāgarh; and he himself also grieved his heart with words containing insinuations. On this account, he became anxious and agitated in his mind, till such time, when the emperor made him a commander of the forces and sent him to confront 'Ali Qulī Khān. Then finding an opportunity, at midnight, he in concert with his brother Vazīr Khān fled with a body of his retainers and started towards Gadha. The great amīrs received information of his flight on the following day. They at once sent a representation of the circumstances to the threshold. When the news reached the royal ears, Mun'im Khān was sent as the commander of the army in place of Āsaf Khān; and [1] Shujā'at Khān was ordered to pursue him with a body of the imperial troops, and to mete out to him the punishment of his (evil) deeds. In accordance with the order, Shujā'at Khān hastened in pursuit of him; and when he arrived in the town of Mānikpur, he was informed that Āsaf Khān had gone away to Karra; and intended to go away from there to the country of Gadha Katinka. Shuajā'at Khān got into boats to cross over to the other side of the river; and Āsaf Khān hearing this turned back, and had come to the bank of the river, when Shuāj'at Khān's boats arrived. Brave deeds were done by both sides; and Āsaf Khān did not allow Shujā'at Khān to land. As night had come on Shujā'at Khān turned back; and came back to the bank from which he had crossed over. Āsaf Khān, taking advantage of the opportunity, fled with all his troops. The next morning Shujā'at Khān again crossed the river; and started in pursuit. After he had gone a part of the way, he knew that it was not within the bounds of possibility to overtake Āsaf Khān; so he was compelled to turn back, and prepared for the honour of rendering homage (to the emperor) at Jaunpūr.

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does not mean nature but greed. In the Akbarnāma, Muzaffar Khān is not specially named, but it appears that Āsaf Khān sent bribes to the royal clerks, but this had no success. Of course Āsaf Khān had misappropriated much of the treasures of Chauragarh, so there was corruption and intrigue everywhere.

[1] He is called Shujā' Khān in one of the MSS., but in the other MSS., in the lith. ed., in Elliot, V., in the Akbarnāma, and in Badāonī he is called Shujā'at Khān, as in the text.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION OF [1] QULĪJ KHAN TO THE FORT OF RHOTĀS.

This fort is situated within the boundaries of Bīhar and in its height and strength is distinguished and unrivalled among all the fortresses of India. [2] The plateau which is enclosed in the fort is more than fourteen *karohs* in length, and three *karohs* in width, and the height from the ground to the pinnacles half a *karohs*. From the time of Shīr Khān Afghān it was in the possession of the Afghāns. At the time when Sulaimān Karrānī became the ruler of Bengal, Fath Khan Tibati having gained possession of the fort, refused to lower his head in allegiance to him. In the year 972 A.H. Sulaimān, having collected his forces, and hoping for help from 'Ali Quli Khān, came to attack him and besieged the fort. When the royal standards marched to those parts, with the object of destroying Khān Zamān, Fath Khān considering this a matter of great advantage to him, sent his brother Hasan Khān, with handsome presents to the royal threshold; and represented that the fort of Rhotās belonged to the servants of His Majesty, and as soon as the victorious standards would cast the shadow of their advent over Jaunpūr, he would bring the keys of the fort, and would deliver them. When the news of the march of the emperor reached the ears of Sulaimān, who was engaged in besieging the fort, he abandoned the siege. Fath Khān being relieved, collected as much provision as

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[1] This name is variously written in the MSS., as قلیچ Qulīj, قلیچ Qulīch and قلیح, Qulīh. In the lith. ed, it is قلج, Qulj. In Elliot, V. it is printed as Kulīj Khān but in Badāonī Persian Text and English translation as well as in the Akbarnāma it is قلیچ خان, Qulīj Khān.

[2] The dimensions of the fort agree with those given by Badāonī; except that there is an absurd mistake about the height which is said in the Persian text, to be پنج کروہ, and in the English trans, as five *cosses*, but it is said in a note, that half-a-cos given in the Tabaqāt is nearer the mark. It is also said in a note that the dimensions are of the plateau, on which the fort was built, and not of the fort itself. This is not correct. The dimensions are those of the fort, and not of the plateau, which is a great deal more extensive, as it extends over the whole of the southern part of the Sasseram and Bhabua subdivisions of the Shāhābād or Arrah district, and is known as the Kaymore plateau.

the fort would hold; and repenting of having sent his brother to the royal threshold, wrote to him that by every trick and pretext that he could think of, he should return to the fort,[1] for he (Fath Khān) had freed himself from all anxiety about provisioning the fort.

During the time, when Jaunpūr had become the halting place of His august Majesty, Hasan Khān submitted a petition, that some one might be sent with him, so that going back he might make over the keys of the fort to that person. An order, to be obeyed by all the world, was accordingly issued, that Qulīj Khān should accompany Hasan Khān, and bring Fath Khān with the keys to the royal threshold. When Qulīj Khān arrived, Fath Khān outwardly expressed his submission and kept him for a few days; but in the end Qulij Khān became aware of his duplicity; and returned, without gaining his object, to the threshold.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF 'ALI QULI KHAN KHĀN ZAMAN, AND ALL THE REBELS.

At the time, when 'Ali Qulī Khān sat down opposite to the imperial forces at the ford of Narhan, he sent his brother Bahādur Khān, in company with Sikandar Khān to the country of [2] Sarwār, so that they might, going by that road raise the dust of rebellion and disturbance, in that country. When this news reached the august hearing, an order to be obeyed by all the world, was issued that the great amīrs such as [3] Shāh Bidāgh Khān and his son 'Abd-

[1] Only one MS. adds after this و تقصیر مکن *i.e.*, "and make no mistake or default."

[2] The name is written as سردار, Sardār in all the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. The translator in Elliot, V., p. 301 has Sarwār, and he says, in a note, that it is so written in the MSS., and in Badāonī, but the MSS. I have seen, and Badāonī, as noted below have Sardār. It is also given as Sardār in the Persian text of Badāonī and Sardār in the English translation, but there is a note, in the latter, the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari has Sarwār; and Elliot has identified it with Sarharpur (V. 301). Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma has Sarwār. Sardār is apparently a mistake for Sarwār which is probably identical with Sarharpur or Surharpur which according to one account is a *pargana* in the Faizabad district of Oudh, and according to another a district and town about 18 *kos* from Jaunpūr.

[3] Most of the names are given in the order in the text, in the MSS., and in the

ul-Matlab Khān, and Qiyā Khān, and Sa'īd Khān and Hasan Khān and Jumla Khān, and Muhammad Amīn Diwāna, and Beg Nurīn Khān, and Muhammad Bāqī Khān and Fattu Afghān, and Muhammad Ma'sūm Khān should march under the leadership of [1] Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk, who was one of the Saiyyads of Mashhad, and was noted and famous for his bravery, against Sikandar and Bahādur, and should fight with them and put them down.

It was stated before this, that the Khān Khānān having been appointed in place of Āsaf Khān in the command of the army went to oppose Khān Zamān at the ford of Narhan. As relations of affection and friendship were strong [2], between the two, at this time in accordance with their former relations, the doors of correspondence were opened from both sides; and it was decided that Khān Zamān should have an interview with Khān Khānān; and the terms of peace should be determined in their presence. As these conversations were prolonged to four or five months, there was delay in carrying on the war. It was therefore ordered that Khwāja Jahān and Darbār [3]

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lith. ed. In the trans. in Elliot, V., only the first three names are given. Badāonī has numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 10 and adds دیگران, others; there are twelve names in the Akbarnāma. Muhammad Ma'sūm Khān is called Farankhūdī, in both the Akbarnāma, and in Badāonī. Beg Nūrīn Khān is called Beg Nūr-ud-dīn in the Akbarnāma.

[1] Badāonī was against the Mīr, and says او استعداد قامت بر سرداری جامه که نازیبا و ناچسپان بود which has been translated as "on the stature of whose capacity the dress of commander-in-chief sat badly and unbecomingly," and ends by saying سردار رسید معز الملک میر هزیمت خبر از سردار که بناگاه, *i.e.*, when suddenly news came from Sardār (or Sarwār), of the flight (or rout) of the general Mīr Mui'zz-ul-mulk. The Mīr was however, a *Shia* of the *Shiās*, and therefore Badāonī could not bear him. Besides, it appears that there were dissensions among the leaders in the imperial army.

[2] But in spite of this, neither party apparently fully trusted the other. Abul Fazl says that Khān Zamān was suspicious of certain "devoted heroes." who "would lie in wait and finish off the scoundrel" *i.e.*, himself; and so he proposed that the terms of peace should be settled by letters and messengers; and it was at last decided that the two should meet each other, with three attendants, in boats in the middle of the river.

[3] The MSS. have دریا خان, Dariyā Khān but in the translation in Elliot, V., and in Badāonī the name is Darbār Khān. In the translation of the Akbarnāma neither Darbār Khān nor Dariyā Khān is mentioned in this connec-

Khān should go to the army and should enquire whether the suspension of hostility was due to prudence and loyalty, and should report the truth of the matter. Otherwise, they should insist on the imperial troops crossing the river, and placing the rewards of the rebels in the skirts of their destiny. When Khwāja Jahān and Darbār Khān arrived in the camp, Khān Zamān considered their advent, a matter of great benefit to himself; and after felicitating them on their arrival, brought the proposal of peace to their notice also. After the interchange of messengers and letters, Khān Zamān sent a message to Khān Khānān, that they should meet, each with four or five men in boats. Khān Zamān and Ibrahīm Khān on one side and Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān and Darbār Khān with certain others on the other side seated in boats met together on the river. After much discussion, it was decided, that Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān should take the mother of 'Ali Qulī Khān, and Ibrāhīm Khān, who stood in the place of an uncle to him, to the royal threshold; and petition for the pardon of his offences; and after their crimes should have been pardoned, he and his brother and Iskandar should come to the court. It was also decided that Khān Zamān should send the well-known elephants, that he had, with his mother. After these decisions had been arrived at Khān Zamān obtained permission, and went to his camp. Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān wrote an account of the matter, and sent it to the threshold with Darbār Khān. The next day, 'Ali Qulī Khān sent his mother and Ibrāhīm Khān, with some useful elephants, with [1] Mīr Hādī, his *Sadr* (judge) and Nizām Aqā, who was one of his confidants. Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān took them, with the elephants with them, and came to the royal threshold.

At this very time the news came of the battle between Mu'izz-ul-mulk and the other amīrs with Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān. The particulars of this event are as follows; Iskandar Khān and

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tion. Darbār Khān was however Akbar's reader, and it is likely that he was the man that was sent. Further on, the MSS. also have Darbār Khān.

[1] These names are given as in the text, in the MSS., and in the lith. ed., and in the trans. in Elliot, V.; but in Beveridge's translation of the Akbar-nāma, there is only one name and it is given as Mīr Hādī Nizām Agā, apparently as that of one man.

Bahādur Khān had taken leave of Khān Zamān and had come towards *sarkar* Sarwār; and laid the foundation of disturbance and rebellion. When the news of the arrival of the victorious army reached them, they halted at the place which they had reached; and sent men to Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk, and sent a humble message to him, to the effect, that they did not at all intend to fight with the imperial troops, and that they proposed that he should intervene, and should obtain pardon for their offences from the threshold, which was as lofty as the sky; and that they should also send to the threshold, as a tribute, the elephants which they had in their possession; and after their offences should have been pardoned, they would themselves come and render service. Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk sent a reply, that it was not possible, that their offences should be purified except by the sword. Bahādur Khān again sent a man to Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk, and prayed that he should be allowed to come and have an interview, so that all necessary matters might be discussed. Mir Mu'izz-ul-mulk accepted this suggestion, and went with some persons to the outskirts of the camp and Bahādur Khān also came there; and broached proposals of peace. Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk, however, did not utter a single word except about war. Bahādur Khān at last returned, despairing of an amicable settlement; and making up his mind for war, prepared for a battle.

At this time Lashkar Khān, the *Mīr Bakhshī* (the chief pay master) and [1] Rājā Todar Mal arrived from the royal threshold, and joined the army. (They had instructions), [2] that if they thought

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[1] A short biography of Rājā Todar Mal is given in a note in page 303 of Elliot, V. Badāonī was apparently very bitter against him.

[2] Both Abul Fazl and Badāonī agree with our author in saying that the decision as to peace and war really rested on these two men. Abul Fazl also says, that as soon as they arrived, they "sent a message to the rebels, that if their protestations of devotion, etc., were genuine they should honestly proceed to court. But their hearts and tongues were not in accord." Badāonī says that Rājā Todar Mal was just as keen about the war as Mīr Mui'zz-ul-mulk. He says میر معزالملک خود اتش بود ، باز راجه تودرمل حکم روغن نفط پیدا کرد و ان اتش را تیز تر ساخت, *i.e.*, "Mīr Mui'zz-ul-mulk was himself fire, and again Rājā Todar Mal produced the effect of oil of naphtha, and made that fire burn all the fiercer," So it would seem that our author was not quite fair in attributing all the blame for the defeat to Mīr Mui'zz-ul-mulk.

that it would be advisable, to carry on the war, they should join with the victorious troops, and completely destroy and crush the enemy; otherwise they should give assurances of safety to Iskandar Khān and Bahādur Khān, and bring them to the royal threshold. When the latter received information of their arrival, they again knocked at the door of peace, and prayed, that as Khān Zamān had sent his mother and Ibrāhim Khān to the royal presence, they should wait for the arrival of a reply. But as Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk was extremely keen about the war, he did not lend a favourable ear to their words, and in the end, put the stain of defeat on himself.

Quatrain; When the enemy, with humility enters your door;
You should not then, from him, for vengeance seek.
When the offender, for pardon comes to thee,
If thou pardonest not, thou wouldst the offender be.

In short, Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk busied himself in arranging the troop, and placing the vanguard under Muhammad Amīn Diwāna and [1] Salīm Khān and 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān and Beg Nurīn Khān and other experienced warriors, himself took up the position in the centre. On the other side Sikandar was appointed to the vanguard, and Bahādur stood in the centre. In these positions, the two armies facing each other, engaged in severe strife and slaughter. The advance guard of the royal army attacked the vanguard of Bahādur's army, where Sikandar was posted; drove the latter from

[1] Two of the MSS., omit the name of Salīm Khān and one substitutes Sulaimān and 'Abd-ul-latif Khān for Salīm Khān and 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān. In Elliot, V., p. 304, these names are given as in the text, but Beg Nūrīn Khān is changed into Beg Mūrīn Khān. In the Akbarnāma quite a large number of names are given as those of the commanders of the different divisions of the imperial army, while the rebel army is said to have been divided into three divisions under Bahadur Khan, Iskandar Khān and Muhammad Yār, the last of whom is described there as brother's son of Sikandar (*sic*). It is stated in a note however, that Bayāzīd calls him his sister's son and the T. A. says he was Sikandar's son-in-law. According to Badāonī Mīr Mui'zz-ul-mulk placed himself in the centre and the amīrs named in the text as those placed at the vanguard are, with the addition of Kākar Ali Khān said to have been kept by him near himself; while other amīrs were placed at the head of the right and left wings. The leaders of the rebel army are said by Badāonī to have been the same as those in the text.

his place, and Muhammad Yār, his son-in-law was killed. Sikandar being unable to carry on the struggle, with the men he had, turned his back to the field and plunging into the Siah river,[1] which was behind his position, got out of it; but most of his soldiers were drowned; and the rest who came out became food for the sword. The victorious troops became dispersed in all directions for plunder and booty. Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk[2] remained stationed at his post with a few followers. Bahādur Khān, who had not up to this time moved from his position, now finding a good opportunity, attacked him, and drove him from his position. Among the amīrs Muhammad Bāqī Khān and orhers, stood aloof, on the pretext of protecting their property; and some others, owing to their enmity and treachery, fixed the attribute of faithlessness to their salt, on themselves. Shāh Bidāgh Khān, who saw this, hastened to the field, and did brave deeds; but in the midst of his great efforts, he fell off his horse. His son 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān went up to him, and tried to rescue him; but at this time some of the enemies made a strong effort, and seized Shāh Bidāgh Khān, while 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān got out by a heroic effort. Mīr Mui'zz-ul-mulk feeling helpless turned his back on the battle field. Rājā Todar Māl and Lashkar Khān, who had stood aside as a reserve, remained at their post, that day till the evening, making brave efforts; but as the centre was broken, their endeavours produced no result. The next day, they all collected together, and turned towards Shīrgarh and Kanouj; and submitted a report of the occurrence to the royal threshold.

[1] It is said in a note to Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. II, p. 391, that "apparently the piece of water was a lake or morass. Sikandar struggled out of the mud and water but many of his followers were drowned or slain." Badāonī according to the Bib. Ind. edition makes Sikandar cross the river Siyāh (the Sye). The language of Badāonī's text is almost identical with that of our author.

[2] The accounts of the battle given in the Akbarnāma and by Badāonī agree mainly with that in the text, but they both emphasize the fact, that Mīr-Mui'zz-ul-mulk and the troops under him showed no fight at all. Badāonī says كه خيلى از جوانان خصوصاً حسين خان خويش مهدي قاسم خان و باقي محمد خان و ديگران از سرداری مير معز الملک و حکومت راجه تودرمل ملول بودند ... تردد انچنانکه مباهی بود نکردند, from which it appears that the malcontent amīrs were dissatisfied with the leadership of both Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk and Rājā Todar Mal.

It has been mentioned before, that the Khān Khānān brought the mother of Khān Zamān, and Ibrāhīm Khān, with Mīr Hādī, *Sadr* and Nizam Āqā to the imperial threshold. (He) placed Ibrāhīm Khān, with bare head, and with a sword and shroud hanging from his neck, in the place of intercession, and submitted that the great services of the Khān Zamān and of his brother to the august dynasty were known to every one; and many great acts of service had been done by them. If at this time, as decreed by destiny, an offence has been committed by them, the royal favour and grace were too wide, that casting a glance on their offences, such useful servants should be destroyed; specially when they had turned their faces with complete hope to the august threshold, making this aged slave the means of praying for the pardon of their sins. His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, out of the great kindness which he felt towards Khān Khānān, orderded that he forgave them their offences on account of the kindness which he felt towards him; but it was not known whether these people would remain firm on the path of allegiance. The Khān Khānān submitted again, and enquired what was the order about their *jāgirs*. His Majesty ordered that as he had pardoned their offences, what objection could there be about their *jāgirs*. But it was advisable, that as long as the victorious standards should remain in those parts, they should not cross the river. When he would go to the capital, their *Vakīls* should go there and get revised *farmāns* for their *jagīrs*; and in accordance with those *farmāns* they should take possession of those *jāgirs*. The Khān Khānān raising (lit. rubbing.) his congratulatory head to the sky sent the good news of the pardon, to the mother of the Khān Zamān, and in accordance with the august order the sword and the shroud were removed from Ibrāhīm Khān's neck. The Khān Zamān's mother immediately sent men to Bahādur and Sikandar, and gave to their hoping ears the glad tidings of the pardon; and sent them a message, that they should forthwith send to the royal threshold the famous elephants which they had with them. Bahādur and Iskandar, on hearing this happy news, were extremely pleased and delighted; and sent the elephants called *Koh-pārā* (a piece of a hill or mountain) and *Saf-shikan* (rank or line breaker) etc., and other presents.

About this time the petition of Rājā Todar Mal and Lashkar

Khān about the battle and the treachery of some of the amīrs, with the particulars which have already been mentioned arrived. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, as he had already pardoned their offences declared that as he had already, at the intercession of the Khān Khānān forgiven their offences it was desirable that the great amīrs should turn their faces to the imperial threshold, so that he might keep his promise. At that very time, Mīr Mui'zz-ul-mulk and Rājā Todar Mal and Lashkar Khān came to the royal presence. The men who had been guilty of treachery were punished by being forbidden to make their *Kurnish* (salute to the emperor).

After that His Majesty went by three stages from Jaunpūr to the city of Benares, with the object of seeing the fort of Chunār, which was famous for its elevation and strength. After spending a few days there, he arrived at the fort of Chunār. He inspected it, from all sides and gave orders for new construction, and for strengthening the fortifications. At this time it came to his august hearing, that many elephants roamed about in the neighbouring jungle. He started with the intention of hunting them, taking some of his personal attendants with him; and at a distance of ten *karohs* he came upon a herd of elephants, and drove ten of them into a stockade. After that he returned to the fort and from there, by successive marches, he joined the auspicious camp.

An account of the rapid march of His Majesty against Khān Zamān.

It has been mentioned before this, that the favour of restoring the *jāgīrs* of Khān Zamān, and his taking possession of them were conditional on his not crossing the river before receiving orders for doing so. But he crossed the river, at the time of the march of the standards towards Chunār and came to Muhammadābād, one of the dependencies of Mudah [1]; and sent a body of men to take possession

[1] The name is so written in two of the MSS. In the others the clause از اعمال مودة is omitted. In the lith. ed. مودة is printed as بودة. In Elliot V. Muhammadābād is said to be one of the dependencies of Jaunpūr. In the Akbarnāma Muhammadābād is mentioned, but there is no mention of the place of which it was a dependency. In the Persian text or Badāoni, we have محمد اباد كه از توابع قصبه مواست. In a note in the English translation, there

of Ghāzīpūr and Jaunpūr. At the time when His Majesty arrived in the camp, it was reported to him that 'Alī Qulī Khān had been guilty of an act of such audacity. His Majesty spoke to the Khān Khānān in anger, and said "The sublime standards have not yet marched from these parts, and 'Ali Quli Khān has transgressed the conditions." The Khān Khānān hung down his head in shame, and did not open his mouth in reply. After this His Majesty ordered that Ashraf Khān, the [1]*Mīr Munshi* should go to Jaunpūr, and seize the mother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, who in accordance with orders should be there, and should keep her under guard in the fort. He should seize every one of the rebels who might be there. [2] Khwāja Jahān and Muzaffar Khān were left in the camp, with directions to bring it along stage by stage, and the emperor himself, with a large body of the victorious troops, started by forced marches to capture 'Alī Qulī Khān. Ja'far Khān[3] the son of Qazāq Khān Turkmān, who had at this time come to the imperial threshold from 'Irāq, went rapidly to the gate of the fort of Ghāzīpur and wanted to make a bold attack on it; but Alī Qulī Khān's men, who were in the fort, received warning of it, and threw themselves into the river Ganges from the bastions, and went away to Muhammadābād. 'Alī Qulī

is "or Mhow (properly Mahu) about latitude 26′ N., 79′ E." This appears to me to be too far west. There is a Mow, about half way between Azimgarh and Ballia about 26′ N, and between 83′ and 84′ E. (see map in Elphinstone's History Edn. 1911), which may be the correct place.

[1] He is described as the Mīr Munshī in the MSS. and in the lith. Ed. and also in Badāoni; but he is erroneously called the Mīr Bakhshi in Elliot V, P. 306.

[2] Badāonī also says that the camp was left in charge of these men, but he does not say anything about their being directed to take it along. In the Akbarnāma, the name of Rājā Bhagwant Das is added to those, who were left with the army to follow slowly, and stage by stage. It appears from the Akbarnāma, that Akbar left the camp on the night of Saturday the 11th Rajab, 2nd February 1566.

[3] The name of Ja'far Khān's father is written as قزاق خان Qazāq Khān in one MS., and فزاق خان, Fazāq Khān in another. The Lith. ed. has قراق خان Qarāq Khān. He is called Karāk Khān in the translation in Elliot V. In the Akbarnāma Ja'far Khān Taklū and Qāsim Khān are said to have been sent to Ghāzipūr, but the names of their fathers are not given. Badāonī does not mention that any body was sent to Ghāzīpūr.

Khān, who was at the latter place, receiving information of this mishap took to flight in very great confusion. When he arrived on the bank of the [1] river Saru, his boats, which were loaded with his goods and chattels, fell into the hands of the well-wishers of the emperor; and a body of men were ordered that they should cross the river, and should not sit down till they should have seized 'Alī Qulī. The auspicious troops, following the bank of the river, traversed all those jungles; and then learnt, that 'Ali Qulī Khān had withdrawn through those jungles towards the Siwalik hills.

At this time intelligence came, that Bahādur Khān had gone to Jaunpūr, and had released his mother from confinement; and having seized [2] Ashraf Khān was determined to make a bold attack on the victorious camp. His Majesty the emperor on hearing this news, gave up the pursuit of Khān Zamān and returned towards Jaunpūr. The troops who had gone in pursuit of Khān Zamān came back, and joined the august camp. Sikandar and Bahādur Khān, having heard the news of the return of the victorious standards, turned their faces in flight, towards the ford of Narhan, and crossed the river Ganges.

In the month of Rajab, this year, when the emperor was encamped in state near the *pargana* [3] of Nizāmābād, the ceremony of the weighing of the emperor, which was performed every year, was celebrated. The description of this august ceremony is in this wise. His Majesty the emperor was weighed every year, on the day of his auspicious birth, twice every year according to the solar and lunar

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[1] The name is given in the MSS. as اب or دریای سردار or سردر or سرد The lith. ed. has سرر بکنارهٔ . In Elliot V. it is called river Sarwār (Sarū). Badāoni has اب سردار in the Persian text, and river Sarwār, in the Eng. Trans. In Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma it also called Sarwār, and a note says "This seems to be the Sargū or Gogra." The correct Sanskrit name of the river is Sarayū, and it is commonly called the Sarju or Gagra.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, after releasing 'Ali Qulī Khān's mother and seizing Ashraf Khān they plundered and ill-used the people of Jaunpūr, although they had many connections there. They also plundered Benares; and then went to Madna Benares which is known as Zamāniya.

[3] In the Akbarnāma it is called the town of Nizāmābād and a note says "in Jaunpūr, Jarrett 264." Badāonī however has نظاماباد پرگنه در ظاهر in the text, and adds در جونپور.

dates, in the presence of the pillars of the State, and the great men of the empire, against gold and silver [1] and other things; and the whole of these things were distributed to the poor and needy.

When His Majesty marched from Nizāmābād, and made Jaunpūr, an object of the increased envy of paradise, he directed, that a pleasant site should be selected for a great palace, and solid foundations should be laid for it. He also ordered that the *amīrs* should, according to their status, build mansions and houses; and it was decided, that as long as there should be left any vestige of 'Ali Quli Khān and his brother, the city of Jaunpūr should continue to be the seat of the throne, and the imperial troops should remain engaged in their pursuit; so that as long as the punishment of their evil deeds should not be placed in the skirts of their destiny, the troops should have no rest. 'Ali Quli Khān who had fled to the valleys at the the foot of the Siwalik hills came to the bank of the river Ganges, on hearing this news; and sent [2]Mīrza Mīrak Razavī who was a confidant of his, to the imperial threshold, and sent this message to the Khān Khānān;

Couplet: Except thy threshold, no asylum is there, in the world for me,
Except thy door for my head there is no place of repose.

He went, with the mother of Khān Zamān, to Khān Khānān and gave the latter his master's message. Khan Khānān then, in concert with [3]Mīr Abd-ul-latīf, and Mulla 'Abd-ul-lah Makhdum-ul-

[1] The actual words are و دگر کاینات which has been translated in Elliot V "and other things." The articles against which the emperor was weighed are not mentioned in Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma. Badāonī (Persian text) has طلا و نقره و سایر اجناس; which has been translated, not quite accurately, as I think, as gold, silver and other precious things. The weighing is an old Hindu custom. On the whole subject, see Blochmann, Ain, 18.

[2] He is incorrectly called Mirza Mubārak Rizwi in Elliot V., p. 308; and it is also incorrectly said in a note that "this was the title he afterwards acquired. He was at this time called Mirza Mirak. Badāonī Vol. II, p. 84". What Badāonī says (p. 84 Vol. II, of the Persian text) is میرزا میرک که اخر رضوی خان شد and in p. 85 of the English translation "Mirza Mīrak who afterwards became Razauī Khān."

[3] The same names are given by Badāoni, but he adds the title of Qazwīnī,

mulk, who was the Shaikh-ul-Islām of India, and Shaikh 'Abd-un Nabi, *Sadr*, standing in the place of intercession, prayed, a second time for pardon for the offences of Khān Zamān. His Majesty, out of his innate kindness drew the pen of forgiveness over his crimes, and said with his inspired tongue,

Verse: If the offender knew this truth, that every moment,
What joy I have in pardoning a guilty one;
He always would with deliberation offend;
And would, with excuses, to me his offences bring.

Their [1] offences having been pardoned, an exalted order was passed that [2] Khwāja Jahān, Mīr Murtaza Sharīfī, and the Makhdūm-ul-mulk should go to Khān Zamān, make him repent of his offences, and give him the joyful news of the pardon. When these men arrived in the neighbourhood of Khān Zamān's camp, the latter went forward to meet them, and took them, with all honour to his own residence. He kept them there for some time, and treated them with all respect and courtesy; and then having performed the ceremony of repentance and oath-taking in the manner in which it had been ordered, he bade the honoured guests farewell. When the enemies showed repentance [3] for their evil deeds, and placed their heads on the line of obedience, the sublime standards returned from Jaunpūr, in the early part of the eleventh year, corresponding with the year 973 A.H.; and turned towards the metropolis.

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to the name of Mīr 'Abd-ul-latīf. In the translation of the Akbarnāma the names of the intercessors are given as Mīr Murtaza Sharīfī, Mulla 'Abd-ul-la Sultānpūrī and Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabi, *Sadr*.

[1] Only one MS. inserts here از عفو لذتی است که در انتقام نیست, *i.e.*, there is a pleasure in forgiving, which there is not in revenge.

[2] The names given in the trans. of the Akbarnāma are again different. They are Mīr Murtaza, Maulana 'Abd-ul-lah and Mu'in Khān Farakhudi.

[3] This passage occurs in only two of the MSS., and in the lith. ed.; but it is different in all of them. One MS. has از اعمال ناشایسته, while another has از ذمایم افعال ناشایسته, while the lith. ed. has از افعال ناشایسته. I have not thought it necessary to change the reading in the latter.

AN ACCOUNT OF [1] THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Monday, the [2] 20th Sha'bān 973 A.H. His Majesty arrived in the capital city of Agra in the beginning of that year; and on [3] Friday, the 7th Ramzān of that year, that beautiful city was made the envy of the upper paradise. After spending some days in pleasure and enjoyment, he went to Nagarchain, where splendid buildings were being erected. There the occupation of [4] *Chaugān* (polo) acquired a predominance over other forms of pleasure, and the emperor spent most of his time in it. As the pleasure of the amusement had made such a conquest over his noble disposition, he arranged for fire (illuminated) balls for dark nights; and busily occupied himself in this game. From the sparks, which flew out of the balls when they were hit, a light appeared from which the position of the ball was ascertained. This was a special invention of His Majesty. It sometimes happened that the ball flew into the air, and one of the adversaries caught it in the air and passed it between the posts; and this passing was considered equivalent to a goal. And sometimes it happened that the other party coming to oppose them did not permit the man (hitting the ball) to pass through the posts and the two parties then struggled together and there was wrestling between them; it was indeed a wonderful spectacle.

About this time [5] Muhammad Yusuf Khān, son of Ā'zam Khān

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[1] It may be noted, that Badāoni consistently ignores the Ilāhi era.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, the year began on Monday the 18th Sha'bān 973, 10th March 1566, when the sun entered the sign of Aries. It will be seen that the day of the week agrees with that in the text, but the date is different.

[3] According to the two MSS., in which the passage occurs and the lith. ed. and Badāonī and the Akbarnāma Friday, the 7th Ramzān are the day and date of the emperor's arrival in Agra; but in Elliot V., they are given as Friday, the 8th Ramzān.

[4] The passage about the game of *Chaugān* has not been translated in Elliot V. The accounts of the game are somewhat shorter than in the text in both the Akbarnāma and in Badāonī; but the latter mentions سگ بازي و جانور پرانی, *i.e.*, coursing and hawk-flying among Akbar's other amusements.

[5] According to the Akbarnāma, he died on the 5th Ziqāda, 24th, May 1566, after five days' illness.

Atka (foster-father), who was the *kokaltāsh* (foster-brother) of His Majesty, and was distinguished among all those, who were intimate with him, both in proximity and in rank, and was noted for liberality and bravery, died in the prime of life from continual drinking.

Couplet; In this many-hued garden, no tree doth grow,
That from the blows of the axe man remains upright.

His Majesty was deeply grieved, and adorned the obsequial assembly with his gracious presence; and granted valuable robes of honour to all the *amīrs* and *Khāns*.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEPARTURE OF MAHDĪ QĀSIM KHĀN TO GARHA, AND OF THE FLIGHT OF ĀSAF KHĀN TOWARDS KHĀN ZAMĀN.

At this time, when the noble mind of His Majesty had acquired complete repose, after the successful termination of the matters of 'Ali Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān, and other rebels, he sent Mahdi Qāsim Khān, who was one of the old nobles of this family, at the head of three or four thousand soldiers, to the country of Garha, so that he might attend to the affairs of that country, and also seize Āsaf Khān. But before he could arrive, the latter abandoned the fort of Chauragarh, and withdrew into the jungles. He also sent a petition to the threshold expressive of his great humility and repentance, and asked for permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Mahdi Qāsim Khān penetrated into the country of Garha and brought it all under his control; and then started in pursuit of Āsaf Khān. The latter wrote letters to Khān Zamān, and determined to go to him. Khān Zamān wrote to him in reply, and asked him to come. He was deceived; and went with his brother Vazīr Khān to Khān Zamān at Jaunpūr. But in their first interview, he seeing the latter's haughtiness, was truly sorry for having come.

Couplet; Many fly from one danger to another;
Many jump from a snake, to a boa great.

Mahdi Qāsim Khān, despairing of overtaking him, returned to Garha; and gave the men, who had been sent to reinforce him, permission to return, and sent them back to the imperial threshold.

Khān Zamān sent Āsaf Khān with Bahādur Khān to conquer certain countries which were held by the Afghāns; and kept Vazīr

Khān near [1] himself; and employed men to keep a watch over him. The latter sent a man to Āsaf Khān to inform him, that he would run away from the the place at a certain time; and asked him to separate himself from Khān Zamān, in any way that he could manage. Āsaf Khān, on one of those nights, left all his goods and chattels at that place, parted company with Bahādur Khān, and took the road to [2] Kara Mānikpūr. In the course of that night he rapidly traversed a distance of thirty *karohs*. Bahādur Khān rushed after him and overtook him between Jaunpūr and Mānikpūr; and there was a sharp fight between them, In the end Āsaf Khān was defeated, and taken prisoner. Bahādur Khān started back, throwing him on the [3] *chaukhandi* on an elephant. Vazīr Khān who had, in the meantime, escaped from Khān Zamān, heard on the way, that his brother had been taken prisoner, and came out to Bahādur Khān. The latter's men had dispersed in search of *loot*, and he seeing that he was unable to fight with Vazīr Khān, gave orders that Āsaf Khān should be put to death, in the *chaukhandi* in which he was. He was struck with swords, and three of his fingers were cut off, and there was a wound on his nose also. Vazīr Khān, however, hastened to him, and rescued him from being murdered; and the two brothers arrived at [4] Kara. Bahādur Khān returned without accomplishing his object. Vazīr Khān then turned towards the imperial threshold; and, through the intervention of Muzaffer Khān, received the honour of kissing the ground, in the neighbourhood of Lahore, at a time when His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi, having gone in pursuit of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, was engaged in [5] *Qamargha*-hunting, as will be mentioned in its own place. His and his brother's offences were pardoned, and a *farmān* expressing favour and assurance of safety was issued to Āsaf Khān.

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[1] One MS. adds here, كه بتعاقب خواهد فرستاد *i.e.*, that he might send him afterwards.

[2] Badāonī (Persian text Vol., II, page 87) سي كروه راه طى نمودة طرف اگرة و مانكپور را پيش نهاد خود ساخت In the English trans. also, it is said that he was "going in the direction of Agra and Manikpūr." [3] A kind of *Howdā*.

[4] Badāonī, Persian text, has exactly the same words as the text, but the Eng. trans. says "the two brothers made for Garha."

[5] A Turki word denoting a great *battue*. De Courteille merely calls it *lieu de chase*.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF MIRZA SULAIMĀN TO ATTACK KABUL FOR THE FOURTH TIME.

It has been recorded in former pages, that Mīrza Sulaimān had invaded Kabul, and the imperial troops had been appointed to aid Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, and had advanced with great force against him; and he, being unable to oppose them, had returned without success to Badakhshān. The great *amīrs* had then, with the permission of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, returned to India. When Mīrza Sulaimān received news of the return of the *amīrs*, he collected the army of Badakhshān, and with his wife (*mankuha*) [1] Khurram Begam invaded Kabul. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm left the fort of Kabul in charge of Ma'sūm Kuka, in whom he had great trust, and who was noted for his great courage; and himself went with Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi to [2] Shakardara and Ghurband. Mīrza Sulaimān came to Kabul and besieged it. But when he found that he would not be able to take it, he devised a plan, and sent his wife Khurram Begam to the neighbourhood of Ghurband, so that she might, by showing her sincerity and attachment towards the Mīrza, bring the latter into the snare of deception; and the times sang this song on these circumstances, in respect of Mīrza Sulaimān.

Verse; Thou hast with thyself a calculation made;
May it not be that thou a wrong game hast played!
Draw back thy rein from this mistaken aim;
For none the phoenix has caught in his snare!

In accordance with this agreement, Khurram Begam left Mīrza Sulaimān, in the neighbourhood of Kabul; and started herself towards Ghurband, She sent some persons to Mīrza Muhammad

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[1] She is called Harram Begam in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. Badāonī calls her ولي نعمت بيگم, Wali Na'mat Begam.

[2] One MS. has شكر درة غور بند, but another and the lith. ed. have شكر درة و غور بند, In Elliot, V., the passage is translated "Into the valley of Ghoreband,' the word شكر being evidently omitted. The translation of the Akbarnāma has Shakardara and Ghorband, (Shakardara, according to a note, being north of Kabul). Badāonī (Persian text simply says بغور بند رفت; but in the English translation we have "went to the river Ghorband." (and a note says to the north of Kabul).

Hakīm, and informed him, that as she held him to be dearer to her than her own life, and looked upon him as a son, more specially at this time, when the relation had been made firmer and stronger by an alliance, she wanted that they should meet together, and make the foundations of friendship and co-operation, stronger by promises and engagements; (and she assured him) that this was in fact the purpose of their coming to Kabul on this occasion.

The Mīrza on hearing these words, was led astray, and made up his mind to have an interview with Khurram Begam, in the village of Qarābāgh, which is situated at a distance of ten *karohs* from Kabul; but he first sent some men to Khurram Begam, that they might obtain promises from her, and satisfy themselves (about the Mīrza's safety). Khurram Begam expressed great anxiety and desire for an interview with the Mīrza; and said, with strong oaths, that she had no deceitful or treacherous designs; and in fact her object was to strengthen the foundations of friendship and attachment.

The Mīrza's men having heard her words obtained permission to return. They had not however gone very far, when that foolish woman, with great quickness, sent men to Mīrza Sulaimān, (and informed him) that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm was coming the next day to meet her at Qarābāgh; and it was advisable that he (Mīrza Sulaimān) should immediately come there, and should be there in ambush, waiting for an opportunity. Mīrza Sulaimān left Muhammad Quli Shughāli, who was one of his trusted *amīrs*, and was noted for his bravery, with one thousand men for the protection of his daughters, who were in his camp in the neighbourhood of Kabul; and with his remaining troops, he made a forced march in the course of the night, and reaching the neighbourhood of Qarābāgh, lay in ambush and waited for an opportunity.

The Mīrza's men, who had returned from Khurram Begam impressed on his mind the purport of her promises and engagements, and persuaded him to go and meet her. Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī also exerted himself in this matter. But Bāqī Qāqshāl, who was not in favour of the Mīrza's going, said that the woman intended deceit and treachery.

Couplet: One should to the words of the wise give ear,
As one should choose pearls and jewels rare.

But as the Mīrza had determined to have an interview with Khurram Begam, he did not listen to Bāqī Qāqshāl's objections. And he started with a few of his trusted adherents towards Qarābāgh. When they arrived near the place, where the meeting was to take place, they accidentally met some of Mīrza Sulaimān's soldiers, who had got separated from him, in the course of the night, and [1]they impressed on their minds, the facts of Mīrza Sulaimān's having come there with a large body of his troops, and of his lying in ambusn. The Mīrza, immediately hearing this news, turned back and fled. When Mīrza Sulaimān heard, that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm had turned back he at once started in pursuit, and overtaking some of the Mīrza's men in the pass of Sanjad Dara (defile), made them prisoner. He also pludered all the goods and chattels of the Mīrza, which had remained behind.[2] Bāqi Qāqshāl and his brothers guarded the Mīrza's rear, and slew the Badakhshis with their swords and arrows. They conveyed the Mīrza out of the whirlpool of destruction by their brave and manly exertions. When Mīrza Sulaimān knew, that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm had escaped he waited where[3] he was. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, in a state of dejection, went towards Badakhshān, and did not in fact know where he was going.

[1] Their conduct appears to be inexplicable. Badāonī's version does not differ very much. He says چندی از سپاهیان میرزا سلیمان بمردم میرزا محمد حکیم دو چار شده این خبر را می گویند, i.e., some of Mīrza Sulaimān's men met Mīrza Muhammad Hakim's men, and told them the news. The Akbarnāma gives a more probable account. It says "On the way one of the Kabulis who had come with the Badakhshis in M. Sulaimān's rapid march, separated himself from them; and found M. Hakīm's people. He told them that M. Sulaimān was lying in ambush behind a certain ridge, with a chosen body of men, and was watching for his opportunity."

[2] The whole of this passage from here to the end of the paragraph is omitted from the lith. ed.; but has been taken from the MSS. It was also omitted from the MSS., from which the translation in Elliot, V. was made; for there, after saying that the Mīrza's baggage was plundered, it is said "And they stopped in the pass. The Mīrzá himself along with Muhammad Hakīm reached Ghorband. From there they went to Jalālābād, and afterwards to the banks of the Indus." This is of course, as will appear from a comparison with the text, and the Akbarnāma, and Badāoni, altogether incorrect.

[3] One of the MSS. has here در کوتل سنجدرة که رسیده بود, while the other omits it.

He travelled during the whole of that day, and when he reached one of the valleys of Ghurband, he passed the night there. The next day when they arrived near the *kotal* of the [1]Hindu koh, Khwāja Hasan wished to take the Mīrza to Pīr Muhmmad Khān, at Balkh, and ask for aid from him. Bāqi Qāqshāl said, "let us take the Mīrza to the sublime threshold." Khwāja Hasan went with his men to Balkh; and Bāqi Qāqshāl came to Ghurband, and from there, by way of [2]Panjhar to Jalālābād, and from there to the bank of the Nīlāb (Indus). They crossed the river, and having written a petition sent it, by the hand of emissaries to the imperial threshold.

The emissaries of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm were honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold at the time when Nagarchain was the halting place of the victorious army, and presented his petition, which contained an account of the confusion of his affairs. The news of the disturbances, which had taken place in Kabul, had however already before their arrival reached the august ears; and His Majesty appointed [3] Farīdūn, who was Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm's maternal uncle, and had been a servant of the sublime threshold, to help the Mīrza, and put his affairs in order. When the Mīrza's petition came, (the emperor) sent a large sum of money, with many articles of Hindustan, and a horse and saddle by the hand of Khush Khabar Khān, who was one of the court messengers, and sent an order, that if there was any necessity for assistance, the *amīrs* of the Punjab would be sent to give it. When Khush Khabar Khān arrived near the Mīrza's camp, the latter went forward to receive the *farmān*, and showed his sincerity and fealty. But after the arrival

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[1] It is so called in the MSS. and in the Akbarnāma, but Badāoni calls it هندوکش, and it is said in a note to the translation Vol. II, p. 90 "Means 'Hindu slayer', and is so called because slaves brought thither from India died from the intensity of the cold. See Ibn Batuta p. 97."

[2] This agrees with Badāoni. Panjhar according to a note to the translation, is the same as Panshar. The Akbarnama says they crossed over to Jalālābād by the way of Isa and Bahra. There is a note to Bahra, which says that Badāonī has Panjhar, and probably this is the correct reading. Apparently Mr. Beveridge did not know that Panjhar was also mentioned in the Tabaqāt.

[3] He is called Farīdūn in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and also in the translation of the Akbarnāma; but in the translation in Elliot, V., and also in Badāonī he is called Faridūn Khān.

of Khush Khabar Khān, Farīdūn [1] commenced to lead the Mīrza astray; and explained to him that the conquest of Lahore would be easy. After the intention to act with hostility had been confirmed, he tried to induce the Mīrza to seize Khush Khabar Khān. But although the Mīrza had been led astray by his foolish persuasions, still he was too loyal to agree to the detention of Khush Khabar Khān, and sending for him in secret, gave him permission to leave. A writer of the name of Sultān 'Ali who had fled from the threshold, and Hasan Khān, brother of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, who lived in Kabul, joined with Farīdūn in the matter of stirring up disturbance and enmity. At their instigation the Mīrza turned the bridle of hostility and rebellion towards Lahore. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Bhera, he stretched forth his hand for plunder and rapine. The amīrs of the Punjab, such as [2] Mīr Muhammad Khān-i-Kalān and Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Sharīf Muhammad Khān, on hearing this news, all assembled in Lahore, and engaged in the duty of defending the fort, and sent a petition containing accounts of the rebellion and other crimes of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm to the imperial threshold. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm arrived in Lahore by successive marches; and encamped in the garden of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, which was situated in front of the city. He came several times to the foot of the citadel, with his troops arrayed in line of battle. The Punjab Amīrs, with shots from their cannon and matchlocks, did not permit them to achieve anything. At last when they heard of the approach of the victorious standards, towards the Punjab, they did not have the power to wait any longer and fled.

Couplets; When thou hast not strength to move one from his place,

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[1] One MS. inserts after فریدون, که از درگاه تعین یافته بود رسیده, but it does not occur in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed.; and appears to be tautological and unnecessary.

[2] He was the elder brother of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, and also of course of Hasan Khān, who was one of the rebels. The third name is in the MSS., as I have given it in the text, but the lith. ed., has Sharīf Khān; and in Elliot, V., it is Sharīf Muhammad; the Akbarnāma has Sharīf Khān. Badāonī names only Mīr Muhammad Khān, and groups the others into "all the *Atka amirs*."

Why should'st thou strain thy sinews in war, 'gainst him;
Then only should'st thou on a lion's flank raise thy hand,
When thou hast the power to smite him down.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MARCH OF THE VICTORIOUS STANDARDS TOWARDS LAHORE.

When the news of the hostility of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm reached the royal ears, the marks of anger and wrath appeared on his auspicious cheeks; and he gave orders for the mustering of the army. Mun'im Khān, Khānkhānān, was left to guard the metropolis of Agra; and Muzaffar Khān was left in charge of civil and revenue matters; and on the third of Jamādi-ul-āwwal, 974 A.H. (17th November, 1556) the march commenced. In the course of ten days, the camp arrived at Dehli. The emperor [1]performed pilgrimages to the shrines of the saints, who repose there; and favoured the *faqīrs* and mendicants with royal benefactions. From there he arrived, by successive marches, to the town of Sarhind. He was pleased to see the splendour of the *bazars* there, and having applauded Hāfiz Rakhna, who was the *shiqdār* (superintendent) of the place, entrusted the *sarkārdārī* (the commissionership) to his charge. When the banks of the river [2]Satlad (Sutlej), became the encamping ground of the sublime standards, the news of the flight of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm arrived; and from that place the emperor turned, with great pleasure, towards Lahore. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, the great *amīrs*, the marks of whose loyalty and devotion had been shown repeatedly, hastened to meet him; and were exalted with imperial favours. In the month of Rajab of the afore-mentioned year, the capital

[1] The Akbarnāma says, he also visited the tomb of H. M. Jinnat Ashīānī.

[2] He is said to have received the news of the "flight of Mirza Muhammad Hakīm," according to the translation in Elliot, V., "after crossing the Jumna." This is clearly incorrect. He had crossed the Jumna, if in fact he did so, long before he came to Sarhind. The Akbarnāma says he got the news after crossing the Satlej.

city of Lahore became his halting ground, and the residence of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, which was situated in the citadel of the fort, became his resting place. Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Kamal Khān Gakhar hastened, in compliance with the order obeyed by all the world, [1] in pursuit of the Mīrza, and having traversed the *pargana* of Bahira, and ascertained that the Mīrza had crossed [2] the river Nīlāb, they turned their faces of return to the court. When Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm heard the news of the return of Mīrza Sulaimān towards Badakhshān, he went with all quickness to Kabul.

It has been mentioned in previous pages, that Mīrza Sulaimān had come from his camp, alone, or with a small body of followers, to the neighbourhood of Qarābāgh, with the intention of seizing Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, leaving his camp, in which his daughters were, in the environs of Kabul. [3]Muhammad Ma'sūm Kuka, whom Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm had left in Kabul, sent on the day following (Mirza Sulaimān's departure) a body of men to attack the camp; and they defeated Muhammad Quli Shughālī who was in it. The latter left all the goods and equipage in the camp to be plundered, and took himself and the daughters of Mīrza Sulaimān [4] into a walled garden, which was in the neighbourhood, and fortified it. The Kabulis besieged Muhammad Quli, and wanted to seize him, and the daughters of Mīrza Sulaimān. Ma'sūm Kuka, considering the seizing of the daughters of Mīrza Sulaimān, to be contrary to good manners, summoned his men back. Mīrza Sulaimān, returning unsuccessful from Qarābāgh, arrived near Kabul, and again besieged the fort. Ma'sūm Kuka who had become bold and audacious, sent out a body of soldiers, every day, and put the Badakhshis into

[1] Badāonī agrees with our author, in saying that Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Kamāl Khān Gakhar were sent in pursuit of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm; but the Akbarnāma says, Akbar at once forgave the Mīrza for his folly, and the *amīrs* were sent not in pursuit of him, but to re-assure the peasantry, who had suffered at the hand of the Kabulis, and they also saw that the expulsion of the Mīrza had been effected.

[2] Some of the MSS. here add خود را از ورطه هلاک بکنار کشید *i.e.* "drew himself to the bank from the whirlpool of destruction."

[3] He is called Ma'sūm Khān in the translation of the Akbarnāma.

[4] This passage has been translated in Elliot, V., p. 314 as "to Chahardiwar-bagh, a place in the vicinity."

great straits. In the meanwhile, the winter having become very severe, things came to such a pass, that Mīrza Sulaimān was willing to make peace; but Ma'sūm, seeing the distress of Mīrza Sulaimān's army, was bent on hostilities; and did not agree to an amicable settlement. At last Mīrza Sulaimān sent Qāzī Khān Badakhshi, who had been the preceptor (استاد) of Ma'sūm to the latter; and a settlement was effected on the condition that a [1] small tribute, which might become a sort of pretext, should be sent by Ma'sūm to Mīrza Sulaimān. Peace having been agreed upon in this way, Mīrza Sulaimān sent his wife to Badakhshān in the first place; and himself started soon after her.

In short, [2] when the metropolis of Lahore, became the halting place of His Majesty, the *zamīndārs* of those districts placed the yoke of allegiance on their necks, and were many of them exalted by having the honour of being allowed to kiss the ground (before the throne). Those who could not attain to the fortune of rendering (personal) service, sent emissaries with tribute, and gifts, and thus shewed their fealty. Among these, Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān, son of Mīrza 'Isa, the ruler of [3] the country of Sind, sent emissaries to the court; and submitted that, "The father of this humble one, who was one of the band of the slaves of the threshold, has departed from the world; and this slave also, keeping his loyal foot firm on the path of devotion, counts himself as one of the band of the slaves of the court. Now in these days, [4] Sultān Mahmūd, the ruler of the fort of Bakar, with the help of the Qazlbāsh, who are at Qandahār,

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[1] The actual words are اندک پیش کش که في الجمله دستاویز تواند بود. In Elliot, V. the passage is rendered "to send the Mīrza a small present." The latter part of the passage has not been translated. The corresponding passage in the Akbarnāma is "some paltry advantage, which might be represented as a condition of his return."

[2] This passage has been translated in Elliot, V., p. 315, as "when the imperial court arrived at Lucknow." Lucknow is of course incorrect.

[3] One of the MSS., has ٹھٹّه و اکثر ولایات سند, *i.e.*, Thatha and most of the territories of Sind.

[4] He is called Sultān Mahmūd Bakari in the translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. II, p. 413. According to Badāoni, the petition of Muhammad Bāqī was to the effect that Sultān Mahmūd was making تعرض در ملک سند و لاهور, *i.e.*, interference (or attacks) on the provinces of Sind and Lahore.

interferes with the outskirts of the territories of this slave. He hopes from the imperial favour, that this interference should be removed from his territories." When the petition of the Muhammad Bāqī reached the court, a *farmān* was ordered to be issued to Sultān Mahmūd, to the effect, that he should not henceforth place his foot outside his own boundaries, and should not encroach on the boundaries of Muhammad Bāqī's territories.

And also during the (emperor's) residence at Lahore, a representation arrived from Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, from the metropolis of Agra, that the sons of Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, and Ulugh Mīrza, who were [1] 'Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, and Mīrza Muhammad Husain, and Shāh Mīrza, and who held *jāgīrs* in *sarkār* Sambal, had in that neighbourhood, stretched violent hands, and had raised standards of hostility; and when he had gone as far as Dehli to overawe them, they had, on hearing of the fact, escaped towards Mandū. This Muhammad Sultān Mīrza was the son of [2] Sultān Wais Mīrza, son of Bāīqrā, son of Mansūr, son of Bāīqrā, son of 'Umar Shaikh, son of Amīr Taimūr Sāhib-i-Qirān (*i.e.*, Lord of the auspicious conjunction), and his mother was a daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrza. After the death of Sultān Husain, the pardoned, he entered the service of Hazrat Firdus Makānī, Bābar Bādshāh, and was treated with favour; and Hazrat Jinnat Ashīānī, Muhammad Humāyūn Bādshāh, also, during the period of his reign, treated him with kindness. His sons Ulugh Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza were in the latter's service, but on several occasions they had shown signs of revolt and hostility, and on every occasion their offences had been pardoned; until in the expedition to Hazāra Ulugh Mīrza was slain. He left two sons, one Sultan Muhammad Mīrza, and the other Sikandar Mīrza. His Majesty (Humāyun), intending to favour them, conferred

[1] The names of the rebels are not mentioned in the translation of the Akbarnāma, but their fathers' names are. Badāoni says that it was Ulugh Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza, and not their sons, who had rebelled in conjunction with their uncles Ibrahim Hussain Mīrza, and Muhammad Husain Mīrza. In the text these are the names of two of the sons of Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, and Ulugh Mīrza, and not of their uncles.

[2] Those names agree with those given in the translation of the Akbarnāma, but in the translation in Elliot, V. Wais is changed to Wīs and Bāiqrā to Mānkarā.

the title of Ulugh Mirza on Sikandar Mīrza and of Shāh Mīrza on Sultan Muhammad Mīrza. [1] Robbers killed Shāh Mīrza, brother of Ulugh Mīrza, by striking him with an axe, in the pass (*kotal*) of Ma'mura; but in the history called Akbarnāma of the very learned Shaikh Abul Fazl, it is written that as Ulugh Mīrza senior had killed 'Umak Hājī Muhammad Khān Kuki in Zamīn Dāwar, in revenge for that Shāh Muhammad, brother of Hājī Muhammad Khān, had struck the Mīrza with an axe in the *Kotal* mentioned. When the time of rule came to Hazrat Khālifa-i-Ilahi, he excused Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, who had grown old; and granted *pargana* Ā'zampūr in *sarkār* Sambal for his maintenance. He had several sons in his old age, *viz.*, Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, Muhammad Husain Mīrza, and 'Āqil Husain Mīrza. His Majesty honoured each one of them, with a suitable *jāgīr*, and raised them to the rank of amīrs. They always attended the victorious stirrups, and performed the duties of homage. When His Majesty returned from the expedition to Jaunpūr, they went to their *jāgīrs* in Sambal, and remained there. And at the time when the victorious standards went towards Lahore, with the object of putting down the disturbance created by Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, Ulugh Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza, in concert with their uncles, Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza and Muhammad Husain Mīrza rebelled, and harrassed (the people) of some *parganas*. When the *jāgīrdārs* of the country combined together, and attacked them they turned their faces in flight towards Mālwah; and the rest of these incidents will God willing, be narrated before long.

[1] The whole of this passage is to be found in only one of the MSS., and is omitted from the other MSS., and from the lith. ed. In the translation in Elliot, V., there is the following sentence after the mention of the murder of Ulugh Beg, "and Shāh Mīrza was killed by the arrows of robbers, in the pass of Ma'mura, about ten *parasangs* from Kabul." There is no mention about the statement by Shaikh Abul Fazl, nor can I find anything to this effect, in the translation of the Akbarnāma. It will be seen that in Elliot, V., Shāh Mīrza is said to have been killed by arrows. In the passage I have translated in the text شاہ میرزا را دزدان تیر زدہ کشتند, the word تیر which I have translated as axe may be تیر, arrow, but with the verb زدہ I think axe is more probable.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INCIDENTS OF THE TWELFTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [1] Tuesday, the 2nd Rāmzān in the year 974 (12th February, 1567). In the beginning of this year, which was the season of the *Nauroz* (the new year's day), a desire for a [2] *qamargha* hunt entered the noble mind (of the emperor); and an order to-be-obeyed by the world was issued, that the great amīrs in the vicinity of Lahore should make a *qamargha* (a beat) of forty *karohs* in every direction in a place situated at a distance of five *karohs* from Lahore and should drive wild animals into it. The great amīrs, in accordance with orders, to-be-obeyed by the world, collected together fifteen thousand animals, comprising deer, *Nīlgāos*, jackals, foxes, etc., in that place, under the supervision of Pīr Muhammad Khān Atka. In that hunting ground, the extent of which, from every direction was five *karohs*, they fixed the royal pavilion, which accompanied His Majesty, in all expeditions; and every day, His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī hunted, mounted on his splendid horse; and the great amīrs, and the exalted Khāns advanced the fences forward, and made the area of the hunting ground smaller. When a few days had passed in this way, His Majesty casting the shade of favour on the condition of those, who were in close attendance on him, granted permission to them to hunt. After that, a general permission was granted, so that there was no one among the soldiers and the common people, who did not get a share in various kinds of hunting.

After the hunt was over, the bridle of determination was turned towards the city; and when (His Majesty and his attendants) arrived on the bank of the river of Lahore (the Rāvī), they plunged with their

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[1] The day is Monday in the translation in Elliot, V.; but the date agrees with that in the text. The Akbarnāma however gives 29th Sha'ban 974 11th March 1567 as the date of the beginning of the year.

[2] *Qamargha* is a Turki word denoting a great battue, in which a large number of wild animals are driven into an enclosure by beaters, and are killed there with various weapons. The T. Alfi, p. 627, says that a great hunt like one described above, never occurred either before or afterwards; and that fifty thousand beaters were employed. The accounts of the *Qamargha* given by Abul Fazl and Badāonī agree generally with that in the text. Badāonī indulges a little in fanciful language.

horses into the water, and swam them across. Among the attendants of the threshold, who following His Majesty, had plunged into the river, Khushkhabar Khān, *Yesāwal* (equerry) and Nur Muhammad, son of Shīr Muhammad Qūrdār were drowned. At the time of the hunt, Hamīd Bakarī (*i.e.*, of Bakar), who among the *Yesāwals* (equerries) was distinguished by being very close to the emperor's person having drunk much liquor, had placed an arrow on his bowstring to shoot another attendant of the threshold. When His Majesty was engaged in hunting and killing game, the latter, having found an opportunity, made a complaint. His Majesty gave an order to Qulīj Khān to [1] behead Hamīd. Qulīj Khān struck the sword on his neck in such a way, that the sword broke, and no injury was caused to the man's neck. On seeing what had happened, (His Majesty) gave up the idea of decapitating the man, and ordered that his head should be shaved off. And it was at this time, that Muzaffar Khān who had remained in Agra to attend to revenue affairs, came to the sublime threshold, with Vazīr Khān, brother of Āsaf Khān, and attended on His Majesty in the *qamargha* hunt. The father of the writer of this history, who under orders, had remained in Agra, to attend to his duties under the imperial government, had joined Muzaffar Khān in this journey, and I was also with my father.

In short, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, [2] pardoned the offences of Āsaf Khān and Vazīr Khān, and allowed the latter to make the *kūrnish*; and ordered that Āsaf Khān should, in conjunction with Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, be posted at Karra and Mānikpūr, and should guard those territories. At the same time intelligence arrived, that 'Ali Qūlī Khān and Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān had

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[1] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's trans., Vol. II, p. 417 says that Akbar "gave his special sword to Qulīj Khān," to strike off the offender's head; that "he twice struck him with that segment of a diamond, but did not injure a hair of his head." Another instance of this curious phenomenon of a man being struck with a sharp sword, and receiving no injury is mentioned in a note in the Akbarnāma apropos of a blow received by Bābar on his arm; see Erskine, p. 216.

[2] The offence of Āsaf Khān and his brother Vazīr Khān has already been described in p. 316 et seq., and the fact of their having been pardoned has also been mentioned there.

broken their engagements, and had again revolted. Immediately on hearing this, His Majesty [1] made over Mīrza Mīrak Razavi, who was their *vakil* (representative) to Khān Bāqī Khān; and leaving the affairs of the Punjab in charge of Mīr Muhammad Khān, and all the Atkas turned towards Agra on the 12th Ramazān, 974 A.H. (23rd March, 1567).

When the sublime standards arrived in the town of Thanessar, a body of [2] *jogīs* and *sannāsīs* were assembled on the bank of a reservoir, which they call *Kurukhet*, and which is a place of worship of the Brāhmans, and to which the people of Hindustan come from all directions, on the days of solar and lunar eclipses to bathe: and there are great crowds, and they bestow gold and silver and gems and money and various kinds of cloth to *Brāhmans*; and they also throw

[1] One MS. inserts here حکم سیاست در باب او صادر گشته, i.e., "order about his punishment having been issued." It is not quite clear who was to be punished, but apparently it was Mīrza Mīrak Razavi. This clause does not occur in the other MSS., and in the lith. ed.; nor was it in the MSS., from which the translation in Elliot, V., was made. I cannot also find any mention of any order for the punishment of Mīrza Mīrak Razavi either in the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī. By the way, Mīrza Mīrak Razavi is described in the translation of Badāonī as the Khān Zāmān's lieutenant, though in the Persian text he is, as elsewhere called, his *vakil*. The name of the person, in whose custody he was placed is given in the English translation of Badāonī as Jān Bāqī Khān, but in the Persian text, it is Khān Bāqī Khān as in the text; but it appears from a note in it, that it is Jān Bāqī Khān in one MS. In the text of the translation of the Akbarnāma it is Khān Bāqī Khān; and it is said in a note, that if Khān Bāqī Khān is correct, then it is the Bāqī Khān who was the elder brother of Ādham Khān, but it is quite possible that the correct name is Jān Bāqī Khān; as Bayāzīd's fourth list contains Jān Bāqī, who was apparently a son of Gulbadan Begam's husband Khizr Khwāja; and the Iqbālnāma has Jān Bāqi.

[2] The correct Sanskrit words are योगिन् nom. sing. योगी *yogī*, lit. a man who performs *yoga*, which means union (with the Supreme Spirit by various exercises), and सन्न्यासिन्, nom sing सन्न्यासी, Sannyāsī, a man who has abandoned all worldly desires and ambitions, but the words are now applied indiscriminately to religious mendicants of various kinds. *Kurkhet* is a corrupt form of कुरुक्षेत्र, *Kuru-kshetra*, which does not mean a reservoir, but lit., the field or plain of the *Kurus*, *i.e.*, the extensive plain in which, the battle between the *Kauravas* (or the descendants of Kuru) and the *Pāndavas* (the sons of Pāndu) described in the *Mahābhārata*, took place.

some of these things into the water. The *jogīs* and *sannāsīs* also get the share of these alms. On account of a quarrel, which these two sects had between them, they came to complain to the emperor; and asked for permission for a fight and mutual slaughter. The *sannāsīs* were more than two hundred, and less than three hundred in number; and the *jogīs*, who wore tattered garments, numbered more than five hundred. When the two parties stood facing each other, in accordance with orders, some of the soldiers having rubbed themselves with ashes went to reinforce the *sannāsīs*, who were fewer in number; and there was a great fight between the two bodies, and a number were killed. The noble mind (of the emperor) had great [1] pleasure, from this wonderful spectacle. At last the *jogīs* were defeated, and the *sannāsīs* were victorious.

When the imperial pavilions were stationed in the metropolis of Dehli, Mīrza Mīrak Razavi, who had been placed in charge of Khān Bāqī Khān fled from the prison; and Khān Bāqī Khān went in pursuit of him; but as he could not seize him he did not come back for fear of punishment. Tātār Khān, the governor of Dehli, represented (to His Majesty) that Muhammad Amīn Diwāna, who had fled [2] from Lahore, and had gone to the house of Shahāb

[1] The account of the fight given by our author does not show Akbar in a very pleasant light, as he is said to have been much pleased at the gladiatorial conflict between the two sects. Abul Fazl's account slightly modifies this. He says that Akbar at first tried to dissuade the two parties from engaging in the fight, but his advice was like "casting pearls on the ground." Abul Fazl also, however, ends by saying "that the holy heart which is the colourist of destiny's worship, (whatever that may mean) "was highly delighted with this sport." Badāonī does not say what impression the fight made on Akbar's mind; his account is slightly complicated, but he says ..... جوگیان و سنّاسیان درانجا بتعصب جنگ میکنند تماشای محاربه این کردند. It is not clear what is the nominative of the verb کردند. Mr. Lowe has a rather free translation. According to that, "on this occasion their fight made a grand show."

[2] According to a note in p. 319 of Elliot, V., Muhammad Amīn Diwāna "had made an attempt on the life of one of the imperial generals, and was sentenced to death, but his punishment was commuted for the bastinado and imprisonment. He received the corporal punishment, and fled the next day. Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 358." I cannot find this passage in the translation of the Akbarnāma by Beveridge.

Khān Turkmān in *pargana* Bhojpūr, and had remained there for a few days, and having obtained help from him in the shape of a horse and some money, had gone away to the enemies. On hearing these stories signs of anger appeared on the clear forehead of his Majesty, and he ordered [1] Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn Mashhadī to produce Shahāb-ud-dīn Khān before him. On the day that the village of [2] Palwal became the place of fixing the standards, Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn produced Shahāb Khān, in the place of punishment; and he was executed at the same place.

When the world-conquering standards halted at Agra, it was represented to His Majesty, that Khān Zamān was besieging the fort of [3] Shirgarh, which was at a distance of four *karohs* from Kanouj: and Mirza Yusuf Khān had shut himself up in it. His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī remained in Agra for nineteen days, and leaving Khān Khānān to guard the metropolis of Agra, turned towards Jaunpūr on [4] Tuesday, the 26th Shawwāl 974 A.H. (6th May, 1567). When he arrived in [5] *pargana* Sakīt, 'Ali Qulī Khān raised the seige of Shīrgarh, and fled towards Mānikpur, where his brother Bahādur Khān was. When the auspicious encampment was stationed opposite to the town of Bhojpūr, Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlās,

[1] He married a daughter of Kāmrān (note quoted from the trans. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II., p. 424).

[2] It is written as بلول, Balwal in the lith. ed., and as بيول Biūl in the MSS.; but it is printed as Palwal in Elliot, V., p. 319, where it is said in a note to be "half-way between Dehli and Muttra." It is also Palwal in the trans. of the Akbarnāma, where a note says "it is an ancient town in Gurgāon district." Badāonī does not mention the place.

[3] Badāonī says شير گدّه عرف قنوج, i.e., Shīrgarh, *alias* (or known as) Kanouj. In the Akbarnāma the relative position of the two places is not defined.

[4] The date is given as Monday the 23rd Shawwāl in the trans. in Elliot, V.; it is سه شنبه بست سيوم in the lith. ed. but the MSS., Abul Fazl and Badāonī all have the 26th Shawwāl as the date. The day is سه شنبه in the MSS., and Tuesday, in Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma. Badāonī does not give the day of the week.

[5] The lith. ed. has پرگنه ساپته *pargana* Sāeth, but the MSS. have پرگنه ساكت *pargana* Sākit. The trans. in Elliot, V., has *pargana* Saket. Both Abul Fazl and Badāonī have the "town (قصبه) of Sākit;" and a note in the trans. of the Akbarnāma says that Sākit is an ancient town in Etah district.

and Muzaffar Khān, and Rājā Todar Mal, and Shāh Bidāgh Khān and his son 'Abd-ul-Matlab Khān, and Hasan Khān, and 'Ādil Khān, and Khwāja Ghiās-ud-dīn 'Ali Bakhshī, and other brave warriors who, altogether amounted to about six thousand expert horsemen were sent against Iskandar, who was in Audh. The emperor, in his own elegant person, started towards Karra and Mānikpūr; and when he arrived in *pargana* Rai Bareli, intelligence arrived, that 'Ali Quli Khān and Bahādur had crossed the river Ganges, and intended to go away towards Kālpī. An order was then given that the great camp should move to the fort of Karra, under Khwāja Jahān, and the emperor himself with the greatest quickness, went to the fort of Mānikpur; and mounted on his elephant, crossed the river. At this time, there were not more than ten or fifteen men with His Majesty. Majnūn Khān and Āsaf Khān, who were in front, from moment to moment sent news of the enemy. It so happened that 'Ali Quli Khān and Bahādur Khān were engaged, during the whole of that night, in great heedlessness, in drinking in the society of prostitutes; and thinking that the preparation of war and strife, were due to the bravery of Majnūn Khān did not at all believe in the possibility of the arrival of His Majesty. But, in short, on [1] Monday the 1st of Zi-hijjah of the afore-mentioned year His Majesty preparing for a battle, adorned the centre of the army; Āsaf Khān and all the [2] brave warriors were in the right, and Majnūn Khān and other amīrs on the left. His Majesty rode, on the day, on an elephant named [3] Bālsundar; and he had Mīrza Kuka, who had the title of Ā'zam Khān in the *chaukhandī* of that elephant, and raised his head with pride and joy beyond the highest

1 روز دوشنبه, Monday. Abul Fazl has Monday, but the trans. in Elliot, V., has Sunday. Badāonī does not give the day or date.

2 یکه is a Turki word meaning a brave warrior. In the trans. in Elliot, V., سایر یکها ; اتکه has been substituted for یکه ; and the translator says in a note that he has taken the word اتکه from Badāonī, as the name in the MSS. of the Tabaqāt is doubtful.

3 Badāonī calls the elephant Sundar, and the translator explains that "Sundar is from Sanskrit *Sundara*, beautiful." Abul Fazl has Bāl Sundar as in the text. Bāl Sundar is from Sanskrit Bāla Sundara. Bāla or Bālaka is a boy. Bāla is frequently prefixed to names of Krishna, such as Bāla Krishna, Bāla Govinda, etc. Bāl Sundar is literally a beautiful or handsome boy.

heaven. The enemies, having now known for certain, that His Majesty had come, resolved on fighting to the death, and having arrayed their troops in line, sent a body of their brave warriors against the victorious (imperial) advance guard. [1] Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, who was in command of the bow-men, drove them back to 'Ali Quli Khān's line. At this time the horse of one of the men who had turned back, collided against 'Ali Qulī Khān's horse, and the [2] turban of the latter fell off his head. [3] Bahādur Khān's vein of bravery came into motion on seeing this, and he made a brave attack on the body of archers. Bābā Khān who was their leader fled, and joined the line of Majnūn Khān's men. Bahādur Khān rushed in pursuit of him, and coming between these two bodies bravely exerted himself. At this time an arrow struck his horse; and it became unmanageable, and Bahādur Khān was thrown to the ground, and [4] was taken prisoner.

Couplet; If the key of victory is not in one's hand,
With one's arm, that door, one cannot break.

When the battle raged furiously, His Majesty dismounted from the elephant, and mounted his horse. He then ordered that the elephants should be driven against 'Ali Quli Khān's troops.

Quatrain; The elephants' bulk made the ground concave,
And made the whole earth shake and tremble.
From all those tusks [5] so brightly white,
The earth's surface a chess-board became.

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[1] Badāonī makes it clear, that Khān Zamān's men who advanced against the emperor's vanguard were driven back by Bābā Khān Qāqshāl's archers بضرب تیر, or as the translator says by a well-directed shower of arrows.

[2] Badāonī gives a more detailed description. He says دستار از سرش پرید و بجای کمند و گلوبند شد, which has been translated, "his turban became loosened from his head, and caught him round the neck like a lasso."

[3] Badāonī agrees with this, but the Akbarnāma says that 'Ali Qulī Khān dispatched Bahādur Khān against Bābā Qāqshāl.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, he was first seized by a man of the name of Wazīr Jamīl, but the latter let him go on receiving a bribe from him; then Nazr Bahādur captured him and brought him to the emperor.

[5] I am not quite sure of the meaning: سنج according to the dictionary is 'a smoking,' 'a discolouring;' so بلاسنج would mean 'not discoloured

It so happened, that when an elephant of the name of [1] Hīrānand came near the line of the hostile troops, the latter drove an elephant of the name of [2] Ūdiyāna to attack it. But Hīrānand butted its head with such force against it, that it fell down. At this time 'Alī Qulī Khān was struck by an arrow; and while he was pulling it out, another struck his horse, which reared up, and 'Alī Qūlī Khān was thrown on the ground. Another elephant, of the name of [3] Harsing, then came up, and was about to trample upon 'Alī Qūlī Khān. The latter called out to the driver of the elephant "I am a great man. If you take me alive to the emperor, you will receive great favours." The man did not listen to his words, and drove the elephant over him, so that 'Alī Qūlī Khān was reduced to dust under its [4] trunk and feet. When the battle field became purified from the dust of the existence of the enemies (rebels), [5] Nazr Bahādur brought Bahādur Khān, mounted behind him on his own horse, and produced him before the

'bright.' The earth's surface or the ground would look like a chess-board, on account of the black ground being chequered by the bright white tusks.

1 It is called Hīrānand by Badāonī also, but Abul Fazl calls it Chitrānand, and says it was *mast* at the time, and rushed at another imperial elephant of the name of Gaj Bhanwar, which fled from it. Chitrānand followed in pursuit. Gaj Bhanwar's driver drove it against the rebel army; and they sent one of their elephants named Udiyā against it. Chitrānand then left Gaj Bhanwar and attacked Ūdiyā, and "with one mountain-breaking blow, stretched it on the dust of destruction."

2 It is called اودیانہ, Ūdiyāna in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. but Badāonī calls it اودیا, which is transliterated as Oudyā in the English translation. Abul Fazl calls it Ūdiyā and the translator in Elliot, V., Diyāna.

3 The name of this elephant is برسنگھ Barsingh in one MS., another MS., is imperfect in this particular place. The lith. ed. has ھرسنگھ, Harsingh; but the translator in Elliot, V., has Narsing. Badāoni has نرسنگھ in the Persian text, and Narsingh in the English translation. According to the Akbarnāma, apparently no one knew how 'Ali Qulī Khān was killed but Bātū, who was his *faujdār*, said he had seen him killed by an elephant with one tusk, and he identified the one-tusked elephant, Nain-sukh (the delight of the eye) as the elephant that had killed 'Ali Qulī Khān.

4 دست usually means hand, but apparently like कर, Kara in Sanskrit and its daughter languages means the trunk in the case of elephants. تہ دست و پای فیل.

5 There is only one بہادر, Bahadur, between نظر, Nazr, and خانرا, Khānrā, in some of the MSS. and in the lith. ed. One MS. has بنظر.

emperor, and [1] by the endeavours of the *amīrs* he was put to death. After a moment the [2] head of Khān Zamān was also brought. The emperor then dismounted from his horse and bowed himself and offered thanks for the supernatural (غیبی) victory. This victory took place in the village of [3] Mankarwāl, one of the dependencies of Josī and Piyak, now known and celebrated as Ilhabās (Allahabad), on Monday, the 1st Zi-Hijjah 974 A.H., corresponding with the 12th year of the Ilāhī era.

And among the strange occurrenees of that time, one was this, that at the time, when His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had gone to attack 'Alī Qūlī Khān, the author's father remained in Agra, performing government work. The author of this history also remained at Agra. Every day, men who wanted to create disturbances, and were anxious for strange events, spread dreadful rumours. One day, I said to one of my companions. "What would happen, if we also spread rumours of some agreeable happenings." He said, "What rumours?" I said, "[4] A rumour that intelligence has come that

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[1] Both Abul Fazl and Badāonī say that the emperor did not intend to put him to death but the *amīrs* did not consider it advisable that he should be allowed to live.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, there was considerable doubt as to what had happened to 'Ali Qulī Khān, so a reward of a gold *mohur* was ordered to be given for every Mughal rebel's head; and a number of heads were brought, out of which one was identified as that of 'Ali Qulī Khān by a Hindu named Arzānī, "who had been all powerful with 'Ali Qulī." Afterwards M. Beg Qāqshāl claimed that it was his arrow that had struck 'Ali Qulī, before Somnāth, the driver of Nainsukh, drove his elephant against him, and trampled him to death.

[3] One MS. has در موضع سکرکه الحال بفتحپور اوّل موسوم است از اعمال جوسي پیاک *i.e.*, in the village of Sakr, which is now named Fathpur Awal, one of the dependencies of Josi Piyak, etc. This is incorrect, but if Awal is moved forward and joined to Sakr then it agrees with the Akbarnāma, which says that the "victory took place at Sakrawāl, which is in the province of Ilahābās. They then gave it the name of Fathpūr." But the other MSS., and the lith. ed. and the translation in Elliot, V., and Badāonī all call the village Mankarwāl.

[4] Abul fazl says that Mun'im Khān was solely perplexed by rumours circulated by empty-brained and talkative people, about the result of the battle; and applied to Shaikh Mubārak, Abul Fazl's father, who held a Sufistic service, and next morning stated that it had been intimated to him, that the heads of 'Ali Qulī and Bahādur would soon be brought in. The faked rumour of Nizām-ud-dīn is also mentioned by Badāonī, who says that "Mirza Nizām-ud-dīn

they (*i.e.*, persons in the imperial army) had brought the heads of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān." I spoke about this rumour to some people. It so happened, that on the third day after I had done so, 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, the son of Murād Beg, brought the heads of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān; and it appeared, that they had been killed on the very day that this news was rumoured about in Agra.

Couplet; Many omens that sprang from some sport,
When the stars had passed, they turned out right.

In short when the noble mind (of the emperor) acquired complete rest from the anxiety caused by the hostility of the rebels, he turned the bridle of determination towards Josi and Piyāk, and halted at that place, for two days; and the men who had fled from the threshold, and had joined 'Alī Qūlī Khān were brought in and made over to custodians. Then (His Majesty) marched towards [1] Benares. At that station, he pardoned the offences of every one of 'Ali Qulī Khān's men, who came with humility to render homage. Then His Majesty went from Benares to Jaunpūr, and halted for three days in front of that city. Most of 'Alī Qulī Khān's retainers, who had fled from the battle field, had assembled there. The emperor brought them all under the shadow of safety, and conferred various sorts of favours on them. Then starting from Jaunpūr he came, by forced marches, and arrived in three days with only four or five attendants near the bank of the Ganges, at the fort of Karra and Manīkpur, where the camp and the army were. He crossed the river in a boat, and exalted the fort of Karra to the sublime heights, by making an

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Ahmad spread it, and has mentioned the facts in the Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī" (*i.e.*, the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī)." It may be mentioned, that according to Badāonī 'Abd-ul-lāh, who brought the heads to Agra was the father of Murād Beg, and not, as our author says, the latter's son. It is not customary however to give the name of a person's son to identify him. So عبد الله خان ولد مراد بيگ (as in the Tabaqât) is more likely to be correct than عبد الله نامي والد مراد بيگ (as in Badāonī). Moreover, Abul Fazl says distinctly, that it was 'Abdulla, son of Khwāja Murād Beg of Qazwīn, who brought the heads, together with the bulletins of victory.

[1] It is stated in the Akbarnāma, "that the people of Benares, from ignorance and disloyalty, shut their gates; the royal wrath decreed that they should be plundered. But he soon forgave them."

auspicious halt there. An order was issued summoning Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān from the metropolis of Agra; and most of the *jāgīrdārs* of the eastern *sūba*, receiving the honour of the permission to leave, went away to their *jāgīrs*.

Some of the prisoners from the army of 'Ali Qulī Khān, who were always ready to create disturbances, such as Khān Qulī Uzbek, and Yār 'Alī, and Mirza Beg Qāqshāl, a relation of Majnūn Khān, and Khushāl Beg, one of the body-guards of His Majesty Jīnnat Ashiānī, and Mīr Shāh Badakhshī, and 'Ālam Shāh Badakhshi, and other malcontents, of perverted destiny received condign [1] punishment. Mirza Mīrak Razavī Mashhadī, *vakīl* (representative) of 'Ali Qulī Khān, who had fled from the threshold, and had gone to his master, and had been seized on the day of battle, was brought to the place of execution, and was thrown under an elephant. The animal having crushed him several times, with its trunk, he was in the end pardoned, on account of his being a [2] Saiyyad.

At this time the Khān Khānān arrived from the metropolis of Agra; and was exalted by being allowed to kiss the ground; and was also honoured by being entrusted with the *jāgīrs* of 'Ali Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, from Jaunpūr, and Benares, and Ghāzīpūr, and the fort of Chunār and Zamania, as far as the crossing of the river at Chausa; and was also favoured with a handsome robe of honour and a horse. The sublime standards then started for Agra in the depth of the rains, in the month of Zi-hijja, 974 A.H.; and arrived at the metropolis in the month of Muharram, 975 A.H.

It has been previously mentioned, that Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlās, and Muzaffar Khān, and all the victorious troops, who had been sent against Iskandar, had turned their faces towards

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[1] "Trampled to death." Tarīkh-i-Alfi. Badāoni states that Qāzī Tawāīsī, the camp Qāzī, represented to the emperor, that it was contrary to the law of the Prophet to put these men to death, and to confiscate their property, after the war was over; and Akbar was displeased with him, and removed him from his office.

[2] The fact of his being a Saiyyad did not help him very much, for according to the Akbarnāma, "for five successive days he was brought out, and tortured in the place of execution. After this he was granted his life."

[1] Audh. Iskandar receiving information of this, shut himself up in the fort. When the victorious army arrived at the foot of the fort and besieged it, they put Iskandar into great straits.

In the mean time, the intelligence of the [2] rout of 'Ali Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān arrived, and the Uzbeks became disheartened, and sent men praying for peace to [3] Muhammad Qulī Khān and Muzaffar Khān, and asked for quarter. Then keeping the victorious troops occupied with stories of an amicable settlement they got out at night, by the gate which was on the side of the river (the Sarayu or Gogra), embarked in boats and escaped. As the boats, on the other side of the river, were all in the possession of Iskandar, the *amīrs* could not cross the river. Iskandar Khān sent the following message to the *amīrs*; "I am firm-footed, on the words and engagements which were agreed upon, but the men who are with this slave are hesitating. If you come in a boat to the middle of the river, and this slave also, with two or three men, goes from this side, [4] promises and engagements may be strengthened afresh; and this may be the means of reassuring these men; and we may then together turn towards the threshold." Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlas, and Muzaffar Khān, and Rājā Todar Mal accepted Iskandar Khān's prayer, and getting into a boat embarked on the river. Iskandar Khān also came from the other side with two or three men and [5] met

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[1] The Akbarnāma speaks of the city of Oudh, which must, I suppose, be the city of Ayodhya near the modern Faizābād or Fyzābād.

[2] One MS. has انهزام و قتل, but other MSS., and the lith. ed. omit و قتل. Badāohī in the corresponding passage has only قتل, and omits انهزام.

[3] The lith. ed. has Muhammad 'Ali Khān, which is of course incorrect. The translation in Elliot, V., has 'Ali Qulī and Muzaffar Khān, which is also incorrect.

[4] The MSS. have قول و عهد بتجديد استحكام يابد باعث تسلي انمردم باشد, but the lith. ed. has قول و عهديكه بتجديد استحكام يابد باعث تسلي انمردم ميگردد. The latter reading appears to me to be better; the former requires a ی between يابد and باعث.

[5] There is a note in the trans. in Elliot, V. about this conference. It is said there, that "Abul Fazl places this conference after Sikandar's escape, and says that he demanded the restoration of his *jāgīr* and offices * * *. Akbarnāma Vol. II, p. 377." This is not correct as far as Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma is concerned; see Vol. II, p. 439.

them. The great *amīrs* promised to support Iskandar Khān's petition for pardon, and took oaths that they would not allow the life and property of himself and his men to be injured. After this agreement had been arrived at, each one went to his own place. Iskandar then left the place where he was and went [1]two stages, and wrote to the *amīrs*, that he could not stay at the bank of the river on account of the violence of the waters. The great *amīrs* becoming aware of his deceit started in pursuit. When they arrived at Gorakhpūr, they became aware of the fact, that Iskandar had, by [2]the help of a man of the name of Iskandar, an Uzbek, who held charge of the ferry under the Afghāns, crossed the river and escaped.

As most of that country belonged to the Afghāns, the *amīrs* could not enter it, without the emperor's order; so they sent a true account of the state of things to the court, and a noble order was issued, that as Iskandar had gone away out of the imperial dominions, there was no further need of pursuing him.

[3] Couplet; A stranger, whose head of disturbance is full,
Afflict him not, but from thy kingdom,
turn him out.
If thou dost not get angry with him, it is right,
For his evil nature is ever at his back.

His *jāgīr* was entrusted to Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlās. The great *amīrs* becoming acquainted with the purport of the order, left Muhammad Qulī Khān there and turned their faces to the threshold,

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[1] It is stated in the trans. of the Akbarnāma that Iskandar Khān went two stages down stream. I think however, that what is meant, is that, he went two stages away from the river.

[2] This passage is in the MSS., but not in the lith. ed. In the translation in Elliot, V., the sentence is "they discovered that he had crossed the river and gone off," from which it would appear that the part of the sentence about Iskandar Uzbek was also omitted from the MSS., from which the translation was made. There is a corresponding sentence in the Akbarnāma; but the name of the Uzbek, who had charge of the ferry is there given as Sulaimān Qulī. Badāonī only says that the *amīrs* pursued Iskandar as far as Gorakhpūr and sent a report to the emperor.

[3] These couplets are found in the MSS., but not in the lith. ed.

which resembled the sublime regions; and in the metropolis of Agra they were exalted by receiving the honour of rendering homage.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE [1] CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF CHITOR.

As most of the *zamīndārs* and Rājās of Hindustan had become servants of the threshold, but Rānā [2] Udai Singh, the Rājā of the country of Mārwār, being confident of the strength of his forts, and the multitude of his followers and elephants, had become proud, and was stiff-necked; the noble mind (of the emperor) being, at this time at rest, in respect of the affairs of 'Ali Qulī Khān and all the other rebels and disturbers of the peace; and the metropolis [3] of Agra having become the seat of the Caliph's throne, and the place of the august residence, the conquest of the fort of Chitore became the first object of the sublime spirit. On account of this, a beginning was made in the matter of the expedition, by the transfer of Biānah from Hājī Muhammad Khān Sīstanī to the fief of Āsaf Khān, and by the issue of a noble order, that the latter should go, in advance, to that *pargana*, and should attend to the arrangement and equipment of the army. Following that, the noble standards should march to the town of Bārī, with the avowed intention of hunting. The emperor

[1] While our author and Badāonī say plainly, that Akbar planned the conquest of Chitor because Rānā Udai Singh had not submitted to him, like the other Rajput princes, Abul Fazl wants to make out, that in the first instance, Akbar wanted to send an expedition against the sons of Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, who had taken refuge in Mālwa; then in order to supervise the proceedings of the commanders of the expedition, he set out to hunt in *pargana* Bārī. From Bārī he went to Dholpūr; and when he was hunting there, Sakat Singh, son of Rānā Udai Singh, was in attendance on him. Akbar said to him either in "pleasantry" or in order to mislead the rebels in Mālwa, that as Rānā Udai Singh was the only land-holder who had not yet paid his respects to him, he would march against him and punish him. Sakat Singh evidently did not like this sort of pleasantry and left the camp, for doing which Abul Fazl calls him crooked-minded and ignorant and foolish. When he heard of his departure or flight "Akbar's wrath was stirred up, and jest became earnest."

[2] The correct Sanskrit form of the name is उदय सिंह, Udaya Sinha.

[3] The words دار الخلافت اگرہ مستقر before سریر خلافت مصیر and و between محل and مصیر are omitted from the lith. ed. and from one of the MSS. The whole clause about the return of the emperor to Agra is omitted from the translation in Elliot, V.

remained there for a few days and having planned a *qamargha* hunt killed a thousand animals. The emperor then started from that place and issued an order for the attendance of the troops. He then crossed the country of [1] Mumaidāna, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort of [2] Sui Supar, he was informed that the men of Rāi Sarjan, the owner of the fort of Ranthambor, who had garrisoned it, had on hearing of the march of the sublime standards evacuated it, and had fled to Ranthambor. The command and the defence of that fort was entrusted to Nazr Bahādur, who was one of the loyal servants (of the emperor). From that place (the emperor) marched to [3] Kotah, which was one of the *parganas* of that country; and having honoured Shāh Muhammad Qandahārī with the government of that territory, he marched from there. When he arrived at the fort of Kākraun, which was at the boundary of the country of Mālwa, considering the destruction of the sons of Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, Ulugh Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza, who had fled from *Sarkār* Sambal, and having come to these parts, had stretched forth the hand of violence and oppression, indispensable, he conferred *jāgīrs* in Sarkār Mandū to Shahāb-ud dīn Ahmad Khān, and Shāh Bidāgh Khān, and Muhammad Murād Khān, and Hājī Muhammad Sīstāni, and honoured them with the duty of performing this service. When the great *amīrs* arrived in the vicinity of Ujjain, which was a large city in that country, they learnt that the Mīrzas had, on hearing of the march of the sublime standards, all fled together to Gujrat to Chengīz Khān, the ruler of that country, who had been one of the slaves (Khān zādas) of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī. [4] They then took possession of the country of Mandū, (without any struggle or warfare).

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[1] Mu-maidāna is mentioned by both Badāonī and in the translation in Elliot, V., but no attempt is made by either of the translators to identify the place. Abul Fazl does not mention it, but he mentions the territory of Hindwāra as the place which the emperor conquered before reaching Sui Sūpar.

[2] It is written as سوی سوپر in the Persian text, and also in the Persian text of Badāonī. The trans. in Elliot, V., calls it Sūpar, and a note says, "or Siwi Sūpar, Akbarnāmā Vol. II, p. 381. Sheopoor, 120 miles S.W. of Agra." It is also called Supar by Mr. Lowe. In Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma it is called Sīvī Sūpar.

[3] Badāonī calls it کوٹه بلایه

[4] The text has here امرای عظام که بدفع میرزایان تعین یافته بودند, but I have substituted the pronoun 'they' in order to avoid tautology.

When His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī started from Kākraun, Rānā Udai Singh left Chitor, which was distinguished above all other forts of India for its altitude and strength, in the charge of [1] seven or eight thousands soldiers, under the command of a Rajput of the name of Jai Mal, who was famous for his bravery and high spirit, and who had fought with Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, at the fort of Mirtha, as has been already narrated, and himself went away with a body of his relatives and caste men, and took shelter in high mountains and in thickly wooded forests. The fort of Chitōr is situated on a hill, the height of which is one *karoh*, and which is unconnected with any other hill, and the length of the fortress is three *karohs*, and its breadth half-a-*karoh*; and it has many running streams. In accordance with the world-obeyed order, the circumference of the fort was divided among the *amīrs* and the fort was surrounded in the centre.

Couplet; The circle of troops around it was arrayed,
Like the sea round the [2] inhabited world.

The victorious troops were now despatched to overrun and plunder the Rānā's territory. Āsaf Khān was sent to [3] Rāmpūr, which was one of the populous towns of that country. Āsaf Khān having conquered the fort by force and violence, devastated and ravaged the whole of that country. Husain Qulī Khān was deputed with a body of troops to [4] Udaipūr and Kombalmir, which is one of the great forts of that country, and the seat of the Rānā's government. He ravaged most of the towns and villages on that side; but found no trace of the Rānā, and returned with victory and triumph to the threshold.

When the period of the siege was prolonged, an order to be obeyed by all the world was issued, for the construction of

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[1] Badāonī does not give the number of troops left to defend Chitor. Abul Fazl says that the Rānā left "five thousand gallant Rajputs, and devastated the surrounding country, so that there did not even remain grass in the fields."

[2] ربع مسکون, Lit. the inhabited fourth part of the earth's surface.

[3] "About 50 miles S. E. of Chitor. Asaf Khān had previously reduced the fort of Māndal (the Mundalour of Malcolm's map) ten miles S. E. of Gagrun." Note quoted from Elliot, V., p. 326.

[4] उदयपुर and कमलमीर, lit. the city of Udaya and the lake of lotuses.

Sābāts[1] (covered ways), and the digging of mines. About five thousand expert builders and carpenters and stone masons were collected; and they commenced the construction of the covered ways from both sides of the fort. *Sābāt* is a word used to express two walls, the foundations of which are laid at a distance of about one musket-shot (from the fort), and under the protection of planks, which are fastened together by raw hides, and are made strong, and forming something like a lane are carried to the wall of the fort; and from it the walls of the fort are demolished by cannon balls. Brave young warriors entered the fort by means of the breaches thus made. The *Sābāt* which had been carried forward from the royal battery (*morchal-i-bādshāhī*), had such a breadth, that ten horsemen could ride abreast inside it, and it was so high that a man mounted on an elephant and with a spear in his hand could pass inside it. At the time of the construction of the *Sābāts*, the men in the fort shot so many cannon and muskets, that of the masons and labourers, more than a hundred men were killed every day, inspite of the fact that they had shields of buffalo hide in front of them. They used the corpses, in building the walls instead of bricks. Within a short time the *Sābāts* were completed, and reached the immediate vicinity of the fort. The men, constructing the mines, dug them, and carried them to the foot of the citadel. They then made[2] a cavity under two bastions, which were close to each other, and filled it with gunpowder. A body of (the imperial) servants; who were ready to sacrifice their lives, and were noted for their manliness and bravery, came fully armed

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[1] Elphinstone describes the siege of Chitor in p. 494 *et seq* of his history, 9th edition. He says "His trenches are minutely described by Ferishtah, and closely resembled those of modern Europe." According to contemporary histories, the Akbarnāma, the Tabaqāt, and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh Akbar's trenches did not resemble those of modern Europe. Ferishtah on whom Elphinstone bases his account does not differ materially from the earlier historians; and he does not mention "zig-zags protected by gabions and by earth thrown from the trench," mentioned by Elphinstone.

[2] I suppose two cavities were made one at the foot of each bastion, as will appear from one being blown up before the other; but the actual words are دو برج را که بهم قریب بود مجوف ساخته. The trans. in Elliot, V., is "having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together."

and equipped, and waited; so that as soon as the mines should be fired, and a breach should be made, they would at once hurl themselves into the fort. It so happened that fire was set to both the mines at once, but the match of one was shorter, and of the other a little longer. The former exploded sooner, and pulling up that bastion from the foundation, hurled it up into the air. There was a wide breach in the wall; and active and brave warriors having rushed into it, tried to enter the fort. At that moment, the fire got to the other mine, and the second bastion was blown up with friend and foe alike, who were struggling [1] near it, and hurled them from their places and flung them into the air; and every one who fell under the stones attained to martyrdom. It is well-known that [2] stones weighing a hundred maunds and two hundred maunds were detached from the fort, and were thrown to a distance of three or four *karohs* from it; and burnt and scorched limbs were also found scattered about. Among the servants of the threshold [3] Saiyyad Jamāl-ud-dīn, one of the Saiyyads of Bārha, and Muhammad Saleh, son of Mīrak Khān Kūlābī, and Yezdān Qulī and Shāh 'Ali Aishak Aqā, and Hayāt Sultān, and Muhammad Amīn, son of Mīr Abd-ul-lāh Bakhshī, and Mīrza Baluch Beg, and Khān Beg and Yār Beg, brother of Shīr Beg, *Yesāwal-bāshī* and a large multitude attained to the grade of martyrdom. About five hundred specially selected soldiers were killed by being struck by stones. Of the heathens also a multitude perished.

After the occurrence of this incident, the ardour and enthusiasm of His Majesty for capturing the fort became greater. The *Sābāt*, which had been began in the battery of Shujā'at Khān was com-

[1] The words are بر بالای آن, i.e, on the top of it; but they were not on the top of the bastion, but near it above the mine. The account of the siege given by Badāonī agrees with that in the text. The account in the Akbarnāma is longer and more detailed, but it does not differ in material particulars. The date on which the mines were fired is given there, as the 15th Jamāda-al-akhrī, 17th December, 1567.

[2] Both Abul Fazl and Badāonī say that stones weighing one hundred and two hundred maunds were hurled to a distance of three or four *karohs*. The former also says that the report of the explosion was heard at a distance of fifty *kos* and more.

[3] Most of these names are given also in the Akbarnāma.

pleted. In the course of the night of Tuesday, the 25th Sha'bān, 975, the imperial troops collected from all sides of the fort, and made a breach in the wall, and commenced a royal battle. Jai Mal, who was the *Sardār* (commandant) of the garrison came to the mouth of the breach, and incited his men to fight. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī was seated [1] above a room which had been arranged as a resting place for him, on the *Sābāt* of the bastion, with his musket in his hand, and he saw [2] the face of Jai Mal by the light of the sparks from the cannon and musket balls, which were shot in this direction (*i.e.* towards the imperial army). His Majesty aimed his musket at Jai Mal, and hit him on his forehead, in such a way, that he, on that very spot, went to hell. When the garrison saw their commandant slain, they gave up the idea of fighting, and all ran to their houses, and having collected their wives and children, and goods and chattels, set fire to them. Such an act is called *Jauhar*, in the idiom of the *Kāfirs* of Hindustan.

The victorious troops now gathered together from (all sides), and made breaches in several places in the walls of the fort. Some of the *Kāfirs* came forward, and attempted with great bravery, to withstand and slay them. His Majesty, seated on the top of the *Sābāt*, watched the efforts of his loyal servants, with the eye of approval. Among the attendants of His Majesty, 'Adil Muhammad Qandahārī and [3] Jumla Khān, who had the title of Khān-i-'Ālam, and Pāinda Muhammad Maghul, and Jabbār Quli Diwāna, and other brave soldiers, exerted themselves valorously; and they were honoured

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[1] The lith. ed. has در بالا خانه, which would mean a room in an upper floor, but the MSS. have در بالای خانه, on the top of a house or room.

[2] Elphinstone contrary to this says "Akbar, one night, visiting the trenches, perceived Jaimal on the works, where he was superintending some repairs by torch light. Both Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāonī say that the face of Jaimal was seen by the light of the sparks. Abul Fazl is rather vague. He says that Akbar aimed at a man who from the armour he wore, appeared to be a chieftain. Ferishtah however says جیمل راجپوت برابر مورچل خاصهٔ بادشاهي امد و از روشني مشعل محسوس گشت so that, Elphinstone's statement that Jaimal was recognised by the light of a torch appears to be based on Ferishtah.

[3] The MSS. have جمله خان Jumla Khān but the lith. ed. has حلیم خان Halīm Khān. In the translation in Elliot, V, only the first name is given. No names appear to be given by Abul Fazl or Badāonī.

with applause and praise. The whole of that night was passed in war and slaughter; and in the morning, which was the dawn of the daily-increasing grandeur, the fort was captured. His Majesty mounted on an elephant, with all his devoted servants attending on his victorious stirrups, on foot, entered the fort.

Verse.—Making ready for a war of victorious faith,
The mountain of iron moved to the sea.
The army like a whirl-wind came to that land,
That its stones were blown like grass away.

An order for a [1] general slaughter having been issued, more than eight thousand Rajputs, who had gathered together in the fort,

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[1] An order for a general massacre, such as would have emanated from Taimūr or Nādir Shāh is so opposed to the ideas ordinarily held of Akbar's disposition and religious tolerance, that I considered it necessary to enquire what evidence there was in support of such an order having been passed. Neither of the other two contemporary historians say that such an order was passed. Abul Fazl says the bold warriors entered the fort, and engaged in killing and binding. The Rajputs * * * * * * * fought and were killed. Badāonī who is more bigoted than Nizām-ud-dīn, does not mention any order for a general massacre though he says "the whole night long the swords of the combatants desisted not from the slaughter of the base. Later on he says "eight thousand valorous Rajputs were slain." Ferishtah does not also mention any order for a general massacre. He does not also mention any slaughter during the night. He says." سپاہ اسلام در همان شب متوجه حصار گشت و چون کسی بمعارضه پیش نیامد بقلعه در آمدند which means that the Musalman troops turned that very night towards the citadel; and as no one came to oppose them, entered the fort, He then goes on to say that in the morning Akbar entered the fort; and then جمعی از کفار متهور که در منازل خود و بتخانهای مستحکم در آمده بودند چندان جنگ کردند که تا وقت نیمروز ده هزار کس از همه کشته شدند that is a "body of the base *Kafirs*, who had got into their houses and into strong temples, fought so much that by mid-day about ten thousand of them were slain." It appears to me that there is no evidence of any order for a general massacre, but there was great slaughter, which partook more of the nature of a hand to hand fight than of a massacre. Nizām-ud-dīn appears to have been carried away by a sudden wave of fanaticism, which made him talk of غزا, or a religious war, and write verses about mountains of iron rushing to the sea, and stones being blown away like straw. It is curious that though Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāonī say that eight thousand Rajputs were killed, Ferishtah increases the number to ten thousand, and Abul Fazl to thirty thousand. I

obtained the meed of their acts. After mid-day (the troops) withdrew their hands from slaughter; and (the emperor) turned the bridle of return towards the victorious camp. He halted there for three days, and having exalted Āsaf Khān with the charge of that country, he raised the standards of return towards the metropolis of Agra, on[1] Tuesday, the 25th Sha'bān of the afore-mentioned year.

Among the curious things, which were seen during that siege, one was this. A man was seated near the battery of the writer of this book, under the shade of a tree, and had his right hand on his knee, and in taking aim for shooting an arrow, held as it happened, his thumb with its top turned upwards. At this time a cannon ball coming from the top of the fort passed it at a distance of a barley corn, and yet the man received no injury whatever.

As His Majesty had, at the time of starting on the expedition for the conquest of Chitor, made a vow, that after he had attained to his object, he would go on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwāja Mū'īn-ud-dīn Chishti, Sanjari, which is situated in the territory of Ajmir, he in order to fulfil that vow, turned from the way, towards Ajmir, traversed the whole of that road on foot,[2] and on Sunday the 7th Ramazān, arrived at Ajmir. He carried the duties of circum-ambulation and pilgrimage; and made the *faqīrs* and the poor of that locality, happy by gifts and alms. He stayed for ten days in that auspicious place and then turned the bridle of his determination, towards the seat of the throne of the Caliphate.

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find also, what I had overlooked at first, that in explaining this large number of the slain, Abul Fazl says, that the peasantry, on this occasion, showed great zeal and activity, although they had not done so when Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn took the fort, and their excuses, after the victory, were of no avail, and orders were given for a general massacre.

[1] This agrees with Badāonī, but according to the Akbarnāma the return commenced on Saturday, the 29th Sha'bān (28th February, 1568).

[2] Abul Fazl tells a story of Shagūna Qarāwal being sent from the town of Māndal to Ajmīr, to announce the approach of the emperor. He came back and informed Akbar that the Khwāja had appeared in a vision, and had declared Akbar's immense superiority to himself in the matter of spirituality; and that the emperor on hearing this allowed himself to be "conveyed from that stage." But "in accordance with his vow, he performed the last stage on foot."

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF THE THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Thursday, the 14th Ramazan 975 (13th March, 1568). In the beginning of this year, the victorious standards moved from the territory of Ajmir, and turned towards the metropolitan city of Agra, through Miwāt. On the way, he passed through jungles, which were the home of[1] lions. A terrible lion came out of a reed-brake, and the devoted servants, who always attended the victorious standards, aimed arrows at it, and cast it down on the dust of destruction. His Majesty then ordered that if such a thing happened again no one should dare to kill the wild animal, till an order, to be obeyed by the world, should be issued. At this time, another lion, fiercer and more powerful than the first, came out of the jungle, and turned towards His Majesty. None of the servants of the threshold could, without orders, attempt to slay the fierce beast. At this time, the lion-hunting monarch dismounted from his horse, and shot with his musket at the animal. By accident, there was only a slight wound at the angle of its mouth and merely the skin was grazed. It then jumped with great ferocity towards His Majesty and the latter wanted to cast it down by another shot. At this time ʿĀdil, Muhammad Qandahārī, with great courage placed an arrow on his bow-string and turned towards it. The furious animal turned from his Majesty, attacked ʿĀdil Muhammad, and throwing him down tried to put his head into its mouth. That brave man at that terrible moment put his left hand into the animal's mouth, and wanted to draw his dagger from the sheath with the other hand, and to strike it on the belly. The handle of the dagger however, by accident, stuck to the sheath; and before he could pull it out, the skin and flesh of his hand was lacerated. In spite of this he drew his dagger, and inflicted severe wounds on the animal. Other brave men also collected together, and killed the

[1] The translator in Elliot, V, makes a distinction between *Sher*, lion and *Babar*, tiger; but he thinks that both the *Shers* that were seen were tigers. I think they were both lions. Badāonī has only شیر in the Persian text and 'lion' in the translation. It is, however, a tiger in Beveridge's translation, of the Akbarnāma.

lion. 'Ādil Muhammad had been wounded by the lion, and besides that, he had received a wound from the sword of one of the men, who had attacked the lion; and he lay on the bed of pain,[1] for some time; and in the end died of the injuries.

After the lion hunt was over, when the auspicious camps arrived in the territory of Alwar, a noble order was issued, that it should continue on its march towards Alwar; and the emperor proceeding in his august person by way of Nārnaul, and after having an interview with Shaikh Nizām Nārnauli (*i e.* of Nārnaul) rejoined the camp. Starting again, he graced the centre of the circle of the Khīlāfat by the honour of his [2]arrival. After a few months, the [3]resolution, to conquer the fort of Rantambhor, which is among the mothers of the forts of Hindustan (*i.e.* one of the most important forts), and celebrated for its height and strength, entered the noble mind; and an order was issued for the attendance of the troops, that had not accompanied (His Majesty) in the expedition to Chitor. Ashraf Khān, Mīr Munshī, and Sādiq Khān were sent, with a large portion of the imperial army, on this service. When these great *amīrs* had gone a few stages in the direction of Rantambhor, intelligence of the disturbances and violence of the Mīrzas, the descendants of Muhammad Sultān Mīrza, who had [4]fled from Chengīz Khān of Gujrat, and had come to Mālwa, and were besieging the fort of Ujjain reached the noble ears, and an order to be obeyed by all the world was issued, that Qulīj Khān, who had been nominated for the conquest of Rantambhor, with a number of *amīrs* and troops, should turn towards Mandū, and should use his best efforts, for putting down the disturbance created by the Mīrzas. Both the armies combined together, in compliance with the order which had the currency of fate, and when they arrived at [5]Sirohī, Shahāb-ud-dīn Āhmad Khān, the governor

[1] Abul Fazl says he lingered in pain for four months, and died in Agra. He also says, that his death was the retribution of an act of disrespect, which he had done to his father.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Akbar arrived in Agra on the 15th Shawwāl (13th April, 1568).

[3] The Akbarnāma says that Akbar determined to capture Rantambhor, because it was a stumbling block to peace.

[4] Both Abul Fazl and Badāonī say, that they were unruly, encroached on the lands of other *jāgīrdārs*, and created disturbances.

[5] About fifty miles S.W. of Chanderi.

of that *sarkār*, advanced to meet them, and joined with them. They then all advanced together. When Sārangpūr became the halting place of the *amīrs*, Shah Bidāgh Khān, the governor of that place, also joined them with all the troops he had. In this way, the victorious army reached large dimensions. The Mīrzas, having been warned of the approach of the victorious troops, raised the siege, and turned towards Mandū. Muhammad Murād Khān, and Mīrza 'Azīz-ul-lah, who had shut themselves up in the fort of Ujjain, being released from the troubles of the siege, joined the other *amīrs*. They now all commenced the pursuit of the enemy. The Mīrzas being aware of these facts fled from Mandū, along the bank of the Narbada. They crossed the river in such confusion, that many of their troops were drowned in it.

It so happened that at this time Jhajār Khān, the Abyssinian, slew Chenghīz Khān, the ruler of Gujrāt, who was marching carelessly, in the plain of [1]Tirpolea. The Mīrzas having received information of this, considered the disturbances in Gujrāt a God-send, and turned in flight towards that country. The renowned *amīrs* turned back from the bank of the Narbada; the *jāigīrdārs* of Mandū returned to their *jāgīrs*; and Sādīq Khān and Qulij Khān and the other *amīrs* returned to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world, and were honoured with imperial favours. The Mīrzas, who had gone to Gujrāt, took possession of the fort of Champānīr, at the first [2]onset; and turned their faces towards Bahroch, and having besieged the fort, after a considerable time took it form Rustam Khān Rūmī, who had fortified himself in it, and seizing him, after a time [3]slew him treacherously. The rest of these incidents will be narrated in their proper place.

During this year, a *farmān* was issued for summoning [4]Mīr

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[1] Badāonī says در میدان تر پولیه احمداباد, which Mr. Lowe has translated "At the open space by the gate of Ahmedabad."

[2] The MSS. have دهله and دهکه, and the lith. ed. دهیله. Badāonī has حمله.

[3] There are different readings here. The MSS. have او را نیز بعد از مدتی بخداع کشتند, and او را نیز بعد از مدتی بخلاع کشتند; while the lith. ed. has او را نیز بعد بلوغ کشتند. Badāonī has بحیله گرفتند و بقتل رسانیدند.

[4] The Akbarnāma says, that Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān and the Atkah

Muhammad Khān Kalān, and Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, and Kamāl Khān Kakhar, who had *jāgīrs* in the *sarkār* of the Punjab. These *amīrs* hastened to the lofty threshold, in the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of the year 976 A.H., and offered suitable presents. Husain Qulī Khān, and his brother Isma'el Khān were summoned from Nāgor, and were nominated to the governorship of the Punjab in place of Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān, etc., recalled. The *jāgīr* of Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān in *sarkār* Sambal became (his) *tankhwā* or stipend. Husain Quli Khān having been honoured with the service of personal attendance (on the emperor), attended on the victorious, stirrups, during the expedition for the conquest of Ranthambhor, from the time that the noble standards started towards it. After the conquest of Ranthambhor, when the metropolis of Agra became the place of the imperial sojourn, he and his brother received permission and turned to the Punjab.

On the 1st of Rajab of this year, (21st December, 1568,) the sublime standards moved from the centre of the circle of the Caliphate, with the object of conquering [1] Ranthambhor; and the metropolis of [2] Dehli became the halting place of the imperial camp.

Khāns had been in the Punjab for a long time; and Akbar considered it necessary, as a matter of policy, to remove them. It also sayst hat Husain Qulī Khān received at this time the title of Khān-i-Jahān for his good services. I am not quite sure what the exact meaning of the expression, that the *Jāgīr* of Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān in *sarkār* Sambal became his *tankhwā*, is. In the translation in Elliot, V., it is said that the *Jāgīr* became a *tankhwā*. Neither Badāonī nor Abul Fazl says anything about its having become a *tankhwā*. The former only says, that سرکار سنبل و موریلي بخان کلان مقرر شد and the latter says that "The *sarkār* of Sambal was made the fief of Mīr Muhammad Khān, *sarkār* Mālwah given to Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, and *sarkār* Qanouj to Sharif Khān."

[1] A derivation of the name of the fort and its correct form are given in note 3 page 491 Vol. II of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. The correct form is there said to be Rantahpur and its meaning 'city in the hollow of the Ran' it will be seen from note 14 below that there was a hill of the name of Ran close to the fort so that the name may mean the city below the Ran.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Akbar went by way of Dehli, to strengthen his heart by the influence of holy recluses. He also visited the perfumed shrine of that sitter on the spiritual and temporal throne, H. M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiānī.

Couplet: The army by victory attended did march,
And raised the dust from the sea to the moon.

He stayed for a few days in that city, and then after arranging a *qamargha* hunt in the vicinity of Pālam, slew about four thousand animals. [1] After that he turned the bridle of his determination towards the fort of Ranthambor, and arrived at the foot of that fort about the end of Sha'bān. Rai Sarjan, who held the fort, shut himself up in it, and held it against the victorious army. His Majesty besieged the fort and placed his army in a circle with the fort in its centre.

A NARRATIVE OF THE INCIDENTS OF THE FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Friday the 25th Ramazān, 976 (14th March, 1569); and [2] in the beginning of it (His Majesty) having

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[1] This passage to the end occurs in the MSS., but not in the lith. ed., or in the trans. in Elliot, V. In the lith. ed. the purport of this passage is given in the narrative of the fourteenth year, but as Akbar reached Ranthambor by the end of Sha'bān, the march occurred in the thirteenth year; and I have therefore inserted it here though this causes the repetition of a clause. There is a slight difference in the MSS. One has بجانب مالوه و رنتمبور while another has بجانب قلعه رنتمبور. I have adopted the latter reading.

[2] In two of the MSS. instead of the passage beginning with در ابتدای we have دران ایام که ظاهر قلعه رنتمبور معکسر بادشاه انجم سپاه گشته بود سلطان هفت اقلیم گردون روز بست دوم رمضان سنه مذکور به برج حمل خرامیده، عالم و عالمیان را بقدوم سال چهاردهم الهي، که به نو روز سلطاني نسبت تواماني داشت، مژده وبشارت رسانید. و انحضرت سه روز متوالي بنشاط و انبساط پرداخته، تسخیر قلعه را پیش نهاد همت عالي فرمودند؛ و امر عالي شرف صدور یافت که از هر طرف ان قلعه ساباط طرح اندازند و محمد قاسم خان میر بر و بحر صاحب اهتمام این کار باشد. محمد قاسم خان بحسن اهتمام خود در ایام معدود کار را پیش برد؛ و ساباط را نزدیک حصار رسانیدند. باوجودیکه عمارت ساباط طرح انداخته بودند حکم شد که ضرب زنها را، که به زمین هموار دویست جفت گاو بدشواری میکشید، بر بالای کوه زن که جهت ارتفاع و صعوبت راهها بقاعد وهم و خیال مشکل مینمود، و چون باقبال حضرت خلیفه الهي دایم کارهای بزرگ که در عادت وقوع ان محال بود از پیش رفته، پانزده ضرب زن را که هر کدام سنگهای پنجمن و هفت من و کلوله هفت جوش میخورد، پانصد کهار به

turned the bridle of his attention to the conquest of the fort of Ranthambor arrived within a short time at the foot of the fort; and surrounded it, as the circumference encloses the centre. Batteries having been carried forward, and *sābāts* having been erected, breaches

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بالای کوہ رن بردہ در برابر قلعہ نصب کردند . و در روز اول دیوار حصار و منازل مرتفع را در هم کوفته ، هول قیامت مشاهدہ اهل قلعه گشت ؛ و تا بیست روزکار کردہ ساباط را قریب دیوار قلعہ رسانیدند چون رای سرجن دید که خواه نخواه قلعه فتح میشود *

then as in the text اراوج غرور. This may be translated as, And in those days, when the army of the Bādshāh, whose troops were as numerous as the stars, was encamped in front of the fort of Ranthambor, the emperor of the seven climes of the sky (*i.e.* the Sun) on the 22nd Ramazān of the afore-mentioned year entered the constellation of Aries, and gave glad tidings to the world, and to all people, of the approach of the fourteenth year of the Ilāhī era, which has the relation of twinship with the New Year's day of the Bādshāh. His Majesty passed three days in pleasure and enjoyment. He then planned the conquest of the fort within his noble spirit; and passed an order that *Sābāts* (covered ways) should be constructed from all sides of the fort. Muhammad Qāsim Khān, the Military and Naval commander was placed in charge of this duty. He, by his good management, completed the work within the appointed time; and the covered ways were carried to the vicinity of the citadel. In spite of the fact, however, that the construction of the *Sābāts* had been begun, an order was passed that culverins, which could be dragged with difficulty by two hundred pairs of oxen over level ground, should be carried to the top of the hill of Ran, which on account of its height and the difficulty of the road could not come within the compass of thought or imagination. As owing to the great fortune of His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, great feats, the accomplishment of which appeared to be beyond the range of possibility, had always been carried out, fifteen culverins, each one of which could discharge boulders weighing five maunds and seven maunds and *haft josh* (*i.e.* made of seven metals or a compound of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper and silver) balls were carried by five hundred *kahārs* (men who are now chiefly employed as *Palki* bearers) to the top of the hill of Ran, and were placed opposite to the fort. And on the first day the walls of the citadel, and of lofty buildings were smashed and shattered, and the horrors of the day of judgment were placed before the eyes of the garrison. After twenty days the *Sābāts* were carried to the wall of the fort. When Ray Sarjan saw that in spite of all his efforts the fort would be taken, he fell from the zenith of pride and haughtiness to the nadir of helplessness, etc., as in the text. This passage does not appear in the other MSS., or in the lith. ed., or in the translation of Elliot V., but some of the statements contained in it appear in Badāonī, Persian Text, Vol. II, p. 107, and English trans. Vol. II., p. 111, and in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's trans. Vol. II. p. 494.

were made in several places by cannon shots. When Sarjan, the ruler of the fort, saw this condition of things, he fell from the zenith of pride and hauteur to the nadir of helplessness; and sent his sons named [1] Duda and Bhoj out of the fort, and asked for protection. His Majesty showed kindness to them, as they came with humility and piteous lamentations to the threshold, which was splendid like the sky; and pardoned their offences. He sent Husain Quli Khān, who had the title of Khān Jahān, into the fort, so that he might comfort Sarjan Ray, and bring him to render homage. The latter came with sincerity and loyalty, and was included in the band of the imperial servants. On Wednesday, the 3rd of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year, the fort was taken; and on the following day, His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, went to inspect the fort. The government and the defence of the fort were entrusted to Mehtar Khān, and the standards were raised for a return to the seat of the Caliphate. Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who bore the title of Khwāja Jahān, and Muzaffar Khān were ordered that they should take the auspicious camp, by the right hand road to the metropolis of Agra. And His Majesty turned on the wings of swiftness for the circumambulation of the illuminated tomb of Khwāja M'uīn-ud-dīn Chishti, and halted there for a week, [2]and he went every day to the illustrious tomb, and made the *faqīrs* and other deserving persons, rich and free from all want; and after that he turned towards the metropolis of Agra. On Wednesday, the 24th of Ziqādah 976 A.H., Agra became the halting place of the sublime standards. As Darbār Khān, who was one of the witty attendants of the imperial court, and had on account of illness accompanied the camp, had died before [3] the arrival of the army at Agra, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī attended the funeral feasts, and granted royal favours to his heirs.

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[1] The names are written as دودة و بهوج in all the MSS., and in the lith. ed. The first name is transliterated as Dudh in Elliot, V., p. 332. In the Persian text of Badāonī it is دودا, and in the English translation it is Doda. The names are given in the translation of the Akbarnāma, as I have got them in the text.

[2] The words هر روز بمزار شريف تشريف فرمودة فقرا و مستحقانرا غني و مستغني ميگردانيدند و بعد ازان are not to be found in the lith. ed.

[3] According to the translation of the Akbarnāma he died in Agra.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REASONS OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE TOWN OF FATHPŪR.

As on several occasions, His Majesty had sons born to him, who had died (in their infancy), [1] His Holiness the asylum of the country, who was acquainted with all truths and had knowledge of God, Shaikh Salīm Chishti, who resided in the town of Sīkrī, which was within twelve *karohs* of Agra, and of whom [2] His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had a high opinion, and to whom he had gone on several occasions, to see him, and had stayed in his house for several days, and the holy man had given him glad tidings of the arrival of prosperous sons, His Majesty had great hopes; and he went several times to see the Shaikh, and he stayed with him, each time for ten or twenty days, and laid the foundation of a lofty building on the top of a hill, near the *Khānqā* of the Shaikh. For the Shaikh also the foundation of a new *Khānqā*, and a lofty mosque, the equal of which is not to be found to-day, anywhere in the world was laid in the neighbourhood of the royal palaces. Each one of the *amīrs* also built a mansion or house for himself. As one of the consorts became *enciente* at this time, His Majesty took her to Sīkrī, and left her in the house of the Shaikh; and he himself remained sometime in Agra, and sometime in Sīkrī. He gave the name of Fathpūr to Sīkrī, and ordered the erection of bazars and public baths there.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF KĀLĪNJAR.

This fort is situated at a [3] great height; and former Sultāns had always been anxious to conquer it. Shīr Khān Afghān, after

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[1] The words حضرت ولایت پناه حقایق آگاه عارف الله do not occur in the lith. ed., and have been taken from the MSS. They do not also appear in the translation in Elliot V.

[2] The words از انجای که حضرت خلیفه الهي را حسن ظن بسیار اسف بملاقات حضرت شیخ رفته روزی چند در منزل شیخ بودند و حضرت شیخ have been omitted from the lith. ed. I have inserted them from the MSS.

[3] According to note 1, p. 491, Vol. II of Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma, Kālīnjar lies ninty miles W.S. Allahabad; and the fort stands on a flat-topped hill of the Vindhya range, which here rises to a height of 800 feet above the plains.

besieging it for a year, was burnt in the fire of the desire to capture it, as has been mentioned in his history. In the time of the disturbances of the Afghāns, Rājā Rām Chand, Rajā of [1] Panna, bought it from Bijlī Khān, the adopted son of Bihār Khān for a large sum. At the time, when the news of the conquest of the fort of Chitor and Ranthambor spread over the world, the victorious troops who had *jāgīrs* in the neighbourhood of Kālinjar, and were always planning its conquest, wanted to move the chain of war and strife. Rājā Rām Chand, who was a wise and experienced man, and considered himself to be a servant of the threshold, sent the keys of the fort with suitable tributes, and congratulations for the great victory, by his representatives, to His Majesty. The same day, the defence and the guarding of the fort were entrusted to Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, who was one of the *jāgīrdārs* of that country, and a *farmān* of encouragement and favour was sent to the Rājā. This fort came into the possession of the servants of the imperial government, in the month of Śafar, of the year 977 A.H., corresponding with the fourteenth year of the Ilāhī era.

An account of the birth of His Highness the Shāhzāda of exalted rank, Sultān Salīm Mīrza.

On Wednesday, the [2] 17th Rabī-ul-āwwal, 977, corresponding with the fourteenth year of the Ilāhī era, when seven [3] *gharis* of the day had passed, the star of the auspicious birth of the Shāhzāda of the exalted rank, Sultān Salīm Mīrza rose above the horizon of splendour

[1] The name is doubtful. The MSS. have بتهه, Batha. The lith. ed. has ملتهه Maltha (?). In the translation in Elliot V., the name of the Rājā is Rāmchandra, but the name of his Raj is not given in the text, but a note says "Raja of Panna.—T. Alfi. See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari Vol. I, p. 406." Badāonī, Persian Text, has بهنه, transliterated as Bhat'h. The Akbarnāma has Panna.

[2] The date is 7th and 17th in the MSS., and 17th in the lith. ed. It is 18th in the translation in Elliot V. Badāonī has 17th. Abul Fazl does not mention the Muhammadan month and date of the birth, but the translator says in a note that it was the 17th Rabī'-ul-āwwal, 977, 30th August, 1569.

[3] *Ghari* is a Hindi word. It has been translated as an 'hour' in Elliot V, and in the translation of the Akbarnāma. Badāonī uses the word ساعت instead.

and greatness, in the abode of that asylum of guidance, the protector of the country, [1] Shaikh Salīm Chishti, in the town of Fathpūr.

Couplets: A priceless pearl from the empire's sea,
A lamp of brightness from the light Divine,
Ensconced in silk, like a grain of musk,
Like a pearl so fresh in its bed of cotton soft.

At that time, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī was in Agra. Shaikh Ibrāhīm, the son-in-law of Shaikh Salīm, brought the joyful news; and received high honour from the imperial grace. In thanksgiving for that great good fortune, and this noble gift, the people received general alms, prisoners were released, and royal festivities were arranged, and for seven days there was general joy and pleasure. The date of this auspicious birth was found in the words, "*Shah-i-āl-i Taimur.*" Khwāja Husain of Merv composed an ode, the first line of (each couplet of) which gave the date of the accession of His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, and the second, the date of the birth of the Shāhzāda of the people of the world. The first couplet of this ode was:

Praise to God for the pomp and grandeur of the Shāh
A pearl of greatness to the shore of the sea of justice has come.

A sum of two *lakhs* of *tangās* was given to Khwāja Husain, as a reward for the composition of this ode. Many of the poets of the age composed chronograms and odes, and were honoured with gifts and rewards. [2] His Majesty made Fathpūr the seat of the throne; a stone fort was erected round the city; lofty buildings rose up, and a great city came into existence.

Before the auspicious birth of the Shāhzāda of the fortunate birth, His Majesty had determined in his gracious heart that if the great and holy God should bestow a pearl from the ocean of empire, and a gem from the casket of eternity, he would go on foot, on a pilgrimage to the tomb, which is [3] the resting place of the effulgent

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[1] One MS. inserts here عارف الله, *i.e.* the possessor of the knowledge of God.

[2] One MS. inserts before this و بیشتر اوقات بودن حضرت خلیفه الهي در فتحپور قرار یافته, *i.e.* the residence of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, having now for the most part been fixed at Fathpūr.

[3] The expressions مورد الانوار, and قطب الواصلین, have not been translated in Elliot V, and the first has been transliterated as Murāda-l-Anwar.

rays, of his Holiness, the polestar of the seekers of God, Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishti, may his tomb be sanctified! In fulfilment of this vow, His Majesty started on foot, from the metropolis of Agra for Ajmīr, on Friday, the 12th Sha'bān, 977 A.H. He travelled six or seven *karohs* every day; and even with the dust of the road on him, he walked to the tomb, and performed the duties of pilgrimage and the rites of circumambulation. He spent [1] some days in that place of angelic veneration; and spent his time in the performance of religious rites and duties. After a few days he left Ajmīr, and turned towards Dehli, and in the month of Ramazān in the year 977 A.H., the encampment of the great and splendid army was pitched opposite to that city.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INCIDENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE ILAHI ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Saturday, the 6th Shawwāl, 978 A.H. (14th March, 1570). [2] In the beginning of this year His Majesty the emperor was in Dehli, and after circumambulating the tombs, turned towards the capital.

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[1] The words from گذرانیدند to چند روز have been omitted from one MS., but are found in the others and in the lith. ed.

[2] One MS. has here و طلوع کوکبه بهادر (؟ بهار) دران زمان که از نزول اردو رشک روضه رضوان مینمود، روزگار بدوم نوروز سلطاني عالم و عالميان را نويد سال پانزدهم از جلوس خليفه الهي داده، اساس نشاط انبساط بنا (؟ بنياد) نهاد. * بيت *

رفت چو خورشيد به برج حمل، نور شرف کرد بگيتي عمل،
دور نو در سر گرفت، موسوم نو روز جهان در گرفت.

حضرت خليفه الهي بعد از مراسم سرور ميل سير و تماشاى عمارات سلاطين سابق فرموده اكثر بقاع عظيم الارتفاع را بنظر اعتبار ملاحظه نموده، بر سر مزار جنت اشياني انار الله برهانه تشريف فرمودند؛ و از همانجا عنان عزيمت بمركز دايره خلافت منعتف ساخته، از اب جون عبور فرموده و بكوچ متواتر شكار كنان و صيد افگنان تا دارالخلافت اگره عنان باز نكشيدند و از جلايل نعم الهي كه قريب حال فرخنده سال حضرت خليفه الهي است در روز پنجشنبه اوايل اين سال بود *

then as in the text حضرت شاهنشاهي, which may be translated as, "the rising of the star of the spring, at that time when (Dehli) appeared to have become the subject of the envy of the garden of paradise, from the arrival of the camp,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUSPICIOUS BIRTH OF SHĀHZĀDA [1] SHĀH MURĀD.

On thursday, the 3rd of Muharram in the year 978 A.H. (7th June, 1570), corresponding with the fifteenth year of the Ilāhī era the rising took place of the star of empire and greatness, Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, in the house of Shaikh Salīm. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, in thanksgiving of this great gift, put the hand of liberality and generosity, out of the sleeve of beneficence and bounty, and arranged a great feast. The various ranks of the people became prosperous from the gift of His Majesty's universal rewards. The *amīrs* and the attendants of the sublime thrsehold presented suitable offerings, according to their different grades, and were honoured with valuable robes of honour. All praise be to God for His continuous favours and for His innumerable blessings. [2] Maulāna Qāsim Arslān

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the times gave to the world and its denizens, the glad tidings of the advent of the imperial new year, of the fifteenth year from the accession of the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī; and laid the foundation of gladness and delight.

Couplets: When the Sun into the house of Aries went,
The light of nobility held over the earth its sway;
The earth's orb took a course fresh and new
The new year's season the earth encompassed.

His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī after enjoying the rites of pleasure, felt a desire for visiting the palaces of the former Sultāns, and having seen most of the magnificent structures with eyes of admiration, went to the grave of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, may God illuminate his shrine! From that place, he turned his bridle of determination to the centre of the circle of the Khilāfat, and having crossed the river Jumna, he came by successive marches, hunting along the way, and drew rein in the metropolis of Agra. Among the great gifts of God, which have always attended the fortunes of His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, that it was on Thursday at the beginning of this year" then as in the text. This passage is not in the other MSS., but there is something corresponding to the statements in it in Badāonī, and in the Akbarnāma.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, a daughter, to whom the name of Khānam was given, was born on Sunday, 11th Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 977 A.H., 21st November, 1569, between the births of Shāzādas Salīm and Murād.

[2] One MS. has here:

بزم بیاراست و شد برمساز، بست زمین را بجواهر طراز،
جشن فریدون طرب جای جم تازه شد از مجلس شاه عجم.

composed a chronogram, on the birth of Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, from the first hemistich of which, the date of the birth of the illustrious Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm, (may God grant him the utmost of his desires!) and from the second hemistich of which the date of the birth of Shāhzāda Shāh Murād could be obtained.

Couplet: From light of purest ray like Sultān Salīm, there came
The standard of Shāh Murād, son of Akbar, the just.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE WORLD-CONQUERING STANDARDS TO THE LAND OF AJMĪR.

As His Majesty used to go once every year, from wherever he might happen to be, to Ajmīr for the purpose of circumambulating the tomb of the Polestar of the seekers of God, Mū'īn-ul-Huq Wad-ud-dīn Hasan Sanjarī, (may his tomb be sanctified!) in this auspicious year also, he put his foot of state in the stirrup of happiness, and started for Ajmīr, on the 20th Rabī'-ul-Ākhir in the year 978 A.H., in order to offer thanks for the great gift. He waited for twelve days in Futhpūr for arranging various necessary matters; and then, by successive marches, he arrived at Ajmīr, and made it the object of the envy of the gardens of paradise. He pleased and gratified the residents of that delectable garden by universal benefactions. He also, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the people, (a desire for) which had been ingrained in the composition of the creed of that Bādshāh of sublime descent, ordered that strong fortification should be erected round Ajmir. A grand palace was also erected for his own residence. The *amīrs* and *Khāns* and other attendants of the threshold vied with one another in the erection of mansions. His Majesty distributed the village and hamlets in the neighbourhood of Ajmīr, among the *amīrs*, that they might spend the income derived from them in the construction of their houses. Then, on Friday, the 4th Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the afore-mentioned year, in good health and safety, he left Ajmīr, and on the 16th of the same month the camp of

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which may be translated as:

He adorned a feast and made a festival;
With gems he decked the surface of the earth;
The feasts of Faridūn, and Jamshīd's pomp,
Were revived in the feasts of the monarch of 'Ajam.

the grand and noble army was pitched in front of the town of [1] Nagor.

He ordered all the soldiers that they should divide a large reservoir, which was in front of the city, among themselves, and excavate it, and fill it up with water; and he himself, with good fortune as his companion, went round it, and named it the [2] *shukr talāo*, the tank of thanksgiving. And during these days, when the tents, resplendent like the sky, were pitched opposite to Nāgor, Chandar Sen, son of Rāja Māl Deo, came and was enrolled among the servants of the threshold, and made suitable offerings. In the same way also, Rājā Kalyān Mal, the Rājā of Bikānīr, and his son Rāy Singh, placed their faces of servitude on the threshold, refulgent like the Cynosure; and made an offering of their allegiance. As marks of sincere devotion were clear and patent on the pages of the condition of the father and the son, the [3] daughter of Rāy Kalyān Mal became an inmate of the (imperial) *haram*. The Sun of justice and equity shone for about fifty days on the condition of the poor of Nāgor. From that place the imperial standards were raised with the intention of a pilgrimage to (the tomb) of Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shakarganj, who is buried in the town of Ajodhan, which is celebrated as Pattan. Rāy Kalyān Mal, who on account of his great bulk and fatness, was unable to mount a horse, was permitted to go back to Bikānīr, but his son Rāi Singh was ordered to attend on the victorious stirrups; and he for his repeated services was raised to a high rank, and some of the incidents of his career will be mentioned in the proper place.

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[1] A note in the Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 517 says, "Or Nagaur. See Rājputana Gazetteer, Vol. II, 260. Much of the city is now in ruins."

[2] Abul Fazl says, that some of the nobles of the city represented to Akbar, that the well-being of the city depended on this and two other tanks. He also says that this particular tank bore the name of Kukur talāo, or dog tank, and tells a story in explanation of the name. See Bev.'s trans. Vol. II., p. 517. The new name, Shukr talāo, unlike the old one, is a hybrid word. Shakar talāo would be Hindi, and would mean the sugar tank; but Akbar apparently was not a purist in the matter of words, as he was not in that of marriages; and so he gave the tank a hybrid name.

[3] Badāonī also says that it was Ray Kalyān Mal's daughter; but according to the Akbarnāma, it was his niece, the daughter of his brother, Kahān.

As there are many [1] *Gurkhars* (wild asses) in that desert country, and His Majesty [2] had never hunted them, he became desirous of doing so. On the way, one day, about noon, scouts brought information, that they had seen a herd of wild asses, near the victorious camp. His Majesty immediately mounted on a swift horse, which was faster than the morning breeze, rode four or five *karohs*, and came up to the herd. He then dismounted, and ordered that all the men should wait there; and he himself in his elegant person accompanied by four or five [3] Balujes, who were well-acquainted with the desert, with his musket in his hand, turned towards the herd. With the first shot, he hit one wild ass; and the rest of the herd became frightened at the report of the gun; and dispersed. His Majesty however, silently got up to the herd again, and hit another animal. In this way, he shot [4] thirteen wild asses with his own auspicious hands. That day he traversed about sixteen *karohs* on foot, in his ardour for the hunt. From the hunting ground he returned to the camp. He also gave orders that the thirteen wild asses should be loaded on carts and brought to the camp. The flesh of the animals was distributed among the nobles and other attendants, in front of the imperial pavilion.

From that place, His Majesty travelled by successive marches to Ajodhan, and when the auspicious army was encamped opposite to that town, His Majesty with sincere faith and pure intention

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1 Badāonī, as far as I can make out, does not mention the wild ass hunt.

2 The lith. ed. has here و انحضرت شکار گور خر بسیار دوست میداشتند, but this is not to be found in the MSS.; and as Akbar could not be fond of hunting the wild ass, when he had never hunted one before, I have omitted the words.

3 The word is written as بلوج, Balūj, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. One MS. has راهبر, a guide, after Balūj, but the others and the lith. ed. omit the word.

4 The number shot is given as sixteen in the translation in Elliot V.; and the *karohs* travelled as seventeen. In the account of the hunt in the Akbarnāma, Bev.'s trans. Vol. II, p. 522, the number of animals shot is thirteen, as in the text; but Ābul Fazl adds a touch of the marvellous. He says Akbar became consumed by thirst. There was no sign of water. * * the weakness from thirst increased to such a degree, that he lost the power of speech. At this time, * * mystic guides led the special water-bearers through the boundless desert.

went to the tomb, the alighting place of light, with the dust of the road on his person (*i.e.* immediately on his arrival without waiting for a rest) and performed the duties of pilgrimage and circumambulation; and removed poverty and want from the servitors and attendants of the tomb. [1] It so happened that the royal pavilion had been pitched at a place, which, on account of the beauty of its lawn and its flowers, was the envy of the gardens of the highest paradise. On account of the beauty of that flower-adorned sward, a noble order was issued, that no one with shoes on should put his foot on that green lawn. One day a Rajput of the name of Karamsi, who was distinguished by being allowed great proximity (to the emperor's person) walked over it with naked feet, and his foot was scratched by a thorn, and he became very weak on account of the pain; and after two days, he died of the hurt. This caused great pain to the noble heart, and he ordered that after that no one should stroll about on that sward with naked feet.

After a few days, His Majesty turned the bridle of his determination towards Lahore; and in the course of the journey, when the sublime standards reached Dibālpūr, Mīrza 'Azīz Kokaltāsh who bore the title of 'Āazam Khān, and was known as Mīrza Kuka, and who was the *jāgīrdār* of that *pargana*, intending to entertain His Majesty, represented that the auspicious royal train, should for a few days rest in those parts from the fatigue of the journey. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, graciously accepted the invitation, and ennobled his house (by his presence). He spent a few days in the festivity. On the last day of the entertainment, (Mīrza 'Azīz Kokaltāsh) [2] made with great ceremony suitable presents, consisting of 'Arab and 'Irāqī

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[1] The following sentences have not been translated in Elliot V., and I have not found any mention of the incident in either the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī.

[2] The presents are enumerated in the translation in Elliot V. Badāonī only says پیش کش کردہ و تحف و هدایای لایقه, *i.e.* "And making suitable offerings and presents." There is also a brief mention of the entertainment in the Akbarnāma. The hemistich of the date, ascribed by Nizām-ud-dīn to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaznavi, is ascribed by Abul Fazl to Muzaffar Husain. Badāonī has also got the hemistich, but he does not mention the name of the author. By the way, Mr. Lowe has translated the hemistich as I have, with of course slight variations, but the translation in the Akbarnāma is different. It is this: "The Shāh and Shāhzāda were guests of 'Azīz."

horses, with gold and silver saddles, and elephants of mountain-like bulk with chains of gold and silver, and *jūls* (ornamental cloths covering the backs and hanging over the sides of elephants) of velvet and gold brocade, and [1] goads or hooks of gold and silver, and pearls, and gems, and rubies and emeralds and [2] chairs and bedsteads and stools of [3] gold, and vessels and [4] vases of gold and silver, and fabrics of *Firang* (Europe), and *Rum* (Constantinople) and *Khita* (China) and *Yezd*, and other fine and delicate things, and vessels of food more than can come into the bounds of one's imagination, which were passed before the noble eyes; and also valuable presents for the great Shāhzādas, and for the ladies behind the veil of chastity. Afterwards all the pillars of the state, and the attendants at the foot of the throne of the Caliphate, and all persons holding offices, and men of erudition, who attended on the auspicious stirrups, and in fact the whole of the victorious army received and enjoyed a share of that [5] board of his generosity. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaznavī obtained the date of this feast in the following hemistich.

Hemistich:

The king and the prince were honoured guests.

In [6] fact, very few have ever arranged such an entertainment.

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1 The reading is جهگلکهای in the MSS.; and جبگ کهای, in the lith. ed. Both appear to be incorrect. The correct reading is چنگهای. The Burhān Qāti' gives the meaning of چنگهای in the following words چنگهای میخ خمیدهٔ را گویند و مطلق قلاب باشد عموماً و قلابی که بدان فیل رانند خصوصاً. Here of course it means the goad or hook by which elephants are driven. The word has not been translated in Elliot V.

2 One MS. has کران, another has کرانیها, while the lith. ed. has کرسي.

3 One MS. has طلا و نقرهٔ, gold and silver; but the others and the lith. ed. omit نقرهٔ, silver.

4 The MSS. have اواني or اوافي and اواين. The lith. ed. has اوانی. اوانی. pl. of اناء, meaning vessels or vases, is correct.

5 The MSS. have مایدهٔ انسانیت خود and مایدهٔ انسانیت و مردمي خود. And the lith. ed. has مایدهٔ انعام خود.

6 This appears in some of the MSS., but is omitted from others, and from the lith. ed. Badāonī has a similar sentence.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [1] Sunday, the 18th Shawwāl 978 A.H. In the early part of this year, His Majesty travelled from Dibālpūr to Lahore. Husain Quli Khān, who was the governor of Lahore, hastened to meet him, and obtained the honour of kissing the ground. His Majesty left the auspicious camp in the neighbourhood of Malikpūr, and went with a few attendants to Lahore; and he passed that day and night, with pleasure and enjoyment, in Husain Quli Khān's house. The next day the Khān placed the cash of his life on the board of loyalty, and passed it with suitable offerings before the noble eyes. His Majesty then started for the camp, and during the few days that the camp, which had a grandeur like that of the sky, remained in the vicinity of Lahore, he passed his precious time in hunting.

From that place, he went by way of Hisār Fīroza, on a pilgrimage to the hallowed tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn. As the mother of Nāhīd Begam, the wife (*mankuha*) of Muhibb 'Ali Khān, the son of Mīr Khalīfa, was the wife of Mīrza 'Isa Khān Tarkhān, ruler of Thatha, who had departed this life, Nāhīd Begam, who had with the permission of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, gone a year before this, to see her mother, and to bring the daughter of 'Isa Khān for putting her into the service of His Majesty, but had been unable to agree with Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān, who was the son of Mīrza 'Isa, and who now stood in his place, she became annoyed with him, and came to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. She represented the truth about the tyranny and violence of Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān, and the [2] disrespect, which the latter had shown to

[1] The trans. in Elliot V, has Sunday, the 17th Shawwāl, and the Akbarnāma has Sunday, the 14th Shawwāl. The English date is given in both as 13th March, 1571.

[2] It would appear, according to the Akbarnāma, that Nāhīd Begam had joined with some "wicked men of the country to try to lay hold of Muhammad Bāqī. The latter got wind of this, and endeavoured to extirpate the faction. He seized the conspirators, and put some of them to death, and confined Hājī Begam, Nāhīd Begam's mother, till she died. Nāhīd Begam, by courage and skill escaped."

the imperial servants; and said that if her husband Muhibb 'Ali Khān received some favour, and was sent to Thatha, that place could be easily conquered. Nāhīd Begam had, at the time of coming from Thatha, an interview at Bakar, with Sultān Mahmūd Bakari, who had been one of the servants, and the foster brother of Mīrza Shāh Husain Arghūn, and had after the latter's death taken possession of Bakar. Sultān Mahmūd had [1] made a proclamation of general invitation, and had said "if Muhibb 'Ali Khān comes to conquer Thatha, he will not have the need of any other help. I shall go with him and will carry the matter to a successful end." For this reason, Nāhīd Begam had been all the more anxious to go to Sind.

His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī conferred a standard and a drum on Muhibb 'Ali Khān, who had relinquished the profession of a soldier since a long time, and gave him also a *jāgīr* or maintenance allowance of fifty *lakhs tangās* in the *sarkār* of Multān. He also sent with him, his daughter's son Mujāhid, who was a brave and high-spirited young man; and also sent a *farmān* to Sa'īd-Khān, the governor of Multān, that he should help Muhibb 'Ali Khān. He gave permission to the latter to start on the expedition, at the time, when the noble standards were moving from the Punjab, towards the capital city of Fathpūr. Muhibb' Ali Khān arrived in his *Jāgīr* of Multān, and began collecting men. About four hundred horsemen joined him. Relying on the promise of Sultān Mahmūd Bakari, he started for Sind; and wrote letters to him. Sultān Mahmūd considered it proper not to allow the imperial army to pass through his territory, and declaring that the words he had spoken to Nāhīd Begam, when she had gone to him, and the promises he had made to her, were a mere figment, sent a message that he would not give him permission to pass through his territory; but if he went to Thatha by way of Jaisalmīr, he would send his troops to reinforce him, and

[1] The actual words in the MSS. are سلطان محمود صلای سمرقندیانه زده گفت The lith. ed. has سلطان محمود صلای سمرقند بارزان گفت. I find that صلای سمرقندیانه زدن means 'to make a proclamation of general invitation.' The passage has been translated in Elliot V., p. 338 "This Sultān Mahmūd Salāi Samarkandi told Nāhīd Begam," which is of course incorrect. How Sultān Mahmūd Bakari suddenly became transformed into Sultān Mahmūd Salāi Samarkandi is not at all clear.

help him in every way. Muhibb 'Ali Khān, and his grandson Mujāhid, placing their reliance on God, started towards Bakar. Sultān Mahmūd sent the whole of his army to obstruct their passage. His men fought a battle, were defeated, and took shelter in the fort of [1] Mātīla. Mujāhid and Muhibb 'Ali Khān besieged the fort for about six months, and finally took it by amicable settlement.

At this time, a slave of Sultān Mahmūd, of the name of Mubārak Khān, who was his *vakil* (representative or minister), became annoyed with him on account of some grievance, and came to Muhibb 'Ali Khān. The latter, feeling stronger, besieged the fort of Bakar. Sultān Mahmūd sent his whole army, which consisted of about two thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, archers and musketeers, outside the fort for a battle. They fought and were defeated, and again entered the fort. For a period of three years, he sent his boats and *gharābs*, after equipping them for battle, sometimes every day and sometimes every second or third day. On two or three occasions, he sent his whole army, cavalry and infantry, for a drawn battle; and each time, Muhibb 'Ali Khān and Mujāhid were victorious. As Sultān Mahmūd had brought an immense number of men into the fort, there was, on account of its over-crowded condition, much sickness and pestilence; and every day five hundred or a thousand men died. At length in the year 983 A.H., Sultān Mahmūd also died; and the fort of Bakar came into the possession of the servants of the empire, of daily increasing grandeur. The particulars of this will be described before long.

In short when His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, after travelling about in the Punjab returned to Fathpūr, the abode of happiness, Mu'nin Khān, Khān Khānān, came from Jaunpūr for obtaining pardon of the offences of Iskandar Khān Uzbek; and brought the latter with him; and had the honour of being allowed to render homage. Iskandar Khān's offences were pardoned, and the *sarkār* of Lakhnow was conferred on him as a *jāgīr*. The Khān Khānān was sent back with all promptitude, for the purpose of safeguarding the

[1] The MSS. have ماتيلا, Mātīla. The lith. ed. has ماهيلا, Māhīla. Badāonī Persian text has مانيلا Mānīla, and the English trans. has Manela. The translation of the Akbarnāma has Mātīla, and a note says "in *Sarkār* Multān, Jarrett, II, 329, and T. Māsumī, Malet, 142."

boundaries of Bengal. Iskandar Khān also was,[1] by an act of grace to a fallen man, allowed to go to his *jāgīr*, with the Khān Khānān (The emperor) exalted them by conferring on each a jewelled sword-belt, and a robe of [2]honour and a horse with a golden saddle When Iskandar Khān arrived in the territory of Lakhnau, after a few days he placed his head on the pillow of sickness, and on the 10th of Jamādi-ul-āwwal 979 A.H. departed from the world of pride.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [3]Tuesday, the 25th Shawwāl of the year 979 A.H.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE [4]INVASION OF THE COUNTRY OF GUJRAT.

As the praises of the country of Gujrāt were constantly mentioned in the court, which was arranged like paradise, and as on many occasions the [5]tyranny of the rulers of that country, and the refractoriness of the group of men, who had become the rulers of the various tribes, had given rise to the desolation of the country, and the ruin of the people; and as this came to the notice of the noble and saintly attention, from all sides and corners; and as at this time,

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[1] The actual words are از کمال ذرہ پروری. According to Badāonī, Iskandar was appointed to help the Khān Khānān, and received permission to return to Jaunpūr, but on arrival at Lakhnow, after some time he departed from this life on the 10th Jamādī-ul-āwwal 980 A.H. The Akbarnāma does'not give the date of Iskandar Khān's death.

[2] The word which I have translated as a 'robe of honour' is چہار قب or جہارقب, in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. It is a word very rarely used. The Bahār-i-'Ajam explains it as پوشش مخصوص سلاطین توران, *i.e.*, a special robe of the kings of Turan. Why it should have been used here is not very clear. The translation given in Elliot, V, p. 339 of کمر شمشیر مرصع و چہار قب و اسپ is a jewelled sword-belt and four horses.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, the year commenced on Saturday the 23rd Shawwāl 979 A.H., 11th March, 1572.

[4] Some of the intrigues and disturbances which took place in Gujrāt are mentioned in pp. 537-38 Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. II.

[5] Elphinstone, in p. 496 of his history, 9th edition, says that "Akbar was solicited by Etimád Khán to put an end to the distractions of Guzerat" in the year 1572. This is supported by the Akbarnāma, but neither Nizām-ud-dīn nor Badāonī mentions it.

the saintly mind had become free from all anxiety, on the score of the rebellion of the various insurgents, and by the capture of the lofty forts, the determination to conquer the country of Gujrat became confirmed; and a *farmān* to be obeyed by all the world for the mustering of the troops was issued. On the 10th of the month of Safar 980 A.H., corresponding with the [1] 17th year of the Ilāhī era, (the emperor) placed his foot of grandeur in the stirrups of good fortune, and travelled towards Ajmir, hunting along the road. On Tuesday the 15th of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of that year, he hastened, with the dust of the road on his person, to the tomb which was the alighting place of light, of his holiness Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn; and performed the rites of pilgrimage. He made the Shaikhs, and the servitors, and the attendants of that noble place, pleased and happy with munificent gifts. On the following day, he went on pilgrimage to the tomb of Saiyyad Husain Khang-sawār, may his tomb be sanctified! who was a [2] descendant of Imām Zain-ul-'Abidīn, may the great and holy God be gracious unto him! which is situated on the top of the hill of Ajmīr.

On the following day he sent Mīr Muhammad Khān Atka, who was celebrated as Khān Kalān, with ten thousand brave horsemen, as an advance guard; and on the 22nd of the month of Rabī'-us-sānī the sublime standards also came into motion.

Couplet;

The world-conquering army did advance,
The sky and the earth with its dust became one.

When the army was two stages from Nāgor, couriers brought the glad news to the noble and sublime hearing, that on the night of Wednesday, the 2nd of the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, in the year 980 A.H., corresponding with the 17th year of the Ilāhī era, the great and holy God had bestowed a pearl from the sea of empire, and a gem from the casket of sovereignty, [3] after the passing of two *gharis*

[1] In the translation in Elliot, V., p. 340 'eighteenth' is printed instead of seventeenth.

[2] Abul Fazl disbelieves the story of the descent of Saiyyad Husain Khang-sawār. He says "by investigations it appears that" he "was a servant of Shihābu-d-dīn Ghori, and that at the time when he returned from the conquest of India, he made him *Shiqdar* of Ajmir. There he died."

[3] Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma has "after 41 *Puls* of the

and four *pals* at the rising of *pisces*, and had added another gem of great pride in the garland of empire, and the line of the Caliphate. His Majesty, on hearing this good news, performed the duty of offering thanks to almighty God. He rested for a few days in a festive assembly of pleasure and enjoyment, and made the common people happy, by allowing them a share from the board of his generosity. As this fortunate birth took place in the house of[1] Shaikh Dāniāl, who was one of the Shaikhs of that time, and was distinguished for his saintliness and purity, the Shāhzāda of the auspicious advent, and of good fortune, was given the name of Shāhzāda Dāniāl. After the (emperor's) heart of ocean like generosity had fully enjoyed the pleasure and delight of the festivity, the standards were raised for a march, and on the 9th Jamādī-ul-āwwal the auspicious army halted opposite to Nāgor. There was a halt of fourteen days at the place for equipping the army.

The army then started, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Mīrtha. At this place intelligence was brought, that when Mīr Muhammad Khān arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirohī, the Rājā showed his allegiance and loyalty, and sent some of his Rājputs by way of a mission to Mīr Muhammad Khān. When they came to the Khān, and expressed their wishes to him they received a suitable reply. The Khān bestowed robes of honour on them, and gave them *pān* (betels) with his own hand, according to the Indian custom. One of those audacious men then stabbed him on the breast with a[2] *Jamdar* (a kind of weapon) in such a way, that its point came out under his shoulder blade. At this time a young man of the name of Bahādur Khān, one of the servants of the Mīr, who was[3] standing

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night." *Puls* is of course incorrect. *Pal* or more correctly *Pala* is a Sanskrit word denoting the sixtieth part of a *Ghari*. 2½ pals are equal to one minute.

[1] The Khazīna-i-Auliyā, p. 443, mentions a Shaikh Dāniāl Chishtī, who died in 994 A.H., aged 111.

[2] According to a note in p. 144 Vol. II of the Trans. of Badāonī, the word is said to be "Sans. Jamd'hara, 'death bearer' a large dagger with a basket hilt." Jamd'hara appears to me impossible as a Sanskrit word.

[3] The actual words are که در پس سر خان استاده بود which means lit "who was standing behind the head of the Khān." Probably the Mīr or Khān was reclining on a pillow or something like that. The translation in Elliot, V, is "who was standing behind Sher Khān." I do not think this is correct. There is no mention of any person of that name.

behind him, and who is now included in the list of amīrs, ran forward, and seizing that Rajput hurled him on the ground. Muhammad Sādiq Khān, who was seated by the side of the Khān, jumped up. and slew the accursed one with his dagger. When this news was brought to the notice of His Majesty, the Khāqān, the world-conqueror, he sent Lashkar Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, the same day, to enquire about the condition of Mīr Muhammad Khān; and on the following day, began his march. Sādiq Muhammad Khān and the other amīrs sent for surgeons, and had the wound sewn up; and merely on account of the good fortune of the emperor, such a dangerous wound was healed in the course of fifteen days, so that the Khān was able to mount his horse, with his quiver girt on his loins.

His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī then traversed the stages by successive marches, and on the 20th Jamādī-us-sānī, joined the advance-guard. When he arrived at Sirohī, [1] eighty Rajputs in a temple, and seventy in the palace of the Rājā of Sirhoī, stood resolved to die. In accordance with an order obeyed by all the world, they were all slain in one minute. Dost Muhammad, son of Tātār Khān attained to martyrdom in the Rāja's palace. At this place, the world adorning intellect decided that one of the servants of the threshold should be sent to Jodhpūr, so that he might strengthen the boundary, and keep the road to Gujrat open, so that no one may receive any injury from [2] Rānā Kīkā. The die of this service having

[1] The meaning of this is not clear. Bādaonī says that these "150 Rajput as is their hereditary custom * * * bound themselves to die, and went forth to fight, and were slain to a man." I do not know what custom is referred to. This was certainly not a case of *jauhar*. According to the Akbarnāma, the people betook themselves to the mountain defiles, while these men surrounded the palace and established themselves in the temple.

[2] The MSS. have راڻا کیکا, but the lith. ed. has راڻا کنکا. The English translation in Elliot, V, has "So that none of the Ranas might be able to inflict any loss"; and there is no mention of either Kīkā or Gangā. Badāonī, Persian text, p. 140 has راڻا کیکا, Rana Kīkā, but according to a footnote, there is a variant, کنکا, Kankā. He is said, in the Persian text, to be حاکم کوکندہ و کنهلیز which correctly transliterated, would be "ruler of Kokanda and Konhalīz"; but in the Eng. trans, p. 144, he is said to be "ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair"; and there is a footnote "see p. 102," it is not said of what. P. 102 of

fallen on Rāy Singh Bikānīrī, a large body of the servants of the threshold were sent with him; and *farmāns* were issued to the amīrs and the *jāgīrdārs* of that *sūba*, that whenever Rāy Singh would undertake any duty, they would all attend on him and help him.

[1] At this stage (of the march), Yār 'Ali Turkmān, with a body of other Turkmāns, came from the court of Sultān Muhammad, son of [2] Shāh Tahmasp, who at that time, was the ruler of Khurāsān to render homage, and obtained the honour of being allowed to make the *kūrnish*; and placing the Arab and 'Irāqī horses, and other presents, which he had brought, before (the emperor's eyes), received imperial favour.

The sublime standards moved from Sirohī, stage by stage, towards Pattan Nahrwālā. When they arrived at the [3] town of *Dīsa* which is twenty *karohs* from Pattan, [4] news came that the sons of Shīr Khān Fūlādī were going towards Īdar, taking their troops and family with them. His Majesty sent Rājā Mān Singh, with a well-equipped army, in pursuit of them. In the beginning of Rajab, 980 A.H., the [5] imperial army arrived in front of Pattan. The emperor

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the Eng. trans. gives no explanation. P. 103 of the Persian text has ودی پور, کونهلیر, but in the Eng. trans., p. 106, Udaipur is mentioned but neither Kamalmir nor Konhaliz.

[1] The passage of which this paragraph is the translation has been omitted from the lith. ed. The name of the ambassador is given as Yar 'Ali, and Yadgar 'Ali in the MSS. In the trans. in Elliot, V., and also in the trans. of the Akbarnāma it is Yar 'Ali. The Akbarnāma says that he came from Sultān Muhammad Khūdābanda, the eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp, who was the governor of Khurāsān for his father.

[2] The MSS. give the name as شاه طهماس, Shāh Tahmās and not Shāh Tahmāsp.

[3] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. has قصبه دیسه, 'town of Disa.' In Elliot, V, it is called the fort of Disa. Badāonī does not mention the place. It is called Dīha in the text of Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma, but a note says "doubtless Disa in Gujrat."

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, Shīr Khān, who held possession of Ahmadābād, fled to Surat (or Sorath) and sent his son to Pattan to convey his family and goods to places of safety, and on Mān Singh being sent after him, they fled to the defiles, but their baggage was captured.

[5] The readings are somewhat different here. One MS. has ظاهر پتّن معسکر خسرو روی زمین و زمین گشت; another omits روی زمین و. The lith. ed. has

halted there for a week, and entrusted the defence and government of that country to Saiyyad Ahmád Khān Bārha, who was distinguished among the Saiyyads of Hindustan for courage and determination, and had numerous allies and adherents. Rājā Mān Singh rejoined the camp here, and bringing much plunder from the remnants of the Afghāns, produced them before the saintly eyes (of the emperor).

The world conquering standards then advanced towards Ahmadābād. Shīr Khān Fūlādī, who had attacked Ahmadābād and had besieged 'Itimād Khān there, for a period of six months, fled on hearing of the advance of the world-conquering standards. The army had not yet advanced[1] ten stages from Pattan, when [2] Sultān Muzaffar, son of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, whom 'Itimād Khān had always kept in confinement, the details of which will be described in the section about Gujrat, guided by victory and triumph came forward to welcome the victorious and auspicious army, and on Sunday the 9th of Rajab, he was honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold. The next day [3] 'Itimād Khān, the ruler of Ahmadābād, and Mir Abu Turāb, and Saiyyad Hāmid Bukhārī, and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, and Malik-ush-sharq, and Wajih-ul-mulk, and Ulugh Khān Habshi, and other leaders and chiefs of Gujrat, the particulars of whose names would be too long, became the fortunate recipients of the honour of kissing the ground. Each one of them according to his condition and status, placed offerings before the noble eyes. Amongst them 'Itimād Khān presented the keys of Ahmadābād, in addition to his other tributes, and gave expression to the purity of his loyalty, and his determination to render good service.

معسکر خسرو زمین گشت. The reading ظاهر پتّن معسکر خسرو زمین گشت appears to me to be correct.

[1] It is 'two' stages in the trans. in Elliot, V.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, he had separated from Shīr Khān Fūlādī and was wandering about in a distracted state. Akbar sent men in search of him, and they found him hiding in a corn-field, and brought him before the emperor.

[3] All these names are given in the same order by Badāonī, but he omits the description of حاکم احمد اباد after the name of 'Itimād Khān, and adds حبشي after the name of Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk.

Verses:

On every side in which his star appeared,
Victory ran forward, and fortune's gates opened wide.
The dust of his door should crown the heads of kings,
[1] Dust on that head:

As the attendants of the threshold discovered marks of treachery and dissension on the blackness of the foreheads of the Abyssinian nobles, and brought it to the emperor's notice, His Majesty, although he had complete reliance on the help and victory of God, which had always attended and crowned all his undertakings, yet as a precautionary measure, he [2] placed the Abyssinian Chiefs in charge of trusted servants of the threshold; and marched towards Ahmadābād On Friday the 14th of Rajab, the auspicious camp halted on the bank of the river of Ahmadābād. The great name of His Majesty was read that day in the public prayers; and all the people and the great mass of the residents of the great country of Ahmadābād, came on swift feet to welcome His Majesty, and performed the duties of offering prayers and praises. On the 20th Rajab, Saiyyad Mahmūd Khān Bārha, and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī Dehlavi [3] brought the ladies of the pavilion of chastity to the foot of the sublime throne On the same day, Jalāl Khān Qurjī, who had been sent on an embassy to the Rānā, was honoured by being allowed to kiss the (royal) feet.

As Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza and Muhammad Husain Mīrza had

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[1] The reading and the meaning of the last part of this line is not clear The readings in the MSS. are كه نه اتش هواست, and كه نه انيش هواست, and in the lith. ed. نالش هواست.

[2] Badāonī, Persian text, Vol. II. p. 141, has و حبشيانرا بجهت رعايت حرم بمعتمدان سپردند, which has been rendered in the Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 145, the emperor entrusted the Abyssinians to trusty officers of his own, to be employed in guarding his *harem*. This cannot be correct. The *harem* had not yet arived, and it is not likely that the Abyssinians, who had to be entrusted to trusty officers, should be themselves employed in guarding the emperor's *harem*. On comparing the corresponding passage in the Tabaqāt, it appears to me that the word حرم in the Persian text is a mistake for حزم, caution.

[3] This passage has been translated in Elliot, V, p. 343 Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhāri brought their wives into the royal camp. This is of course incorrect.

taken forcible possession of the territories of Baroch, Baroda and Surat, and had raised the standard of hostility, it appeared to the empire-adorning intellect, that the country of Gujrat should be completely purified from the dust of their disturbances. In order to carry out this intention, he started on Monday, the 2nd of Sha'bān (2nd December, 1572), from the bank of the river of Ahmadābād and marched towards Kambāyat. 'Itimād Khān and the other Gujrati *amīrs* remained in Ahmadābād, for two or three days, to attend to their own affairs, after obtaining permission to do so, through the great officers of State. During this time, Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, who was the chief of the Gujrātī *amīrs*, fled from Ahmadābād towards Ahmadnagar and Idar, on the night of Wednesday, the 4th Sha'bān. As no reliance could now be placed in the Gujrātī nobles, 'Itimād Khān was placed in charge of Shahbāz Khān Kambu.

On Friday, the 6th Sha'bān, the emperor arrived at the port of Kambāyet, and after seeing and enjoying the spectacle of the sea, he started again from Kambāyat, on Thursday, the 12th of the month. On the 14th he halted opposite the town of Baroda. At this place, the shadow of the mind, brilliant like the sun, was thrown on the affairs of the country, and it was decided that the reins of the defence and government of Gujrāt generally, and of the capital city of Ahmadābād specially, should be placed in the charge and control of Mīrza 'Azīz Muhammad Kokaltāsh, who held the title of Khān-i-A'azam, and he was sent to the seat of his government.

THE DESPATCH OF *amirs* TO BESIEGE THE FORT OF SURAT.

After A'azam Khān had taken his leave, the world-adorning intellect determined upon the conquest of Surat, which was the abode and asylum of the Mīrzas; and he sent in advance of himself[1] Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha, Shāh Qūli Khān Mahram, Khān-i-'ālam, Rājā Bhawān Dās, Kunwar Mān Singh, Fāzil Khān, Dost Muhammad Khān, Bābā Dost, Aslīm Khān, Kākar 'Ali Khān, Pāinda Muhammad Khān Maghul and Mīrza 'Ali 'Alam Shāhī, and a number of

[1] In the trans. in Elliot, V, some of these names are given, and others are omitted, asterisks being given instead. Shāh Qūli Khān Mahram and the Khān-i-'Ālam are made into one person, Shāh Kulī Khán Mahram Khán-i-'Alam.

others to put down Muhammad Husain Mīrza, who was in the fort of Surat. On the following day, which was the 17th of Sha'bān, when one [1] *pahar* of the night had elapsed, the scouts brought to His Majesty's notice, that when the news of the arrival of the sublime standards reached Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, in the fort of Baroch, he had put [2] Rustam Khān Rūmī to death, and that he had, on account of his great pride and violence, passed at a distance of eight *karohs* of the august camp, and wanted to raise the dust of disturbance and revolt. Immediately on hearing this news, the fire of the imperial wrath flamed up; and immediately Khwāja Jahān, and Shujā'at Khān and Qulīj Khān and Sādiq Khān were deputed to the service of the fortunate prince Sultān Salīm (*i.e.*, were left in charge of him); and the emperor started, in person, to punish Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza He took Malik-ush-sharq Gujrātī, who was acquainted with the roads in that neighbourhood, to attend on his victorious stirrups. He sent Shahbāz Khān, Mīr Bakshī, on the wings of swiftness, that he might bring back Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha, and Shāh Qūli Khān Mahram, and the other *amīrs*, who had been nominated for the capture of the fort of Surat, to join the auspicious army. A part of that night, and the greater part of [3] the following day the world-encircling steed (apparently the one on which the emperor was mounted) was engaged in the search of that group, of perverted destiny, and traversed a long distance. When night came on, His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, with (only) forty horsemen arrived on the bank of the [4] river Mahindrī (Māhī). Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza had

[1] *Pahar* is a Hindi word, derived from Sanskrit *prahara*, which is equal to three hours, the day and night being divided into eight *praharas*.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Rustam Khān Rūmī "had resolved on becoming loyal, and wished to do homage."

[3] The Akbarnāma, Vol. III, p. 17 of the English trans. says that they lost their way more than once.

[4] The Akbarnāma, Vol. III, p. 18 says that Akbar fell in with a Brāhman who told him that the enemy had crossed the Bikānīr river, and were encamped in large force at Sarnāl; but a note says, that "evidently the river is the Mahindrī or Māhī, and perhaps the place is Wancaneer (Wankānīr) marked as on the Mahī between Ahmadābād and Baroda in the map to Bayley's Gujrat." There is a rather misleading note in Elliot, V, which says "Abul Fazl calls the river also Sakanir." Abul Fazl does not do so anywhere. The translator only says in the note from which I have quoted, "Elliot, VI, 37 has Sakanir."

halted at the town of Sarnāl on the opposite bank of the river. The servants of the threshold and the adherents of the court, on hearing this news, began to[1] put on their cuirasses.

About this time, Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha and Shāh Qūli Khān Mahram and Khān-i-Ā'lam and Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Kunwar Mān Singh and Salīm Khān Kākar and 'Ali Khān and Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and Hājī Yusuf Khān, and Dost Muhammad Khān and Bābā Dost and Rāysāl Darbārī and Bhoj son of Sarjan, and a number of others came by forced marches, and obtained the honour of approaching and the good fortune of meeting (His Majesty). Kunwar Mān Singh, at his special request and prayer, obtained the honour of serving on the vanguard. Inspite of the fact, that the total number of the servants of the threshold did not exceed[2] one hundred, His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, without hesitation or delay, plunged his world-encircling bay horse into the river, and crossed it. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, although he had a thousand horsemen with him became anxious, on account of this daring and boldness; and thought that His Majesty must be present in his sacred person and holy spirit. Immediately he went out of Sarnāl, by a different road, fully equipped and armed, and arranged his troops, with the purpose of giving battle. As there was much broken ground between the bank of the river Mahindrī and the skirts of the fort, Kunwar Mān Singh, and the body of men who had been sent as the vanguard, got into another road; and his august Majesty arrived at the gate, which was on the side of the river, by another road. At this time, some of those mad wretches, having come within bow-shot in the lanes, stood forward to give battle.

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[1] There is an absurd mistake in the translation of this passage in Elliot, V, p. 344, which runs "When they heard this, the emperor's followers began to conceal themselves." The words in the MSS. are شروع در جبه پوشدن کردند. The lith. ed. has an incorrect reading substituting مهیا توشیدن for جبه پوشیدن. Badāonī has شروع در پوشیدن ملاح نمودند *i.e.* began to arm themselves; and the translation of the Akbarnāma says, H.M. * * *, * ordered them "to put on their cuirasses."

[2] The total number must have exceeded one hundred. Probably the number of *Amīrs* and leaders did not exceed one hundred. Abul Fazl says, that when the men, who had been sent against Surat came and joined the emperor, the number became about two hundred.

Maqbūl Khān, a Qalmāq (Calmuck) slave, who on that day was near His Majesty, drawing the sword of vengeance from the scabbard hurled one of them on the dust of destruction, and wounded some others. In the course of the engagement, His Majesty came to know, that Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, had gone out of the town of Sarnāl. He immediately issued an order, that the war-thirsty soldiers should go over the low wall, and pursue him. When the victorious troops arrived in the open [1] plain, the two opposing lines met each other. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza made an attack on Tātār Khān Qāqshāi, and the body of archers, who were fighting with their bows and arrows; and [2] although they fully exerted themselves in shooting their arrows, they were turned back a short distance. Each one of the servants of the threshold placed his precious life on the palm of loyalty; and like moths flung themselves on the fire of battle and made heroic efforts. They cast a large number, on the side of the enemy, on the dust of death. [3] Bhupat Ray, son of Rājā Bihār Mal, who was a brave warrior, rushed on the hostile ranks, and was slain. The enemy felt greatly encouraged and strengthened on seeing this, and made a second attack. It so happened that the victorious troops were standing in a narrow lane, where three horsemen could scarcely stand side by side. On both sides of the lane, there were [4] thorn bushes. His Majesty stood in front with great bravery, and Rājā Bhagwān Dās stood bridle to bridle by his side. Three wretched horse-

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[1] This battle is described by Elphinstone (see page 497 of his history 9th ed.), but he does not give the name of the place where it took place.

[2] The words باوجودیکه در تردد و تیر اندازی سعی تمام بجا اوردند are omitted in the lith. ed. but I have inserted them from the MSS.

[3] Corruption of Sans. *Bhūpati*, *i.e.*, Lord of the earth. Mr. Lowe derives it from *Bhuban Pati* "world protector." Bhupat is called son of Rājā Bihār Mal in the text. Badāonī says in the Persian text son of Rājā Bhagwant (Bhagwān) Das; but a note says Rājā Bihār Mal. In the English trans. he is called son of Rājā Bhagwant Das, who according to a note was a son of Rājā Bihār Mal. In the Akbarnāma he is described as a brother of Bhagwant Dās. The Iqbālnāma calls him the brother's son of Bhagwān.

[4] زقوم زار Mr. Lowe translates this by the words prickly pears. In a note he says "*Az-zaqqum*, a tree said in the Quran (XXXVII, 60) to grow in the midst of Hell. It is the *euphorbia* of the ancients." Mr. Beveridge thinks that the *Az-zaqqum* was either *Euphorbia antiquorum*, or a cactus.

men rushed forward, and one of them turned to Rājā Bhagwān Dās. As there was a *Zaqqum* (thorn) bush in front, the Rājā stood up in his stirrups and hit him with his lance. That man of evil destiny being severely wounded, turned back. The other two wretches attacked His Majesty. The latter in his sacred person turned on them; and those two wretches, or rather all those wretches, being unable to withstand the attack, which even a mountain could not have withstood, fled.

Couplet; In battle he is like a hundred soldiers bold,
He grasps the world, faster than sun or moon.

In this action Maqbūl Khān, slave, and [1] Surkh Badakhshī came up to His Majesty. The latter sent them in pursuit of his two assailants, and waited in expectation of the blowing of the breeze of triumph and victory. The victorious troops, seeing this fearful incident, placed the cash of their lives in the palm of sacrifice; and rushed from all sides; and [2] with the hoofs of their horses, scatterd the dust of wretchedness and the dirt of misery on the heads and cheeks of those men; and made great heaps of the slain. Ibrāhīm Mīrza having scattered the dust of wretchedness on the head of his destiny took the path of flight; and the brave warriors pursued him for some distance, and hurled some more of them on the dust of destruction. When the darkness of night increased the darkness of the destiny of that band, a noble command was issued, that the brave warriors should desist from the pursuit of those men of the perverted destiny. And Ibrāhīm Husain with a few men carried his life into safety; and [3] went by way of Ahmadnagar towards Sirohī. His Majesty then

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[1] The name is transliterated as Surokh in Elliot, V. In Badāonī Persian text, there is no و between مقبول خان غلام and سرخ so Mr. Lowe has translated the passage as Maqbūl Khān, a *Ghulam* of Sarkh Badakhshī. The Akbarnāma calls the latter Surkh Badakhshi, but there is nothing to show whether Maqbūl Khān was his slave or not.

[2] The words و بنعال مراکب خاک بیدولتی و غبار خذلان بر سر و رخسار ان گروہ پاشیدہ از کشتہ پشتہ ساختند do not occur in the lith. ed. but have been inserted from the MSS.

[3] The Akbarnāma, translation (Vol. III, page, 22) does not say where Ibrāhīm Mīrza went. Badāonī like our author says, he went to Sirohi, but Mr. Lowe calls the place Sarohī.

halted in the town of Sarnāl, and carried out the rites of offering thanks to God. Every one who had in the course of this expedition, performed loyal services, was honoured with increase of royal favour, and promotion in rank, and increase in the extent of his fief.

On the day following the victory, His Majesty turned towards the sublime camp, but he sent Surkh Badakhshī who had rendered excellent service in the battle, in advance, to convey the news of the victory to the princes. When Surkh arrived with the news, [1] he received such rewards from the princes and from their Highnesses the pavilions of chastity, and the *amīrs* and the pillars of the state, that he was freed from want to the end of his days. The royal cavalcade arrived in front of the town of Baroda on the night of Wednesday, the 18th of Sha'bān, after the passing of one *prahar* of the night, and joined the great camp. The next day the emperor conferred a banner and kettle drum on Rāja Bhagwān Dās who had repeatedly shown great bravery and valour in the battle.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY THE KHALĪFA-I-ILĀHĪ WITH THE DETERMINATION TO CONQUER THE FORT OF SURAT.

Surat is a small fortress, but is extremely strong and [2] steep, as compared with other forts. It is said that a slave of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, named Safar Aqā, who had the title of Khudāwand Khān built it in the year [3] 947 A.H., on the shore of the Arabian Sea, in order to remove the disturbances caused by the *Firangis* (Europeans). Before it was built the *Firangis* had caused damage and injury of various kinds to the Musalmans. And at the time when Khudāwand Khān was engaged in its construction they prepared boats equipped with guns, on several occasions, and came forward to give battle; but were unable to do anything. In short, Khudāwand

[1] This passage has been incorrectly translated in Elliot, V, p. 346, where it is said that the news filled the princes and the ladies of the *harem* and the *amīrs* and officials with joy sufficient to last them their lives.

[2] The actual word is استوار, straight.

[3] There is some difference in the MS. and in the lith. ed., as to the year, but 947 A.H. appears to be correct. The fort is said in the text, to have been erected on the shore of the دریای عمان, Arabian Sea, but it is really on the River Tapti, twenty miles inland.

Khān [1] collected expert masons at the time, and arranged for the strengthening of the fort. The skilled engineers planned the building in such a way, that on both the landward sides of the fort moats were dug twenty yards in width which reached to the water, and the walls were built of stone and lime and burnt bricks from the water. The breadth of the double walls was [2] five yards; and their height twenty yards. One of the curiosities of the construction was this, that the stones were fastened together with iron clamps, and [3] molten lead was poured into the joints and interstices. The turrets and embrasures were built in such a way, that the eyes of the spectators were astonished on seeing them. On each bastion of the fort, a [4] *chaukandi* was built, which in the opinion of the *Firangis*, belonged specially to Portugal. As the *Firangis* could not prevent the erection of the fort by war and strife, they offered large sums of money to prevent the building of these *chaukandis*. Khudāwand Khān, having made up his mind to set the opinion of the *Firangis* at defiance rejected all their prayers and completed the construction of the *chaukandis*.

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[1] This passage also appears to me to be incorrectly translated in Elliot, V p. 347, where it is rendered "Khudāwand Khān then called for his architect, a very clever man, to provide for the security of the fort. After a little reflection, the careful builder determined on his plan." It will be seen that in the text the word معمار, builder is in the plural معماران in both places. The words اندیشه دقیقه is an adjective qualifying معماران; and means literally careful of niceties. I have translated it by the single word skilled. It has been wrongly translated "after a little reflection." اندیشه cannot be a participle, it should have been اندیشیده.

[2] The MSS. have عرض دیوار دو تهی پنج درع *i.e.*, the width of the double walls was five yards; but the lith. ed. has عرض دیوار قلعه پانزده درع *i.e.*, the breadth of the wall of the fort was fifteen yards. The translation in Elliot, V, agrees with the MSS. Badāonī however says that the breadth of the walls was fifteen yards, The dimensions of the fort do not appear to be given in the Akbarnāma.

[3] One MS. has بسنگ و چونه را, between گداخته and در فوجها.

[4] A *chaukandi* is a *howda*; but here it means a turret of some kind. Why the Portuguese were so anxious that they should not be built, and why Khudāwand Khān insisted on having them, cannot be ascertained. See note 1, page 593 of Elliot, Vol. V.

In short, after the death of Changīz Khān, when the fort of Surat came into the possession of the Mīrzas, and the victorious (imperial) standards cast their shadow over the country of Gujrat, the Mīrzas brought all their families into the fort, and entrusted its defence to a person of the name of Hamzabān, who had been in the body guard of [1]his late Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī, but had fled from the threshold, which was the asylum of the world, and had joined the rebels, who prepared themselves to create disturbances in fulfilment of their evil destiny. When Mīrza Ibrāhim Husain fled from the battle of Sarnāl, and His Majesty arrived in the town of Baroda, crowned with victory and triumph, the old desire for the conquest of the fort of Surat, received fresh life; and Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and Sādiq Khān were sent in advance, so that they might capture the outskirts of the fort and prevent anyone from getting out from it. When this news reached the people of the fort, Gulrukh Begam, the daughter of Mīrza Kāmrān, who was the wife (*Mankuha*) of Mīrza Ibrāhīm Husain, came out by the southern road, taking her son Muzaffar Husain Mirza with her, before the arrival of the *amīrs*. When the latter received the news of her departure Shāh Qūli Khān Mahram pursued her for a distance of fifty *karohs* and then returned; and a portion of the baggage and goods of the followers of the Begam fell into the hands of his servants.

After a few days, Rājā Todar Mal was sent, that he should examine the entrances and exits of the fort, with an observing eye, and report the exact facts. [2]He returned after a week and submit-

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's trans. Vol. III, p. 24) Hamzabān had been in Akbar's body guard, but Badāonī agrees with our author in saying, that he had been in Humāyūn's body guard. The Akbarnāma omits all mention of the mission of Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and Sādiq Khān, and of the escape and pursuit of Gulrukh Begam, but Badāonī's account agrees with that in the text. As to the escape of the Begam the actual words in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. are برای دکهن در آمد, and if this was also the text of the MSS. from which the translation in Elliot, V, was made, then the translation "Fled to the Dekhin" in Elliot, V, p. 348 is not correct. Badāonī, however, says that the Begam بدکهن روان شد.

[2] The Akbarnama says that Todar Mal reported that the capture of the fort could be easily effected; and it appears from a note in p. 24 of Beveridge's trans. Vol. III, that he did so because, in his opinion, Akbar had been too long

ted a report. His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, strengthening himself by reliance on the help of Almighty God, started on the 25th Sha'bān (3rd December, 1572) from before the town of Baroda, and arrived on the 17th Ramazān (11th January, 1573) at a place one *karoh* from Surat. That same night, that sacred personage went close to the fort, and after examining its entrances and exits, distributed the batteries among the *amīrs*. After two or three days the camp moved forward; and a high pavilion was erected so near the fort that cannon balls and musket shots could reach it. The [1] Superintendent of the *Farāshkhāna* brought it to the emperor's notice, through the *amīrs*, that there was a tank in the neighbourhood of that halting place, called [2] Gopi-tālāb, and although it was close to the wall of the fort, still the height and the declivity of the ground, and some trees growing there would prevent cannon balls and musket shots reaching the place. A noble order was then issued for the removal of the royal pavilion to that site.

In short, within a short time the work of the siege reached to such a point, that the way of coming and going and of drawing water became closed. [3] And during this time some men detached

away from his capital, and there were many important matters calling for his attention there; and that Surat could be captured by his officers, aided by the prestige of his arms. Akbar agreed with Todar Mal's reasoning, but still judged it proper to go in person to Surat; but he also gave some orders for the government of the empire during his absence from the capital.

[1] He is called "the chief carpet-spreader" in Elliot, V, p. 348; but I suppose he was the officer in charge of tents and other equipages and furniture. I do not find him mentioned in Badāonī or in the Akbarnāma.

[2] It is called *Koli* or Kawāli talāb or balāb in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; and Golī táláb in the translation in Elliot, V. Badāonī does not mention it, but it appears from note 1, p. 26, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, that the correct name of the tank is Gopī tālāb, and it was so called from the name of the Hindu founder (Gopi) of Surat, about the end of the 15th century. Gopi wanted to call the place Suraj-or Suryapur, but the Muhammadan king of Gujrat preferred to give it a name, which was also that of the chapters of the *Qurān*. Gopi made a tank, and lined it with stone, and intended it to be the chief ornament of the city. The site of the tank is still known and is still called Gopi talāb, but it is now only a hollow and is used as a garden. The naming of the city by the name of the chapters of the *Qurān* is doubtful. Surat of course is a corruption of *Saurāshtra* the Sanskrit name of the country.

[3] The passage to "before the emperor" is taken from the MSS. The

themselves and captured a few elephants which Muhammad Husain Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza had entrusted to some *Zamīndārs*, for fear of their being seized by plunderers, and brought them before the noble eyes of the emperor. When the period of the siege had approached to two months, the fortress-capturing heroes, with the help of Divine beneficence, carried the batteries further forward; and completely shut up the entrances and the exits of the garrison; [1] and the common soldiers and the foot soldiers under the *amīrs*, threw so much earth close to the fort, that a great mound and a high stand for a battering ram were erected; and the artillery men and the musketeers placed cannon on its top, so that the garrison were reduced to great straits, and no one was able to move about, or even to raise his head, and every one sheltered himself, like so many rats, in holes. The men working at the mines, carried them to the foot of the fort, under the bastions, and exerted themselves in such a way that the accomplishment of the victory became a matter of today or tomorrow. The men in the fort descended from the zenith of pride and hauteur to the nadir of humility and helplessness. The wretched ungrateful Hamzabān and all the persons in the fort sent out from the fort [2] Maulāna Nizām-ud-dīn Lārī, who was an eloquent student to pray for quarter. The Maulāna coming to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world, begged for quarter, through the intervention of the *amīrs*, and the pillars of State. When the great *amīrs*,

earlier part of it occurs in the lith. ed. in a slightly different form, but the latter portion about the capture of the elephants does not occur in it, nor is it to be found in Elliot V, or in Badāonī; but the Akbarnāma mentions the incident, and says that the elephants were captured from Rājā Rām Deo, to whom they had been made over by the Mīrzas.

[1] The passage from "and the common," etc., to "today or tomorrow" does not occur in the lith. ed., but is taken from the MSS. where it is to be found with slight variations. The translation in Elliot V, contains a similar passage, but it contains the following sentence; "every hole big enough for a mouse was closed"; which, if the text from which the translation was made was identical with that in the MSS., which I have before me, viz., و همه در سوراخ همچون موش رفته متحصن گشتند, is altogether incorrect.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma he was the father-in-law of Hamzabān. He is called Mulla Nizām-ud-dīn in the translation of the Akbarnāma. Badāonī, like Nizām-ud-dīn, gives him the epithet Maulāna, but Mr. Lowe transliterates it as Mūlāna.

who had made excellent exertions, and carried the batteries forward, saw that the sea of the generosity and mercy (of the emperor) had come to ebullition, they pointed out, that as long as the garrison had any force and strength left in their hearts, they had shown their violence and hatred, but now that the capture of the fort was imminent, the prayer for quarter looked like taking oaths in despair. His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, the composition of whose nature is of mercy and humanity and patience and generosity, said:—

Verse:—

"For evil to return evil,
[1] To outward seeming, might be wise;
But those who to the soul have reached,
Have evil seen, and good have done."

Then Maulāna Nizām Lārī was honoured by being allowed to kiss the bed (of the emperor); and received permission to depart. He hastened to the fort, and conveyed the glad news to the garrison.

After that, a noble order was issued, that [2] Qāsim 'Ali Khān and Khwāja Daulat Nāzir should go with Maulāna Nizām into the fort, and assure Hamzabān and all the other people in it, of their safety, and bring them out with themselves. An order was also issued, that a number of trustworthy clerks should go to the fort, and take charge of all the property and things belonging to the people in the fort, whether live stock or dead stock; and writing down the names of all the persons who were in the fort should bring them before the noble eyes (of the emperor). Qasim 'Ali Khan and Khwāja Daulat Kalān produced Hamzabān with all the men, in accordance with the noble order in the place of the *Darbār*. Hamzabān in spite of his loquacity was unable to speak, and hung his head in

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[1] This line has different readings in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. One reading is بر اهل صورت نه نیکو بود The other which I have adopted is بر اهل صورت بود بخوردی It will be seen that the verses make a distinction between those who are satisfied with outward seeming, and those who penetrate to the souls of things.

[2] He is called Qāsim 'Ali Khān Baqqāl by Badāonī; and Khwāja Daulat Nāzir is called Khwāja Dost Kilān in the translation of the Akbarnāma, but it is said in a note that the variant Daulat for Dost is supported by some MSS., and by Badāonī. He is called Khwāja Daulat Kalān further down in the text.

shame. His Majesty in thanksgiving of the victory, granted freedom to the men, who had been in the fort, although they deserved [1] pains and penalty. Hamzabān and a few others however who were always ready for insurrections and disturbances were placed in custody after punishment. The great victory took place on the [2] 23rd Shawwāl, 980 A.H.

Verse:—

The world conqueror, Akbar Ghāzī, than whose sword,
Of a certainty, there is no key for the fortresses of the world;
He took by storm the fortress of Surat;
This victory, only his destiny auspicious did gain;
The date of the victory is [3] "wonderfully the fort he took"!
These deeds from the world-conqueror are not afar!

This hemistich also gives the date.

Hamzabān the fort of Surat surrendered.

On the following day (the emperor) went to inspect the fort, and [4] having gone inside the citadel, after much consideration and examination, he gave orders to the servants of the threshold about the repairs of the fort and its improvement. When he was inspecting the fort, some large mortars and [5] three great cannon (*zarbazan*) came before his noble eyes. These mortars were called *Sulaimāni*, for this reason, that [6] Sultān Sulaimān Khundkār of Rūm (Turkey)

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma Hamzabān's tongue was cut out.

[2] The Akbarnāma says that the garrison rendered homage to the emperor on Thursday, the 23rd Shawwāl (26th February, 1573).

[3] There are several variations in some of the lines, but they are not of much importance. I have adopted the readings which appeared to me to be the best.

[4] The two best MSS. have روز دیگر بتماشای قلعه بدرون حصار فرمودند The others have روز دیگر بر قلعه نمودند The lith. ed. has روز دیگر بتماشای قلعه و اصلاح امدن omitting the words between قلعه and اصلاح I have adopted the first reading, but I have considered it necessary to insert the word تشریف between بدرون حصار and فرمودند

[5] In the Persian text of Badāonī they are called ضرب زنگ

[6] He is called سلطان سلیمان خواند کار in the MSS., and in the lith. ed.

had sent them (together with other cannon which are in the fort of Jūnāgarh), with a large army, by the sea, in the year, when he made an attempt to seize the ports of Gujrāt. As the Turks were unable to do anything, on account of certain difficulties and obstacles, these mortars, and those which are in the fort of Jūnāgarh remained on the shore of the Arabian sea; and the Turks went back to their own country. These mortars lay on the sea shore, till the time when Khudawand Khān received the order for building the fort, and carried them all into the fort of Surat. Those which lay in the country of [1] Surath were carried away by the ruler of that country to Jūnāgarh. As the Sulaimani mortars were not specially required for the guarding and defence of the fort of Surat, a noble order was issued that they should be sent to the metropolitan city of Agra. The same day the reins of the government and defence of the fort of Surat, and the country around was placed in the controlling hand of Qulij Muhammad Khān, who was distinguished by proximity of rank.

On the last day of that month [2] Rajā Bahārjiu, Rajā of the

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and also in the Persian text of Badāoni; but خواند کار is omitted in the English translation in Elliot V, and also in the English translation of Badāonī. It does not also occur in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. The expedition referred to took place in 1538. The Sultān referred to is Sulaimān the great, the son of Salīm. It was under a Greek called Sulaimān Pasha. He reached Diu on 4th September, 1538 and besieged it, but the Portuguese made a brave defence, and Sulaimān abandoned the seige on the 6th November. The above is taken from note 2, page 41, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma (Vol. III). The note goes on to say that Sulaimān had landed these guns for Safar Agha (Rūmī Khān, also Khudāwānd Khān) to put in position. Afterward Safar Aghā brought them to Surat. It also says that another MS. of the Akbarnāma says that the Turkish expedition was unsuccessful, because the rulers of Gujrat regarded the Turks as more formidable than the Faringhis; and so sided with the latter, and did not supply the Turkish fleet with provisions.

[1] The translator of the Tabaqāt in Elliot V, makes a distinction between Surat, the city, and Surath, the province, and the spelling سورانه adopted here, in one of the MSS., and in the lith. ed. favours this. Another MS., however has جونه گدهه instead of Surath, and the other MSS. are very defective and omit the passage altogether.

[2] An account of Baglāna is given in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, page 48, and in note, I, in that page and also in Jarrett's

country of Baglāna sent Sharf-ud-dīn Husain Mīrza, under arrest and with a chain round his neck, to the threshold which is the asylum of the world. The latter had ten years before this, owing to evil deeds and unbefitting acts, some of which have been mentioned, in connection with previous events, had trod in the path of revolt and hostility and had raised the dust of disturbance and rebellion. During that time the fire of the wrath of the emperor had flamed up in connection with some political affairs, Sharf-ud-dīn Husain Mīrza was in accordance with the following verse:—

As long as you can instruct him with a stick,
Don't with the sword or poison or lassoe him slay;

reprimanded him, and made him over to custodians. When the noble mind was freed from anxiety by the accomplishment of all affairs connected with that *Sūba* on [1] Monday the 4th of Ziqā'da 980 A.H. he turned his steps towards Ahmadābād. When the sublime standards arrived in the territory of Bahroj, the mother of Changiz Khān loosened the tongue of plaint, and submitted to the noble attention, that Jhujār Khān Habshī had slain her son, without any reason, with the sword of injustice. An order was issued that Jhujār Khān should be brought into the place of inquiry and trial, for giving an answer to the charge. As on being questioned, he acknowledged that he had slain Changīz Khān, the imperial wrath ordered him to be thrown under the feet of an elephant of the name of Manmīl, and he thus received the retribution (of his deeds).

A NARRATION OF CERTAIN EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE SIEGE OF SURAT.

During the time that His Majesty was giving his attention to the conquest of the fort of Surat, certain incidents took place. Among these was the departure of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza to

translation, Vol. II, page 251. It is a northern subdivision of Nasik. The ruler of the territory for the time was called Baharjiu. Sharf-ud-dīn Husain Mīrza's wanderings and adventures are narrated in page 42 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III.

[1] The Akbarnāma gives Monday the 3rd Zi-l-qa'ada (8th March, 1573) as the date of the commencement of the march to Ahmadābād.

Hindustan, for the purpose of creating disturbances, [1] and his being slain in the neighbourhood of Multān, which will be mentioned in its proper place. At the time when Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza having carried away the capital of his life in safety from the battle of Sarnāl, became united with Muhammad Husain Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza in the neighbourhood of Pattan; and brought the facts of his own flight, and of the seige of Surāt under discussion, [2] the conference of the Mīrzas decided, that Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza should proceed to Hindustan and raise disturbances there; and Muhammad Husain Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza should get Shīr Khān Fūlādī to join them, and should besiege Pattan; for on hearing this news His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī would withdraw his hand from the siege of Surat, and return to Ahmadābād, in order to remedy these two disturbances. According to this agreement, the Mīrzas got Shīr Khān Fūlādī to join them, and they besieged Pattan. Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha repaired the fort and prepared to defend it, and submitted a report of the fact to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. On receiving this news, his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī ordered that Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, Shāh Muhammad Khān, Muhammad Murād Khān, and Naurang Khān, and all the *jāgīrdārs* of Mālwah, Rāisīn and Chanderī, and some other *amīrs*, who had been attending on the victorious stirrups, such as Rustam Khān, and 'Abdul-Matlab Khān, and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī Dehlavī should go to Ahmadābād, and in concert with Ā'zam Khān, endeavour to crush this wretched band. The Khāns in conjunction with Ā'zam Khān started for Pattan. When they arrived at a place five *karohs* from that place, Muhammad Husain Mīrza and Shīr Khān Fūlādī, started from the foot of the fort, and came forward to give

[1] The sentence about Ibrahīm Husain Mīrza's being slain in the neighbourhood occurs in two of the MSS. but does not occur in the lith. ed. or in the translation of Elliot V.

[2] The Akbarnāma however says that the Mīrzas quarrelled among themselves. When Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza joined the others after his defeat at Sarnāl, a discussion arose, and from criticism they came to violent language, and from that to a quarrel. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, who was skilful as a swordsman, and distinguished for his want of sense, was displeased with his brother and separated from them and foolishly resolved to make an attack on the capital. Badāonī agrees with our author.

battle. [1]The Mīrzas attacked the vanguard, and overwhelming it, attacked the right wing of Ā'zam Khān's army, where Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān was stationed and dispersed that body also. Shāh Muhammad Atka received wounds and fled, and the nobles of these two forces fled to Ahmadābād; and the camp of Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān was plundered and sacked. [2]Naurang Khān and Rustam Khān and 'Abdul Matlab Khān exerted themselves bravely. They say that Rustam Khān struck such blows with his sword on the heads and hauberks of the enemy, that the edge of his sword looked like the teeth of a saw.

When Khan-i-Ā'zam saw the condition of the right and left wings, and the death of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī, he wanted to gallop his horse for avenging it, and himself ride to the battle field. Shāh Bidāgh Khān, who had seen much fighting, caught the bridle of Khān-i-Ā'zam's horse, and did not let him go. But when the troops of the enemy dispersed in search of plunder, and only a few men remained in the centre of their army, Khān-i-Ā'zam; coming into the line of battle in company with Shāh Bidāgh Khān, drove away the centre of the enemy's army, and with Divine help, and the support of the Almighty, the breeze of victory and triumph and the zephyr of conquest and good fortune began to blow on the standards of the servants of the emperor, from the expanse of victory; and each one of the enemies escaped in a different direction. Shīr Khān Fūlādi went to Amīn Khān, the governor of Jūnāgarh, in great weakness and humility, and obtained comfort there; and Muhammad Husain Mīrza went towards the Deccan. This great victory, which was achieved, entirely through Divine help, and the

[1] Slightly different accounts of the battle are given in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III pages 34-35. Badāonī's account, Persian text Vol. II, page 145, and English translation Vol. II pages, 151-52 is also somewhat different.

[2] Only one MS. inserts a couplet here بخون از در و دشت شد شسته گرد بر خون همي اسپ و مرد *i.e.*, the dust of the doors and the desert was washed off with blood; men and horses all swam in the blood. The second line, as it is, is meaningless. If the word شنا is inserted before گرد then the line would have the meaning I have given it. The sentence which follows about Naurang Khān occurs in both MSS. but is omitted from the lith ed. and also from the translation of Elliot V.

auspicious fortune of His Majesty the emperor, took place on the 18th Ramazān 989 A.H. (22nd January, 1573).

After arranging the affairs of *Sarkār* Pattan, Khān-i-Ā'zam entrusted, as before, the government and defence of the fort to Saiyyad Ahmad Bārha, and himself started for acquiring the good fortune of kissing the threshold. He arrived at the foot of the fort of Surat on the 20th Shawwāl, and obtained the good fortune of attending on his Majesty, and he reported the services, and acts of devotion of each of the *amīrs*, and of all the servants of the threshold. On the way, he sent Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and other *amīrs* to the town of Ma'mūrābād, so that they might chastise Ikhtīyār-ul-Mulk of the perverted destiny, and other bodies of men, who had fled and had taken shelter in forts and in jungles. When Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān arrived in the town of Ma'mūrābād, he sent troops, and brought Ikhtīyār-ul-mulk and other Abyssininas from the jungles, and took possession of the forts, and left armed bodies in them. At the time, when his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī travelled to the metropolitan city of Ahmadābād, after the conquest of Surat, Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and the other *amīrs*, who had been with him in the expedition, received the honour of kissing the emperor's feet in the town of Mahmūdābād.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [1] Wednesday, the 6th Zi-l-Qa'da 980 A.H. [2] His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī made his sublime

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[1] The translation in Elliot V, has Wednesday, the 5th Zil-ka'da 980 A.H., 11th March, 1573. The Akbarnāma (Beveridge's Trans., Vol. III, page 45) however says that the year began "after the lapse of eight minutes and seven seconds of the night of the 6th Zi-ul-qa'ada 980 (12th March 1573)."

[2] One MS. inserts here, حضرت خليفه الهي در نواحي احمد آباد تشريف داشتند ، كه بنياد نوروز سلطاني و سال هردهم الهي شده هر روز بانواع عيش و خومي ميگذشت. روز جمعه سلخ ذي قعده سنه مذكور در احمد اباد نزول اجلال شد ؛ و ده روز بجهت سر انجام احوال سپاه و انتظام اوضاع مملكت دران بقعه جنت مثال توقف فرموده ، راي علي چنان تقاضا نمود ، كه زمام حكومت اين ولايت و ايالت اين ناحيت بخوانين

halt in the town of Ahmadābād on the last day of Zi-l-Qa'da. He entrusted the government of the country of Gujrat to Khān-ā'azam;

انکه خیل، که از اول عهد شباب و جوانی، نقد حیات و سرمایه زندگانی را در حصول مرضیات حضرت خلیفه الهی صرف نموده اند، تفویض فرمایند؛ و درمیان این طبقه شریفه، خان اعظم اگر چه بحسب سنه و سال از اعمام خود را (؟) خورد بود، اما چون در نظر شفقت خلیفه الهی تربیت یافته، دلایل فرزانگی از شمایل اوضاع او هویدا بود، ایالت ولایت گجرات عموماً و احمد اباد خصوصاً بید اقتدار او سپردند؛ و حکومت سرکار پٹن بمیر محمد خان، مشهور بخان‌کلان، که عم بزرگ خان اعظم بود، و بمزید صولت و سطوت اشتهار داشت، نامزد شد؛ و فرزندان خان مشار الیه را، که فاضل محمد خان و فرخ خان باشند، نیز در جایگیر به پدر شریک اعتبار نموده، دران سرکار گذاشتند، و حراست سرکار بروچ و ندربار و سلطانپور و بروده و پرگنات دیگر بقطب الدین محمد خان که از اعمام خان اعظم، و بمزید جمعیت مشهور بود، و پسر او نورنگ خان، که جوان حلیم قابل لایق تربیت است، تفویض فرمودند؛ و پرگنه دولقه و دندوقه و بعضی پرگنات به عم دیگر او شریف محمد خان، و پسرش باز بهادر خان جاگیر نمود؛ و جمع امرا کبار و جاگیرداران را به متابعت و مطاوعت خان اعظم امر فرمودند *

* then as in the text.

This passage may be translated as, "His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī was in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād, when the beginning of the *Nauroz Sultāni* (the imperial New Year's day) and of the 18th year of the Ilāhī era took place. Every day was passed in various kinds of pleasure and enjoyment. On Friday, the last day of the Zi-qa'ada of the aforesaid year, the emperor arrived in Ahmadābād, and ten days were passed in arranging matters connected with the condition of the army, and the regulation of the affairs of the country, in that paradise like place. The sublime intellect decided, that the reins of the government of that country and of the rule of those districts should be placed in the hands of the Khāns of the *Atka Khail* (tribe), who from the beginning of their time of adolescence and youth, had expended the cash of their life and the capital of their existence, in carrying out the wishes of his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. In this noble tribe the Khān Ā'azam, although in the matter of years and age, he was younger than his uncles, yet as he had received his training under the affectionate eye of the emperor, and the signs of wisdom were patent in his conduct and behaviour, the rule of the country of Gujrat generally, and of Ahmadābād specially was placed in his hand of authority. The government of the *sarkār* of Pattan was entrusted to Mīr Muhammad Khān, known as Khān Kalān, who was the great uncle (father's elder brother) of the Khān Ā'azam, and was famed for his great power and dignity. The sons of the above-named Khān, Fāzil Muhammad Khān and Farrukh Khān, were also associated with him, in authority, in the *jāigīr*, and were left in that *sarkār*. The defence of the

and he started from Ahmadābād on the day of the 'Īd-uz-zuha, the 10th of Zi-l-hijjah 980 and turned towards the place of the throne of the *Khilāfat*. On the 18th Zi-l-hijjah from the camp in the town of Sītāpūr, one of the dependencies of *sarkār* Pattan, he gave permission to Khān-Ā'azam and the other *amīrs* to go to their respective *jāigīrs*, after conferring on them robes of honour (such as a king might confer), and Arab horses with saddles and bridles of gold. At the same camp, he conferred royal favours on [1] Muzaffar Khān, and conferred on him the government of the *sarkārs* Sārangpūr and Ujjain, belonging to Mālwah, and having conferred on him a *jāigīr* of the value of two *krors* and fifty *lakhs*, granted him leave to go to the seat of his *jāigīr*. He then started by way of Jālor by successive marches to the metropolis of Fathpūr. When the royal cavalcade arrived within one stage of Ajmīr a report sent by Sa'īd Khān, governor of Multān, arrived, to the effect that Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, being caught in the claws of destiny, had died. The details of this brief statement are that, when Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, arrived by forced marches from Gujrat to the neighbourhood of Mīrath, he plundered the first caravan that was going from Gujrat to Agra, at a place eleven *karohs* from Mirath. When he arrived in the city of Nāgor, Farrukh Khān, son

sarkār of Baroj and Nadarbar and Sultānpūr and Baroda and some other *parganas* was made over to Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, who was an uncle of the Khān Ā'azam, and was noted for his large following; and his son Naurang Khān, who was a young man, calm, able and capable of receiving great training. The *parganas* of Dulqa and Danduqa and some other *parganas* became the *jāgīr* of another uncle of the Khān Ā'azam, Sharīf Muhammad Khān, and his son Bāz Bahādur Khān, and all the great *amīrs* and *jagirdars* were ordered to obey, and comply with the orders of the Khān Ā'azam." This passage does not occur in any of the other MSS. or in the lith. ed. or in the translation of Elliot V, or as far as I can find out, in Badāonī; but some of the facts mentioned in it are given with slight variations in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation Vol. III, p. 46; where it is said that "H.M. encamped in the neighbourhood of Ahmadādād. In ten days the affairs of the country were arranged. He made over the charge of the province to the Khān Ā'azam. Sarkār Pattan was bestowed on the Khān Kalān. Dhūlqa and Danduqa were given to Saiyad Hamid Bukhārī."

[1] Late king of Gujrāt, or rather the son of the late king Sultan Mahmūd Gujrātī. The words ارزانی داشتند which mean 'conferred' have been incorrectly translated in Elliot V, page 353 as "were taken from the Rānī and granted

of Khān Kalān, who was the governor of that place, under his father, withdrew in to the fort and sheltered himself in it. Mīrza Ibrāhīm Husaīn plundered the houses of some *Faqīrs* and poor people which were outside the [1] city, and marched towards Nārnol. Rāi Rām and Rāi Singh and the men, about one thousand horsemen, whom his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had, at the time of going to Gujrat, left at Jodhpūr, for the purpose of keeping the road open came by forced marches in pursuit of the Mīrza to Nāgor, and in conjunction with Farrukh Khān, went in persuit of him. They came up to the Mīrza, about sunset, in the neighbourhood of the village of [2] Kahtaunī, which is twenty *karohs* from Nāgor. The Mīrza fled, and disappeared. As it was the second Ramazān 980 A.H. and the troops had halted near a large reservoir for the purpose of breaking the fast, the Mīrza went a short distance, and when night came on, returned and attacked them from two sides, and rained arrows on them. The royal troops stood firm and defended themselves. The Mīrza divided his men into two detachments, and showered arrows on the royal troops from two sides, three several times; but when he saw that he was unable to do anything, he fled. The detachment, which had been separated from him, became lost in the darkness of the night; and were most

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to him." The value of Muzaffar Khān's *jāigīr* is stated in the text of the translation in Elliot V, as fifty *lakhs*, though it is said in a note that Badāonī says two and a half *krors* in *jaīgīr*, Sārangpur, Ujjain, and the whole of Mālwa. In the translation of Badāonī Vol. II, p. 153, the Persian in Vol. II, page 141 بمظفر خان دو نیم کرور جاگیر کردہ ، و سارنگپور واجین باتمامی ولایت مالوہ مفوض داشتہ has been translated as "having presented Muzaffar Khān with two and a half *cosses* as *jaīgīr*, and having given away to whom it does not appear Sārangpūr and Ujjain and the whole of the district of Malwah on the day of the festival of *Qorbān*", etc.

[1] One MS. inserts here و یکروز بودہ , *i.e.* and having remained there one day.

[2] The MSS. have كهتوني and لكهنوتي. The latter is manifestly incorrect. Two other MSS. do not give the name of the place, but say at a place twenty *karohs* from Nārnaul. The trans. in Elliot V, has 'Katholi,' and says in a note "Kahtoli." Badāonī, Vol. II, p. 150 Kahntoni, Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 8 and "Katholi Faizi." The Persian text of Badāonī by Capt. W. N. Lees has كهتولي, and the English translation has K'hatouli; Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma has Kahutoni; and a note says "Also called Kahtoli and Katholi."

of them seized and slain in the villages and hamlets in the neighbourhood; and about one hundred of them fell in to the hands of Farrukh Khān and the *amīrs* of Jodhpūr. Mīrza Ibrāhīm Husain, with about three hundred men, who were with him, plundered the towns on the way; and crossing the Jumna and the Ganges, went to the *pargana* of A'azampūr, one of the dependencies of Sambal, which formerly, when he was in the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, was his *jāīgīr*. He remained there for five or six days, and then marched towards the Punjab, and sacked the towns of Pānipat, Sonpat, and Karnāl, and most of the places that were on his way. A large number of plunderers and turbulent men joined him and he caused much trouble to the people.

When he arrived in the Punjab, Husain Qūlī Khān Turkmān, who was the Amīr-ul-umrā of the Punjāb, and was with the troops of that Sūba, besieging the fort of Kangra, which is celebrated as Nagarkot, heard the news of his arrival; and in concert with his brother Ismai'el Qūlī Khān and Mīrza Yusuf Khān, and Shāh Ghāzī Khān Turkmān, and Fateh Khān Jabārī and Ja'far Khān, son of Qazāq Khān, and other *amīrs* came up; by forced marches, with the Mīrza, opposite the town of Talamba, which is forty *karohs* from Multān. The Mīrza had at this time gone out hunting, and returning without preparation, and in disorder, commenced the battle. His men, who had separated from him, could not reach him. His brother Masa'ūd Husain Mīrza, who had come up before him, attacked Husain Quli Khān's army, and was taken prisoner. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza came up after him, and without doing anything fled. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Multan, he wanted to cross the river Gāra, which is the name of the united rivers Bīah and Satlej. As it was night, and there was no boat available, he halted on the bank of the river, when a body of [1] *Jhīls*, who are a kind of fishermen, and

[1] Only one MS. gives the name as جهيل; the others do not give it. It is transliterated as Jhils in Elliot V. Badāonī Persian text has جهيل, with a variant جهيل. The English translation has *Jhils*. The Akbarnāma does not mention their attack on the Mīrza. On the other hand it says that he was headed by some Biluchis; he was wounded and took shelter in the house of a Biluchi. Sa'īd Khān heard this and seized him. Badāonī says that "one or two faithful servants of the Mīrza dressed him in the garments of a *kalandar* * *

are *rayats* of the district of Multan, made a night attack, and showered arrows on him. An arrow struck him on the throat; and seeing that his affairs were desperate, he changed his dress and quietly separated himself from the men who were with him, and whose number amounted to four hundred, and wanted to escape in the guise of a *qalandar*, and seclude himself somewhere. Some of the men of that part of the country recognised him; and seizing him took him to Sa'īd Khān, the governor of Multan, and he died while he was in prison under the latter's orders.

In short, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī arrived, with the dust of the road on him, at the tomb of His Holiness, the alighting place of illumination, the pole-star of those who have reached God, Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishti, may his tomb be sanctified! on the [1] 10th of the sacred month of Muharram in the year 981 A.H. corresponding with the 18th year of the Ilāhī era. He performed the duty of circumambulation, and made the attendants of the holy tomb, and generally, all the residents of the place rich and devoid of wants, by his offerings and benefactions. During the week, that he stayed in that sacred place, he went there every morning and evening on pilgrimage to that auspicious spot, and prayed for help in all affairs small and great.

Couplet:—

He who to a *Darvish*, went for help,
If on Faridūn he smote, he still did win.

After that he turned the bridle of determination, towards the centre of the circle of the Khilāfat; and when *pargana* [2] Sangānīr became the place of pitching the noble and grand pavilions, he left the auspicious camp there, and himself, in his sacred person, with

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* * * In his extreme weakness they brought him, * * * * to the house of a hermit *Darvish*, Shaikh Zakariyā by name, who * * * * secretly sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'īd Khān at Multan."

[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. has ۱۰ *i.e.* 10th. The translation in Elliot V, has 12th. Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, page 54, has 11th Muharram 981, 13th May, 1573.

[2] The name is somewhat doubtful in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and looks more like Bikānīr than Sangānīr; but Elliot V, and Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma have Sangānīr; and I have accepted it. A note in the latter says in 'Jaipur.'

his special attendants, by forced marches started for the capital (*Bait-ush-Sharf*). In the course of two days and a night he traversed great distances, and arrived in the town of [1] Bajūna, which is twelve *karohs* from Fathpūr; and in order to have an auspicious moment (for his arrival in the capital), he stayed there for three days; and on the 2nd Safar of that year, corresponding with the 18th year of the Ilāhī era, the residents of Fathpūr rubbed their proud heads against the sky, on account of (the arrival of) his honoured steps.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF HUSAIN QULI KHĀN TO NAGARKOT, AND OF HIS RETURN.

[2] As the sacred disposition (of the emperor) became [3] alienated from Rājā Jaichand, Rājā of Nagarkot, he ordered him to be impri-

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[1] The MSS. have بجونه, Bajūna and جونه Jūna. The lith. ed. has جونه گده Jūnagarh. Elliot V, has Bachūna and Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma has Bacūna, with a note "or Bajuna but I have not identified the place."

[2] One MS. inserts here, و تفصیل این انست که برهمنداس نام برهمن باد فروش، که مداحی ستایش ارباب دولت پیشه ایشان است، (و) در فهم و ادراک از امثال و اقران امتیاز تمام داشت، وشعر هندي خوب گفتي، سالها در خدمت حضرت خلیفه الهي در زمرهٔ مخصوصان و ندیمان مجلس منتظم گشته خطاب کبرای یافته بود، و کب بزبان (هندي) شعری را در مداحي این طایفه به ارباب مکنت میگویند و رای برگ را گویند بعني بزرگ طایفه باد فروش قریب به معنی ملک الشعرا نیز باشد. then as in the text, which may be translated as "and the particulars of this are, that a Brahman bard of the name of Brahmandās, the profession of which sect is the praise and glorification of people of wealth, and who in understanding and intellect had great distinction over his equals and rivals, and composed excellent Hindi poetry; and had for years been in the service of his Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī and had been enlisted in the band of his intimates, and of courtiers of his assemblies and had received the title of *Kab-Rāi*; (*Kab* in the Hindi language is the name given to poetry in praise of this sect of people in power and *Rāi* means great or a chief, *i.e.*, a chief of the sect of bards), which is also similar in meaning to a prince of poets. In short as in this time"; then as in the text. A somewhat similar passage is given in the translation in Elliot V, where it is described as "a marginal addition apparently taken from Badāūni." The analogous passage in Badāonī is to be found in the Persian text, page 161, and in the English translation, page 164.

[3] The cause or reason of the alienation of the emperor from Rājā Jaichand

soned. The Rājā's son [1] Bidhichand, who was of tender years, [2] and an unbroken branch, considering himself to be in his father's place, and counting his father to be dead, rebelled. His Majesty conferring the title of Bīrbar on Kab Rāi, bestowed the country of Nagarkot on him. And a *farmān* was issued to Husain Qūli Khān and the *amīrs* of the Punjab, that they should wrest Nagarkot from the possession of Bidhichand, and make it over to Rājā Bīrbar. *Bīr* in the Hindi language means brave, or a hero, and *bar* means great, that is the [3] Rājā who is brave and great. When Raja Bīrbar arrived in Lahore, Husain Qūli Khān in concert with Mīrza Yusuf Khān and Ja'far Khān and Fath Khān Jabārī, and Mubārak Khān Kakhar and Shāh Ghāzī Khān, and all the *amīrs* of the Punjab started towards Nagarkot.

When the victorious troops arrived near Damhari, the custodian of that place [4] Janunu by name, who was a relation of Jai Chand, and was proud of the strength of the fort, further strengthened it; and drawing himself into a corner, sent his *vakīls*, with tribute, and with the message that he could not come himself to render service, on account of his fears, and for the care of his own safety; but he was willing to discharge the duties of guarding the road. Husain Quli Khān bestowed robes on the *vakīls*, and gave them leave to go. He left a detachment of his retaineers, in the way of *Thānadārī*, (a

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is not mentioned anywhere as far as I can find out; but it appears from Badāonī, that he was the governor or commandant of the fort and was at the time in attendance in the imperial court.

[1] The name is given as بدیچند, Badīchand in one MS., and in the lith. ed., and بدیهچند, Bidhichand in another MS. The translation in Elliot V, has Badichand. Badāonī has بدهي چند in the Persian text, and Bidhichand in the English translation. Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma has Badī Chand. I have adopted Bidhichand.

[2] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have شاخ نا شکسته. I do not understand what this means.

[3] Bīrbar according to Sanskrit grammar, means a great hero or warrior, a chief among heroes.

[4] The name appears to be جذونو, Janunu, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. He is called Choto in the translation in Elliot V. No name appears to be mentioned in Badāonī or in the Akbarnāma.

guard-station), in the village which stood on the road, and went forward.

When the camp arrived at the fort of Kotla, which in respect of its height laid claim to rivalry with the sky, and which had formerly belonged to Rājā Ramchand, Rājā of [1]Gwālīār, and which Rājā Dharam Chand and Rājā Jaichand had forcibly taken possession of, the retainers of Rājā Jaichand, who had been appointed to defend and guard it, put their hands to their muskets and bows and stones, and caused injuries to a body of foot soldiers belonging to the camp, who had gone out to plunder. Husain Qūlī Khān, on hearing this, mounted his horse, and in concert with other *amīrs*, surveyed the environs of the fort, and climbed to the top of the hill which was opposite to it, and on which batteries could be erected. They then with great labour took some cannon, which they had carried with them in that expedition, to the top of that hill, and shot some balls. The [2]house of the commandant of the fort was shattered, and a large body of the garrison fell under its walls. There was great panic among the people in it. When evening approached the artillery men returned to the camp, leaving a detachment in the battery. The Rajput garrison frightened by the shocks caused by the artillery, watched an opportunity, and fled during the night. When Husain Qūli Khān heard this news in the morning, he beat the marching drum, and going to the fort made it over to the Rājā of Gwāliār, to whose ancestors it had in former times belonged; but left a garrison in it, and continued his march.

As trees were crowded together in such a way that even ants and snakes could make their way in that jungle with difficulty, Husain Qūli Khān ordered, that the foot soldiers should everyday cut down some of the jungle, and open out a road. Then in the early part of Rajab in the year 980 A.H. corresponding with the 17th year of the Ilāhī era, he arrived near the polo garden of Rājā Jaichand which was near Nagarkot. The troops in their first attack conquered with the strength of their brave and powerful arms, the citadel of Bhūl, in which there was a temple of Mahāmāi (the great

[1] Gwāliar in the hills and not the Gwālīar not far from Agra.

[2] The words قلعه شقدار عمارت have been translated in Elliot V, as the fort's cracked masonry.

mother) a goddess of the Hindus. No one except the attendants of the goddess could go there. A number of the Rajputs, who had determined on their own death, stood firm, and performed deeds of valour; and at last receiving blows from the sanguinary swords fell down on the dust of destruction. Many Brāhmans, who had for years been attendants of the temple, and had never without necessity, been away from it, were killed. About two hundred black cows, which Hindus had left in that temple as offerings, and which in this great tumult, had considered the precincts of the temple, to be a place of safety, had collected together there. Some savage Turks, at such a time, when arrows and musket-shots followed each other like rain drops, killed each one of the cows. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and splashed it on the roof and walls of the temple.

As the outer fortifications of Nagarkot had now come into the possession of the army, the buildings there were pulled down, and levelled with the ground, to make room for the camp. After that the siege was commenced, and covered ways and batteries were constructed. Some pieces of large cannon were brought to the foot of the hill, which was situated in front of the fort, and every day some shots were fired at the fort and at the palace of the Rājā. It so happened, that one day the superintendent of the artillery, [1] having ascertained the place where Rājā Bidhichand had his meals, fired some large balls at that time, and they struck a wall and about eighty persons were killed. Among them one was Bhoj Deo, son of Rājā Takht Mal, Rājā of Ma'u.

Letters came from Lahore, in the early part of Shawwāl, to the effect that Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza had crossed the Satlad (Satlej), and was advancing towards Dibālpūr. [2] Husain Quli Khan became

[1] The reading in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. is اتفاقاً روزی کار فرمای توپخانه جای را که راجه بدهي چند بطعام خوردن مشغول بود مشخص ساخته در وقت which has, I think been incorrectly translated, in Elliot V, as "One day the commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place, which the Rājā had thought to be safe and in which he was sitting at meal."

[2] In the same way حسین قلي خان متفکر گشته مضمون خطوط را بمقتضای مصلحت وقت از جمیع امرا مخفي میداشت has, I think been incorrectly translated as "Husain Kuli Khān held a secret council with the *amīrs* about the

anxious, and considering it advisable under the circumstances of the time, kept the purport of the letters concealed from the *amīrs*. As at that time a great scarcity had occurred in the army and the [1]garrison had made proposals of peace, Husain Qūli considered it necessary to give his consent to a peace. The *kāfirs* agreed to give much tribute of various kinds; and among these five *mans* of gold by Akbarshāhī weight, and various kinds of stuff as tribute for his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī were accepted.

Verse:—

Gold and treasure heavier than arm can bear,
So that e'en a hill would fall in the scale by their weight;
Were made ready for the threshold of the Shāh.
So that each hill to the threshold bore a hill!

And in front of the palace of Rājā Jaichand they laid the foundation of a mosque. Working during that and the following day, they erected the niche which the worshippers face, and after it had been completed, on a Friday in the middle of Shawwāl 980 A.H., a pulpit was erected, and Hāfiz Muhammad [2]Bāqīr read the *Khutba* in the illustrious name of the emperor. When he commenced to recite the auspicious titles of his Majesty, the emperor, much gold was showered upon his head. As peace had now been concluded, the *Khutba* had been read, and the faces of *darhams* and *dīnārs* had been adorned with the illustrious name, Husain Qūli Khān turned back and turned his attention to the destruction of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza.

In the town of [3]Jamārī, he honoured himself by rendering

course necessary to be pursued." But it should be mentioned that contrary to what is stated in the text, the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 51 says "the work of the siege was nearly ended when the news came of Ibrāhim Husain M's attack on the Punjab. When the loyal officers heard of this they held a consultation." What happened after the consultation need not be mentioned here, except that it does not at all agree with the text.

[1] I think the translation of the words سکان قلعه حرف صلح درمیان داشتند as "the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace" in page 358 beats everything else.

[2] The name is written as باقي Bāqī and باقیر Bāqīr in the MS. and باقر Bāqar in the lith. ed. It is printed as Bakir in the translation in Elliot V.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. and the translation in Elliot V, has Jamārī. Another MS. has Jamyārī. Badāonī has Chamārī.

service to the leader of the walkers in the path of true religion, Khwāja 'Abd-us-Shahīd. The latter giving him glad tidings of victory bestowed on him his own special garment, and gave him leave to go forward, giving his blessings and prayers; and on arriving in the town of Talamba, he was distinguished by victory and triumph, the details of which have already been mentioned.

As his Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had returned from Gujrat with victory and triumph, and had taken up his abode in the metropolis of Fathpūr, Husain Qūli Khān turned in that direction to render him homage, taking Masa'ūd Husain Mīrza with him; and attained to the good fortune of kissing the threshold. Masa'ūd Husain Mīrza was brought before his Majesty's eyes. The other prisoners, who were about three hundred in number, were passed before the noble eyes [1] with cowhides round their necks in grotesque shapes. At the time the false-seeing eyes of Masa'ūd Husain Mīrza had been sewn up. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, from his great innate generosity ordered that the eyes should be opened. He also ordered, that most of the prisoners should be released, but a few who were the heads and the leaders of the disturbance were made over to jailors. The same day Sa'īd Khān also had the good fortune of rendering homage. He threw the head of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza down, which after the latter's death had been separated from his body, and which he had brought with him, in front of the court, and was honoured with great favours.

Although there was no further need for effort in the country of Gujrat, and most of the forts in that country had come into the possession of the servants of the emperor, still he granted to each one of the servants of the threshold who had attended on the victorious stirrups, in the course of that expedition, royal favours; and sent them again to aid Ā'azam Khān. And not even three months had passed from the date of the return of the royal forces to the pedestal of the throne of the Caliphate, when the news of fresh

[1] The meaning of this absurd and undignified proceeding is not at all clear. Abul Fazl says "they were wrapped up in cowhides from which the horns had not been removed; and thereby *excited great joy at court*!" It is something though not much to the credit of Akbar, that he *mercifully pardoned* these wicked men! and ordered that they should be set free from such a dress.

disturbances began to come in succession from Gujrāt, and a petition for reinforcement came from Ā'azam Khān.

A Narrative of some Incidents which occurred in the Country of Gujrāt after the Arrival of the Auspicious Army at the Capital.

When his Majesty the Bādshāh, the protector of the people, returned to the metropolitan city of Fathpūr, after regulating the affairs of the country of Gujrāt, the rebels and disturbers of the peace, who had on account of the strength and power of the victorious army hid themselves in nooks and corners, and had remained quiescent, raised their heads again. Among them were Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk Gujrātī, who collected the Abyssinians and the men of Gujrāt and took possession of the city of Ahmadnagar, and the surrounding country, and had the intention of attacking Ahmadābād; and Muhammad Husain Mīrza, who returned from the Deccan with the determination to reconquer the fort of Surat. Qūlij Khān, who was the *jāgīrdār* there, strengthened the fortifications and stood ready to fight. Muhammad Husain Mīrza therefore abandoned the idea of taking Surat, and [1] attempted with forced marches to get to the port of Kambāyet. Hasan Khān [2] Karkarāq, who was the *shiqdār* (governor) there being unable to meet him, fled by a different road and arrived at Ahmadābād. The Khān-A'azam sent Naurang Khān and Saiyyad Hāmid Bukhārī, to put down Muhammad Husain Mīrza; and himself marched towards Ahmadnagar and Idar, in order to crush the disturbance caused by Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk. When Naurang Khān and Saiyyad Muhammad Bukhārī arrived in the vicinity of Kambāyat, Muhammad Husain Mīrza came out of the city, and took up a position in front of them. For a few days there were sanguinary conflicts

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, before going to Kambāyet (or Cambay), he went to Baroj or (Broach), "which he took owing to the unfaithfulness of Qutb-ud-dīn's servants."

[2] He is called Karkarāf in the lith. ed., and Karkarāh in Elliot V, and Hasan Khān (Khazānchī) in the text of Beveridge's Akbarnāma, Vol. III, p. 59. According to note 3 in the same page, "the correct title is Karkarāq, which is a Turkish word meaning wardrobe or keeper of wardrobe. Kurk means fur, and the word is properly Kurkiarāq."

between them; and [1]Saiyyad Jalál, son of Saiyyad Bahá-ud-dín Bukhárí, who was enlisted in the band of *amírs*, was slain in the course of one of these.

At last Muhammad Husain Mírza, finding that he was not equal to the bádsháh's great destiny, fled from before Naurang Khán and Saiyyad Hámid, and went and joined Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk. The Khán-Á'azam, who had gone to put down Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk, and was stationed in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar, sent troops, several times to attack him; and for a few days successively there were severe battles between them, between Ahmadnagar and Idar: and [2]victory remained undecided. At this time news came that the troops of the sons of Shír Khán Fuládí, and of the son of Jujhár Khán Habshí, who had been killed in retribution of the murder of Chengíz Khán, and Muhammad Husain Mírza had joined with the enemy; and their numbers having increased day by day, they intended that they should rapidly march to Ahmadábád by a different road. The Khán-Á'azam on hearing this news started on a march to Ahmadábád, and on arrival there sent a messenger to Bahroj to summon Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán. The latter came to Ahmadábád with his army, and joined him. Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk and Muhammad Husain Mírza and the other hostile leaders collected twenty thousand horsemen, comprising Mughals and Gujrátis and Habshís and Afgháns and Rajputs, and commenced hostility in the neighbourhood of Ahmadábád. The Rájá of Idar also kept up a connection and alliance with that ill-fated crew.

When they arrived near Ahmadábád, Khán-Á'azam and Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán shut themselves up in that city, for the reason that they had no confidence in some of the leaders who had bodies of retainers. Every day however they sent out a body of men, who fought bravely at the foot of the fort. In these engagements, one day, Fázil Muhammad Khán, son of Khán Kalán sallied out of the fort, and fought bravely with the enemy, and hurled a number of

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[1] According to the Akbarnáma (Beveridge's trans. Vol. III, p. 60), it was Saiyyad Bahá-ud-dín himself, who displayed great bravery, and offered up his life.

[2] One MS. has هزیمت, rout or defeat, after فتح: but there should be a و or a ل between the two words.

them down on the dust of destruction; but at last attained to martyrdom from a wound caused by a spear. The Khān-Ā'azam sent daily reports of the occurrences, and asked for reinforcements, and also expressed a wish for the advent of the [1] sublime standards. The world-adorning intellect then decided, that he should raise the standard of determination a second time towards Gujrat; and having purified the fields of that country from the contamination of the existence of the rebels, uproot the tree of the hopes of the infidels.

Couplet:—

The cloud of victory did determine,
That one drop of it should lay all the dust.

[2] As the petitions of the Khān-Ā'azam asking for reinforcements arrived in rapid succession, his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī summoned the managers of the imperial affairs, and the superintendents of the direction of imperial works, and ordered them to prepare the equipages for the expedition. As the [3] first expedition had lasted for a year, and the victorious troops had, on account of the prolonged period, become destitute of the necessary equipments, and they had not had so much time since their return, that they could collect money from their *jāigīrs*, and repair the deficiencies in their accoutrements, his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī opened his hand, which was liberal like the sea, to disburse money; and bestowed in the shape of allowances and rewards much gold and unbounded treasure from his full treasury on the army which was splendid like the firmament; and he also bestowed much attention in providing munitions of war. He sent on in advance in charge of Shujā'at Khān the [4] imperial

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[1] One MS. inserts here كه همعنان قضا و قدر و همنشين فتح و فيروزى مي باشد *i.e.* "which rides bridle by bridle with fate and destiny and sits side by side with victory and triumph," or are inseparable companions of fate and victory.

[2] The words from عرايض to ميرسيد appear only in one MS., but are omitted from the others and from the lith. ed.

[3] The words from چون يورش اول to شده نبودند, do not occur in one MS., but are found in the others, and in the lith. ed.

[4] What is called the پيش خانه عالي in the text appears, according to the Akbarnāma, to have been the imperial *ḥaram*, see page 61 Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation where it is said that "the sacred *ḥaram* was set (sent?) off along with many of the faithful officers, such as Shujā'at Khān, Rājā Bhagwān

equipage, and making every arrangement for marching quickly, he made over some of his own horses to Khwāja Aqā Jān, so that they might accompany it. He also gave orders to the great officers of the *diwani* (the revenue or fiscal department), that they should be very prompt in arranging all matters connected with the troops, who, in this expedition were to attend on his magnificent stirrups. [1] Whatever was fashioned by the *amīrs*, who were attending to the various matters, *Sazāwals* carried the same day, out of the city, and conveyed it to the equipage that was to go in advance. He repeatedly brought on his miracle-speaking tongue, that although he was making all this effort in arranging and sending forward the troops, no one would arrive at the scene of action before him; and indeed so it happened exactly.

When most of the *amīrs* and the troops had marched towards Gujrat, the emperor honoured Husain Qūli Khān, who had performed excellent service, with the title of Khān Jahān, and favoured him with an increase of [2] allowance and *jāigīr*; and entrusting him with the government specially of Lahore, and generally of the whole of the Punjab, as before, granted him permission to go (to his government); and every prayer that the Khān made that day, in respect of any one as regard rank or increased stipend, was honoured by being accepted. Order was also passed that [3] Rājā Todar Mal should go to the house of Khān Jahān, Husain Qūli Khān, and in consultation with him, and according to his advice, attend to the affairs of the *amīrs* of the Punjab. All the *amīrs* of the Punjab were sent off

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Das, Saiyyad Muhammad Bārha and Rāi Rām Singh." Shujā'at Khān is called Shuja' Khan in one MS.

[1] This sentence is و از امراء مهم سازي هر كه صورت مي يافت در همين روز سزاولان (هر اولانه) اورا از شهر بيرون برده به پيش خانه عالي ميرسانيدند . I am not sure that my translation is correct. The translation in Elliot V., is "To expedite matters, he on the same day, sent the men of his advance guard out of the city to join his camp equipage.

[2] One MS. has منصب in place of علوفه .

[3] It is not clear whether Rājā Todar Mal was to accompany Husain Quli Khān to the Punjab. The translation in Elliot V., which however is not quite accurate, indicates that he was to do so; but according to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 62), Rājā Todar Mal is mentioned as one of the officers who "were left in charge of the princes and of the capital."

with the Khān Jahān, with the exception of Mīrza Yusuf Khān. The latter and [1] Muhammad Zamān, in whose behaviour the marks of intelligence and integrity were patent and evident, accompanied the imperial stirrups in that auspicious journey. Sa'īd Khān, the governor of Multan was also permitted to go to his *jāigīr*. His brother Makhsūs Khān, who was distinguished with increased proximity (to the emperor) and rank was taken (by the emperor) to be his companion in the journey.

His Majesty mounted an easy-pacing swift [2] she-camel at early meal time on Sunday the 24th Rabi'ul-ākhir, 981 A.H. (23rd August, 1572), corresponding with the 18th year of the Ilāhī era. The attendants of the threshold, and of the court mounted on fast moving dromedaries, which have always carried away the dust from the morning breeze, rode by his side. He did not draw reins that day, till he reached the town of [3] Tuda and having partaken of whatever was there; and giving the reins of his rapid march to the guidance of God, early on the morning of Monday, he rested for a moment at [4] Hans Mahal. He then again moved on wings of swiftness, and one *pahar* of the night of Tuesday had passed, when he arrived in *Mauza'* [5] Mu'izzabad. As a certain amount of fatigue had its effect

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[1] Muhammad Zamān is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma as accompanying the emperor.

[2] All the MSS. and the lith. ed. have بر ناقه سبک سیر سوار شدند. A ناقه is a she camel. The translator in Elliot V., has a note in page 362, in which he says, "Abul Fazl (Vol. III, p. 18) agrees. The words used are *Jamāza* and *Nāka*; the annotator of the Akbarnāma gives as an explanation the Hindi *Sandni*." There is also a note in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma "*Jamāza*. According to A. F. Akbar's name for a female camel, but the word is Arabic. See Blochmann, 143." I cannot however find the word *Jamāza* anywhere in the text. According to Badāonī, both Akbar and his attendants rode *Bukhtis* or two humped camels.

[3] "About seventy miles W. by S. from Agra"; note in Elliot V., p. 62. "Toda Bhim seventy miles W. by S. Agra and consequently about fifty miles from Fathpūr Sīkrī. It is in Jaipūr. It is Badāonī's birth-place see, J. II, 181 and 183"; note in Beveridge's translatian of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, page 62.

[4] The name of the place is printed in Elliot, V, page 362 as Hans-Mahāl.

[5] The name is written as موز اباد in most of the MSS. and in the lith. ed. One MS. however has معزّ اباد, Mu'izzābād. The name is given as Mu'izābād in the translation in Elliot V., and a note says, "Thirty miles S.W. from Jaipur."

on his Majesty, and some of his attendants had fallen behind, he waited there for a short time, in order to get rid of the fatigue. After the attendants had again assembled together, he mounted a swift-moving carriage and travelled all night; and on Wednesday, the 26th day of the month, he[1] arrived with the dust of the road on him, at the tomb, which is the alighting place of illumination, of the Pole star of those who had united (with God), Khwāja Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishti, may God sanctify his soul! he performed the duty of circumambulation, and removed the custom of mendicancy, and the practice of begging from the attendants of the paradise-like tomb, and in fact, from all the inhabitants of the country of Ajmīr. He rested for a time in the splendid mansion, which he had built for his own residence. He again started from Ajmīr in the evening, and continued his march. Among the attendants of the threshold, Mīrza Khān, son of Khān Khānān Bairām Khān, who, now, by inheritance as well as fitness and merit, is honoured with the great title of Khān Khānān, and Saif Khān Kuka and [2]Zain Khān Kuka and Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah Kujak and Khwāja Mīr Ghiyās-ud-din 'Ali Akhund, who to-day in the knowledge of history and in that of biography has no equal in the inhabited fourth part of the earth, and is honoured with the title of Naqīb Khān and [3]Mīrzāda 'Ali Khān and Dastam Khān and Mīr Muhammad Zamān, brother of Mīrza Yusuf Khān, and Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān; and Khwāja Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Ali Bakhshi, who after the victory was honoured with the title of Āsaf Khān, were present at the time his Majesty mounted under the shadow of the world-conquering umbrella. His Majesty, [4]like the full moon, tra-

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The name is given as M'uizzābād in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, page 62; and a note says "marked Mozabad in map to Bayley's Gujrat, thirty miles S.W. Jaipūr (Elliot)." Nizām-ud-din calls the place "Mozābād or Morābād."

[1] Ajmir is about two hundred miles from Fathpūr, whence Akbar started.

[2] The name of Zain Khān is given in the MSS. but not in the lith. ed. One MS. adds كه الحال در سلک امرای کبار انتظام دارد, but this is not found in the other MSS.

[3] He is called Mīrza 'Ali Khān in the lith. ed. but in the MSS., he is called Mīrzāda 'Ali Khān.

[4] As Mr. Beveridge has pointed out "Elliot" (or rather the translator of the Tabaqāt in Elliot V) "makes Nizām-ud-dīn say that the night of Akbar's

versed the world all night. At the time of the true dawn, Shāh Qūlī Khān Mahram, and Muhammad Quli [1] Toqbāī, who before this, having been granted leave at Fathpūr, had started on the journey, obtained the honour of offering homage. At the time of mounting, scouts brought the news, that the victorious troops, who had started before, had halted at the town of [2] Pālī, which was in that neighbourhood. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī conferred honour on Khwāja Abd-ul-lah and Āsaf Khān Bakhshī and Rāisāl Darbārī, and took them with himself; and on the 2nd of Jamādī-ul-āwwal 981 corresponding with the 18th year of the Ilāhī era, they arrived at the town of [3] Disa, which is twenty *karohs* from pattan. [4] Shāh 'Ali, the son of Bakhshū

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departure from Ajmir was bright moonlight, but this could not be the case near the end of the lunar month; and what Nizām-ud-dīn says is that Akbar travelled all night like the " '(full) moon,' *qamrwār*."

[1] This word is written as تُوقْبَائِي in three of the MSS., and لقبا in one. It is printed as تُغبَائِي in the lith. ed. and as Túghbáni in the translation in Elliot V. The Akbarnāma has Toqbai and I have adopted this, as it is also found in most of the MSS.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma the different stages from Ajmir to Pālī were as follows: "From Ajmir Akbar rode on horse back, and on the morning of Wednesday he arrived at Mirtha, where he halted for a while, and a watch of the day had passed when he arrived in the town of Jitāran. Here he hunted a black buck with a *chīta* and starting again at midnight he arrived at Sojat (in Jodhpūr), and he rested there till the dawn of Thursday. When he was mounting, he was told that the *haram* and the army were in Pālī (Jodhpūr)." Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, pages 62 and 64.

[3] It appears from the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, pages 64–68 that Akbar went a short distance from Pālī, and then learnt that the report was false. He then rejoined his attendants at Bhagwānpūr. He now wanted to go to Gujrat by Sirohī, which was the shortest route; but his attendants proposed that he should go by Jalaur. Akbar did not agree; but his attendants induced the scout Shaguna to take the Jalaur route. In the course of the night they lost their way, but in the morning they came to a village, which was a dependency of Jalaur. When they reached the district, they heard the drums of the advance army. On reaching Jalaur at two *gharis* of the day, Akbar went to the *haram* for a short while, and accompanied by Shahbāz Khān and Kamāl Khān he left Jalaur at midnight, and reached Pattanwāl (not identified) at midday on Saturday. He enjoyed himself there for a while, and then went on, and till the end of Sunday, he did not rest anywhere. On the eve of Monday, he reached the town of Dīsa.

[4] It appears from the Akbarnāma, that he at first thought, that it was a

Lankā, a short account of whom has been given in the history of his Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī (Humāyun), and who from before the time of Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān, was the *shiqdār* of the town of Dīsa, ran out, and placed his face of service and devotion on the dust of the [1] threshold. His Majesty then sent Āsaf Khān, the Mir Bakhshi, to Mīr Muhammad Khān, that he might bring the latter with any troops, which he might have ready and present, to come and join the auspicious camp at the town of [2] Bālisāna, about five *karohs* from Pattan. At midnight he started for Bālisāna. He turned off from the road to Pattan, and at the time of the imperial breakfast the plain opposite to the town of Bālisāna became the encamping ground of the grand army; and about the time of the arrival of the sublime standards, Mīr Muhammad Khān with his army, and a number of the *amīrs*, and the servants of the sublime threshold, such as Vazīr Khān and Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn Khān Mashhadī, who had the title of Naqābat Khān and Taiyib Khān, son of Tāhir Muhammad Khān, governor of Dehli, and a number of great men of Rājputāna, such as Khangār, nephew of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, who had before this started from Fathpūr, to reinforce Khān-Ā'azam, but who had not, in order to be on the safe side, been able to advance beyond Pattan, came to the threshold, which was splendid like the firmament, and obtained the honour of tendering their services. At this halting place, an order which had the currency of fate, was issued that the victorious army completely armed and equipped should attend in the plain of the great parade-ground which became a model of the [3] resurrection. The great *amīrs* brought their troops in battle array, and brave men

foreign (hostile) army, and shut the fort gate; but on finding his mistake, ran out and rendered homage.

[1] One MS. inserts ثریا مناص after درگاہ.

[2] With reference to this see note I, page 66 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III. It appears that the text of the Akbarnāma has Mālīyāna, but Mr. B. has got Balīsāna in the text of the translation, as it is supported by Nizām-ud-dīn. He says there is a Bālīsāna in the I.G. in the Kadi subdivision of Baroda. The Bom. G. has a Balasinor, but he thinks the proper reading is Maisāna, the Masāwa of the I.G., which is forty-three miles north of Ahmadābād. It is however more than five *kos* from Pattan. Badāonī has بالیانہ, and the translator Bālīyānah.

[3] One MS. inserts the word روز, day, before محشر.

who had seen much action and were [1] tried in war came to *the* field. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī inspected the victorious troops with great care, and although he placed complete reliance on heavenly help and victory, and aid from the angels of the spiritual world, still looking at things from a material point of view, he entrusted the command of the *Qalb* (centre) of the army which is also called the *qaul*, and which is the place of the *Sultān-i-lashkar* (commander-in-chief) to Mīrza Khān, true son of Khān Khānān Bairām Khān, who was in the prime of life, and the evidence of whose [2] nobility was evident and clear from his frank and open countenance. He also placed Saiyyad Mahmūd Khān Bārha, who was in front of his companions of the age, in courage and bravery, and Shujā'at Khān and Sādiq Khān and a number of others in the centre; and the command of the right wing, and the supervision of that division, was given to Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān. The leadership of the left wing was entrusted to the good management of Vazīr Khān. Muhammad Qūli Khān Toqbāi and Tarkhān Diwāna, with a number of brave warriors were placed in the advance-guard; and himself in his own excellent person, accompanied by Divine help and victory, with a hundred chosen horsemen, each one of whom had been selected out of thousands of thousands, remained as a reserve; and was entrusted with the duty, that whenever any trouble appeared in any troop, he should in his own noble person, remove and redress it. After the arrangement of the troops, a noble order was issued that no one should separate from his own troop. Notwithstanding that not more than three thousand were assembled under the shadow of the standard, which protected like the sky; and the number of the hostile army was estimated at twenty thousand; his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī placed the rein of determination in the hand of Divine favour; and in the latter part of the day started from the town of Bālīsāna, and advanced towards Ahmadābād. He sent scouts to Khān Ā'zam, so that they might give him the good news of the approach of the victorious standards. They travelled all night, and on Tuesday, the 3rd of Jamādī-ul-āwwal the Sun of auspi-

[1] One MS. has here چون گوهر تیغ در اهن نشسته, *i.e.* like the gem (sharp edge) of the sword placed in iron.

[2] One MS. inserts here و صحایل جلادت, *i.e.* and the signs of whose bravery.

ciousness shone on the neighbourhood of the town of Karī, which is twenty *karohs* from Ahmadābād. The scouts brought the news, that a large body of the enemy, on seeing the dust raised by the hoofs of the horses of the army had supposed that a detachment was coming from Pattan to make an attack, had come out fully armed from the town, and were ready to give battle. An order was given, that a detachment of the victorious army should at once [1] occupy itself in destroying the reckless crew. They were to drive them away from the road, but [2] should not attempt to capture the fort. The victorious troops as soon as they reached those ill-fated [3] ones, immediately in the twinkling of an eye purified the earth from the contamination of their existence. A few who escaped from the hand of death threw themselves into the fort. As an order had been given that they should not attempt to take the fort, the army advanced five *karohs* beyond the town of Karī. When they arrived there, His Majesty ordered a halt, to give some repose to the animals and the men ; and having rested till the morning, about the rising of the vanguard of the dawn, again took the road. The great *Bakhshis* (pay masters) having arrayed the troops, they started under the shade of the auspicious Sunlike umbrella, and did not draw rein till they were within three *karohs* of Ahmadābād. At that fortunate place, an order of the emperor, whose splendour was like that of the firmament, was issued that the soldiers should put on their accoutrements, and the royal armoury was spread out before them, so that every one who had made any defect in bringing his accoutrement, or had any defect

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[1] The readings in one MS. and in the lith. ed. are بدفع انگروه خون گرفته برداوند . In the other MSS. instead of برداوند the word appears to be پرداوند, but is not quite clear. I have adopted پرداوند .

[2] According to the Akbarnāma no order was apparently given to attempt to take the fort. After the detachment had been routed and the officers were preparing to take the fort, Akbar himself came up, and enquired of some experienced officers, what they should do now. Some of them rashly advised an attack on the fort, but Akbar decided that their efforts should be devoted to getting hold of the rebels of Gujrat, and that time should not be wasted in capturing the fort. Beveridge's translation Vol. III, pages, 67, 68.

[3] One MS. inserts here ان اجل رسیدها باهنگ جنگ پیش عساکر منصوره امدند, i.e., those to whom death had come very near came forward to give battle to the victorious troops.

in them, the proper articles were bestowed on him from it. Khwāja Ghiyās-ud-dīn Āsaf Khān was sent to give information of the arrival of the imperial army, and to bring the Khān A'azam to join it.[1]

As His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had, in the space of nine days arrived from Fathpūr to the [2] bank of the river of Ahmadābād, in the manner which has passed on the tongue of the pen, he on reining up his stately horse, came to know that the enemy were up to that time in a state of intoxication, lying on the bed of heedlessness and neglect. He said with his inspired tongue, that "it was not the practice of brave men, to attack men, who were unconscious of their danger, and had been taken by surprise. We should wait till they are ready." After that on hearing the sound of the drum, and the wailing of the trumpets, the enemy in great confusion and anxiety ran to their horses. Muhammad Husain Mīrza then, with two or three horsemen, came to the bank of the river to ascertain the truth. It so happened, that Subhān Quli Turk had also with two or three horsemen gone to the bank of the river. Muhammad Husain Mīrza called out, "Oh brother! what army is this?" Subhān Quli said "This is the army of the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, which has come from Fathpūr to exterminate those, who have been faithless to their salt." Muhammad Husain Mīrza said "Our spies (say) that it is only fourteen days ago, that they left the emperor at Fathpūr. And if it is the imperial army, where are the imperial elephants, which are never allowed to be separated from the imperial stirrups?" Subhān 'Ali said, "How could the *mast* elephants with mountain like bulk accompany him in a journey of four hundred *karohs* in the space of nine days?"

Muhammad Husain Mīrza then, astounded and bewildered went among his men, and arrayed his troops, and turned towards

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[1] Only one MS. inserts here انگا دریای لشکر در موج امده طوفان خونریزی صحرای احمد اباد را زیر و زبر کرد. *i.e.*, here the sea of the imperial army was tossed into waves, and the flood of blood-spilling devastated the plains of Ahmadābād.

[2] The readings are various here. One MS. and the lith. ed. hâve بکنار احمد اباد and the translation in Elliot V, also has "to the out-skirts of Ahmadabad"; but one MS. inserts اب river, after بکنار, *i.e.*, to the bank of the river of Ahmadābād; while the other MSS. have باحمد اباد, to Ahmadābād. I have adopted the reading بکنار اب احمد اباد, as it appears a few lines further down that there was a river near Ahmadābād; and the word کنار suggests a river.

the field of battle. He sent Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk with five thousand horsemen with direction, that he should not allow the Khān Ā'azam to come out of the fort. When the time of waiting was prolonged, an order was passed that the advance guard should cross the river; [1] and as at this time, one of the common soldiers threw the head of one of the enemies, at the foot of the emperor's horse, this was taken to be a good omen, and an order was issued that Vazīr Khān with the left wing should also cross the river. His Majesty then, with the soldiers that were stationed under the shadow of the imperial umbrella, also crossed the river.

[2] Couplets:—

Making ready for a war of victorious faith,
The mountain of iron moved to the sea,
The army like a whirlwind came to that land,
That its stones were blown like grass away.

At the time of crossing the river, the order of the troops fell into some confusion; and they all came out together from the water. They had gone only a short distance forward, when a large body of the hostile army appeared in sight; and Muhammad Husain Mīrza, with fifteen hundred Mughals, every one of whom was ready to sacrifice himself, came in advance of the others. They attacked the vanguard (of the imperial army) which was under the command of Muhammad Qūli Khān Toqbāi and Tarkhān Diwāna and which had still the dust of the road on them. Immediately after this the Abyssinians and the Afghāns [3] attacked the lines under Vazīr Khān, and the warriors of the two armies mingled in a hand-to-hand fight.

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[1] This sentence from و درین حین to بفال نیک کرفته occurs in two of the MSS., but not in the others, or in the lith. ed., nor in the trans. in Elliot V. There is no corresponding sentence in Badāonī; but there is a somewhat similar sentence in page, 76, Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma; where it is said, "just then one of the active heroes produced before H.M. the head of a rebel. That too was an omen of victory." I have inserted the sentence in the text, as otherwise there is no reason for the order about Vazir Khān's crossing the river also with the left wing.

[2] These identical lines occur in the account of the conquest of Chitor (see page, 258 ante). They were bombastic and inappropriate there. They are still more inappropriate here. The Mīrzas were Musalmāns, and there was no question of a غزا or religious war; and there was no fort to be blown away.

[3] Badāonī goes further. He says ..... و برداشت بر هراول زد i.e., attacked the vanguard, and swept it before them.

Couplets:—

Two armies engaged in battle stern ;
They their hostile lines arrayed ;
You might say, the air with sadness was charged,
The earth was filled with the dead in her lap.

When His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī saw signs of weakness and distress in the vanguard, he like an angry lion fell on the hostile army, and [1] a number of the devoted servants, raising the war-cry of "*yā-mu'īn*" to the highest heaven, attacked the lines of the rebel army. Saiyyad Khān Kuka made a fruitless attack, and after fighting bravely attained to martyrdom. Muhammad Husain Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza, after showing great bravery and making great exertions, scattered the dust of misfortune on their heads, and turning their faces [2] from the field of battle, fled. The victorious army coming from behind [3] cut the men off. His Majesty then with a few followers drew the rein of his auspicious steed and stood.

Muhammad Husain Mīrza, who had before this, been wounded, for fear of death made great haste in taking to flight; but there was a thorn bush in front of him as he went, and he wanted that his horse should jump over it; but death caught him by the neck, and hurled him on the ground and a Turk of the name of Gadā 'Ali, one of the servants of the threshold, who was after him, threw himself from his horse, and seized him. Vazīr Khān, who was the commander of the left wing exerted himself with great devotion and fought bravely. The *Habshīs* and the *Gujrātīs* however stood firm, and made repeated attacks, until they heard of the defeat of

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[1] According to Badāonī, it was Akbar himself, who raised the cry of yā mu'īn (Oh Helper!) which at that period and on that day was his battle cry. Mr. Beveridge (see note 1, p. 79, Vol. III) says that Akbar used the battle cry in a double sense, and with a special reference to his patron saint, Mu'in-ud-dīn of Ajmir.

[2] There are variations in the readings here. One MS. has از میدان شیر رو بگریز اوردہ ; the others have از میسلوہ instead of از میدان and the lith. ed., has ار بہتر The first appears to me to be correct.

[3] The words are کس جدا میکوردند, in the MSS.; and پس جدا میکرد in the lith. ed. The meaning is not quite clear, but I think the translation in the text is correct.

Muhammad Husain Mīrza and Shāh Mīrza, and then turned their backs on the battle field. [1] Mīr Muhammad Khān, who was the leader of the right wing, routed the sons of Shīr Khān Fūlādī, and from the strokes of his life-scorching sword, the wretched enemies turned their faces of ruin, in to the deserts of disgrace.

Couplet :—

[2] From the bādshāh's sword with an edge so keen,
Was put down the smoke that raised the fire.

When the great star of the good fortune (of the emperor) shone on the battle field, from every side, rays of victory and lightning flashes of triumph began to corruscate. His Majesty with victory and good fortune dismounted on the top of a bank, which was on one side of the battle field, and occupied himself with offering thanks. Gadā 'Ali Badakhshī and another man, servants of Khān Kalān then brought before him Muhammad Husain Mīrza, who was wounded. Each one of them claimed to have seized him. Rājā Bīrbar, some of whose affairs have already been narrated, asked him, "Which of these men captured you?" Muhammad Husain Mīrza said, "The salt of His Majesty has captured me." And indeed it was a truth that he uttered. His Majesty with gentleness and courtesy reproved him a little, and made him over to Rāi Singh. Among the prisoners in the field of the trial of bravery was a *faqīr* (*majzūb*, one absorbed in God) named [3] Shāh Madad, who called himself the *Koka* of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza. His Majesty, with the spear which he held in his auspicious hand, cast him on the dust of death, and he was cut to pieces by blows of the sharp-edged swords of the servants of the threshold; and [4] at the last it was

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[1] One MS. inserts کلان Kalān after خان Khan; and بزور بازوی خود, by the strength of his (right) army, after امیر میمنه بود, was the leader of the right wing.

[2] There is a pun on the word اب which means the keen edge of a sword, and also water.

[3] In the translation in Elliot V., page 367, he is called Mard Azmāi Shāh, but in the trans. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, page 84, he is called Shāh Madad, and he is there said to have been the Mīrza's *Koka*, and a partner with him in disloyalty.

[4] Contrary to this, it is stated in a note in page 367 of the translation in Elliot Vol. V, that "according to Abul Fazl it was a knowledge of this fact

found out, that it was he that in the battle of Sarnāl had slain Bhupat the brother of Rājā Bhagwān Dās.

After the victory a hostile army appeared in battle array. [1] Scouts brought the news, that it was Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk Gujrātī, who had been blockading the road of the Khān Ā'azam, but who now, on hearing the news of the defeat of Muhammad Husain Mīrza, had come out of the lanes of the city, and had turned his face to the open country. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī ordered, that a detachment should go forward, and with wounds caused by their life-scorching arrows turn the faces of the enemy back. Immediately after this order, as Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk became visible, a few blood-spilling horsemen rushed forward, raising the cry of "Yā Mu'in;" and they hurled the men who were coming in front of the vanguard on to the dust and the blood. Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk in great terror, turned his face in flight towards the bank which was the station of the standards of state, and of the banners of auspiciousness, and passed along the two sides of it in great shame and distress, and fled in such extreme confusion, that the brave soldiers of the victorious army shot them, with the very arrows which they plucked out of their own quivers. At this time a Turkmān of the name of Suhrāb Beg recognised Ikhtiāyar-ul-mulk, and pursued him. The latter, coming to a field covered with thorn bushes, wanted to make his horse leap over them. [2] The angel of death threw down his horse.

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which induced the emperor to kill him." See Akbarnāma, Vol. III, page 36. "Mr. Beveridge's translation does not show this. It is said there that "it was stated in H.M.'s court that Bhupat * * * drank the cup of death from this man's hand." Vol. III, page 84.

[1] Only one M.S. inserts here و اضطرابی در میان مردم پدید امد *i.e.*, and a confusion appeared among the men. This does not however appear in the other MSS., nor in the lith. ed. nor in the translation in Elliot V. It appears however, from Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 85 that, when Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk's men appeared, "men were considering and conjecturing who they were." Badāonī however uses almost the exact words referred to. He says و اضطرابی عظیم در مردم همراهی پدید امد. The word در مردم همرای, however, makes a great difference. The great confusion in this case was among the men with Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk.

[2] The readings are various. One MS. and the lith. ed. have اجل مرکب

Suhrāb Beg throwing himself from his horse seized him. Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk said "You look like a Turkmān. Turkmāns are slaves (followers) of Murtaza 'Ali, May God be gracious to him! I am of the Saiyyads of Bukhāra, slay me not." Suharāb Beg said "I recognised you, and have pursued you. You are Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk." He said this, and striking off his head from his body with a blow of his ruthless sword, turned back that he might again mount his horse. Some one else had however taken his horse away. So he wrapped up Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk's head in the skirts of his garments, and took his way. At the time when Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk turned his face in flight towards the bank, which from the splendour of the foot steps of the emperor, rubbed its head in pride with the sky of honour, the Rajputs of Rāy Singh, who were in charge of Muhammad Husain Mīrza, brought him down to the ground from the elephant on which he had been placed, and slew him with the blow of their spears.

After the victory Ā'azam Khān and the *amīrs*, who had fortified themselves in the city, came and received the honour of kissing the (imperial) feet. His Majesty the emperor, from his extreme graciousness, took Khān Ā'azam in an affectionate embrace, and distinguished him by showing him various favours.

Couplet:—

His questions (about their welfare, etc.) went beyond all measures,
The bounds of favour beyond extremes went.

Each one of the Khāns received grace and favours in accordance with his ranks and status. The emperor had not yet finished with questioning them when Suhrāb Beg Turkmān came, and threw the head of Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk at the foot of the auspicious steed. His Majesty seeing this great gift (of God) again carried out the rites of thanksgiving and the duty of praise. He gave an order that a minaret should be constructed of the heads of the rebels, which were lying on the battle-field, and which exceeded two thousand in number, so that it might strike the spectators with awe.

اورا از پای در اورد. I have adopted this. Another MS. has مرکب غارنگر اجل while another has مرکب او را از پای بر آمدہ.

From that place, with victory and triumph, he went to the capital city of Ahmadābād; and took up his residence in the palace of the Sultāns, which was situated in the citadel of Ahmadābād; and the great and noble and the various classes of the people and the various grades of artisans carried out the custom of offering tributes and gifts, and the ceremony of congratulations and felicitations. Having spent four days of his precious time in that place, in pleasure and enjoyment, he went to the house of 'Itīmād Khān, which was situated in the centre of the city; and first of all he conferred favours on those, who in this expedition, and specially on the day of the battle, had rendered services. He ordered that each one of them should in relation to his rank and services be honoured with promotion in rank and increase in stipends. He also gave orders, that eloquent writers should occupy themselves in writing letters announcing and describing the victories; and [1] sent them to the various quarters of the imperial dominions. The heads of Muhammad Husain Mīrza and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk were taken to the capitals of Agra and Fathpūr and were suspended from the gates.

(The emperor) now busied himself in his sacred self and saintly person in winning the hearts of the *raiyats* and all the residents of Ahmadābād; and gave them a place in the cradles of peace and safety. He then sent Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khān and Naurang Khān towards Bahroj and Champanīr, so that they might uproot the tree of Shāh Mīrza's hopes. He also sent Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Shāh Qulī Mahram and Lashkar Khān, Mir Bakhshī, and a number of his other servants along the road to Idar, that they might march through the territories of Rānā Udai Singh, and sack and devastate them. He entrusted the defence and government of Pattan to Mir Muhammad Khān as before, and conferring Dūlqa and Dandūqa to Vazīr Khān, left them to reinforce Khān A'azam. When the mind (of the emperor) brilliant like the sun, obtained rest, after arranging the affairs of Gujrāt, he turned the bridle of return towards the resting place of the imperial throne. On Sunday the 16th Jamādī-ul-āwwal (13th September, 1573) he marched from

[1] The words و باطراف ممالک محروسه فرستند, occur in only one MS. but not in the others, or in the lith. ed.; but I have thought it right to insert them in the text, as it was natural that the letters should be sent to all parts of the empire.

Ahmadābād, after beating the drum of joy, to Mahmudābād; and took up his abode in the palace of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, which shewed indeed the signs of loftiness in its doors and walls. The next day, he proceeded to Dūlqa, and halting there for one day, granted permission to Khān Ā'zam and the *amīrs* of Gujrat to go back to Ahmadābād. Khwāja Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Ali Bakhshi, who had performed meritorious services in the course of this expedition, was honoured with the title of Āsaf Khān; and the posts of Diwān and Bakhshī of Gujrāt were entrusted to him; and he was left with Khān Ā'zam.

From the town of Dūlqa, [1] after stopping for one night, he went to the town of Karī; and from there, with one night intervening, he marched to, and encamped in state at [2] Sitpur. The reports of Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Shāh Quli Mahram, mentioning the auspicious news of the capture of the fort of [3] Badnagar arrived. A gracious order praising the services of these nobles was sent. From this place, the emperor did not encamp at any station, till he arrived near the boundaries of Sirohi. From Sirohi, after appointing Sādiq Khān to punish the disturbers of the peace and highway robbers, he marched by successive stages; and on Wednesday the 3rd of Jamādī-us-sānī 981 (27th September, 1573) the air of Ajmīr was

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[1] The words شب درمیان between قصبه دولقه and بقصبه کری and again between کری and بقصبه سیت پور have been translated in Elliot V, page 369 incorrectly I think, by the words "travelled by night."

[2] The MSS. have سیت پور Sītpūr. The lith. ed. has سیتا پرر and the translation in Elliot V, has Sitāpur: Mr. Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma has Sathpūr; but a note says "Qu. Satalpur, Jarrett, 254. A variant gives Sitpur, and this is supported by the Iqbālnāma."

[3] The place is called ایدر, Idar, and بدنکیر Badnakīr (?) in the MSS. It is بد نگر Badnagar, in the lith. ed.; and Barnagar, with a note, "about thirty miles east of Pattan," in the translation in Elliot V. Badāonī does not mention any of the incidents of the march up to the arrival at Ajmīr. In Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, p. 90, the place is called Badhnagar, and a note says "the Badnagar of Jarrett, II, 254. It is Badnagar in Iqbālnāma. It lies west of Idar and Dungārpūr and is marked Burnuggur in Bayley's map of Gujrat." It appears also from the Akbarnāma that it was held by Rāwāliā, a ghulām of Shīr Khān Fūlādī. The fort was taken, and Rāwāliā, who had put on a *jogis* dress was caught.

impregnated with amber, and perfumed with *'atr* (otto), with the dust raised by the horses of the cavalcade. He went with the dust of the road to the tomb, which is the resting place of light, of his Holiness Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn, may his spirit be sanctified! He performed the duties of circumambulation, and the ceremony of asking for help, and made the residents of Ajmīr free from want, and affluent. On the afternoon of the following day he started, and travelled rapidly towards Fathpūr. On the following evening, he halted in pomp and state in the village of [1] Huba, which was three *karohs* from Sangānīr, and in the jāigīr of Rām Dās Kachwāhā. The latter gave an entertainment and attended to all the servants of the threshold, who were in attendance on the royal stirrups. At this place, Rājā Todar Mal, who had in accordance with orders remained at Agra, in order to provide a thousand boats and corvettes (*kishtī wa gharab*) came and attained to the honour of kissing the imperial stirrups. As the [2] assessment of the entire territory of Gujrat, as correctly tested, had not yet reached the imperial offices, Rājā Todar Mal was sent from that station to Gujrat, so that he might make a note in his mind of the correct revenue, and send an accurate statement of it.

At midnight, he mounted at that station, and having covered a certain distance, at the time of the early meal of Saturday the 6th of the afore-mentioned month, the town of Tūda became the station of the noble standards. The emperor rested there for a time, and at the time of the early morning prayer, he placed his auspicious feet in the stirrup of happiness, and started again. At midnight, in the neighbourhood of the town of Basāwar, Khwāja Jahān and Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, who had come in haste from Fathpūr, to meet and welcome the grand cavalcade, attained to the honour of rendering homage. At the time of the true dawn, the rays of the Sun of grandeur shone on the town of Bajūna. The emperor rested there

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[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have Hūba, but the translation in Elliot V, has Pūna. Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma has Kewata but a note says "the Lucknow edition has Hūna. Perhaps the place is Lūnī or Būnli, see Blochmann, 398, N.I. and A.N. Text III, 326, line 9."

[2] The word is جمع in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; but I have corrected it to جمع, assessment. The trans. in Elliot V, is that "the revenue of Gujrat had not been paid up satisfactorily," etc. I do not think this is correct.

till one *pahar* of the day; and then ordered, that all the imperial attendants should take their spears and lances in their hands, and thus enter the capital. He himself in his sacred person also took a lance in his hand, and mounted a gray horse of speed. On the afternoon of [1] Monday the 7th Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the afore-mentioned year, the Sun of happiness and grandeur shone on the palaces of Fathpur. Her Highness Mariam Makānī and the other Highnesses within the pavilion of chastity, and their Highnesses the princes illuminated their eyes with the sight of the world-conquering sovereign; and performed the duties of thanks offering. The total period of the expedition had extended to forty-three days.

A NARRATIVE OF CERTAIN EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AFTER THE VICTORIOUS ARRIVAL AT FATHPŪR.

When His Majesty took up his fortunate and auspicious abode at Fathpūr, the circumcision of the fortunate princes was ordered, and magnificent festivities were arranged. The learned men and Saiyyads and Shaikhs and the *amīrs* and the great officers of the state assembled together; and on Thursday the 25th Jamādī-ul-ākhir of the year 981 (27th October, 1573), in an suspicious moment, the ceremony was performed. The world and all its inhabitants offered congratulations, and performed the ceremony of thanks offering and loosened their tongues in prayers for the monarch of the world and the age.

Another of the praiseworthy incidents of this auspicious year was this, that as the fortunate Shāhzāda, his Highness Sultān Salīm, had reached to that time, when he should take lessons from an [2] angelic-natured tutors, and begin to rise on the steps of perfection, and climb the gradations of learning and wisdom, his Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī arranged a noble assemblage, on Wednesday, the 22nd Rajab of the afore-mentioned year, at a moment, which erudite astrologers

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1 The day and date according to the MS. and the lith. ed. is روز دوشنبه هفتم which would be Monday, the 7th Jamādī-ul-ākhir. In the translation in Elliot V, it is Saturday, the 7th Jumāda-l-ākhir. In Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma it is Monday, the 8th Jumāda-l-ākhir (5th October, 1573).

2 معلم ملکوت I understand is a title ordinarily given to Satan, but here of course that is not its meaning.

had selected, and in that assemblage [1] inspired by the holy spirit a board (with the words) "the merciful God has taught the knowledge of the Qurān" was placed on the lap of his Highness the Shāhzāda, and the learned Maulvi, the asylum of learning and erudition, Maulāna Mīr Kalān Harwī (*i.e.* of Hirat), who had been an eminent pupil of his Holiness, the most approved of the traditionists, Mirak Shāh, and was one of the grandsons of the good, the asylum of the country, Maulāna Khwāja Kūhī, was selected for giving him tuition. The excellent Maulavi opened his tongue for the utterance of the words, *bismillah-ar Rahman-ar-Rahīm*, which are the keys of all Divine knowledge; [2] and the shouts of felicitation and congratulation rose to the sky from small and great.

Another of the excellent events, which during this year showed its face from the visage of grandeur, was this, that Muzaffar Khān, who before this had been sent to undertake the government and defence of Sārangpūr, in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād, was summoned, and on Friday the 24th of Rajab, afore-mentioned, the duties of the prime-minister of the great country of Hindustan were entrusted to him, and his titles had that of Jumlat-ul-mulk added to them, and a fitting robe of honour was conferred on him, and the key of the fastening and unfastening of all political affairs was placed within the grasp of his hand.

And another of the events, which occurred during this year was this, that the debts and liabilities of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī, who was slain in the battle of Pattan by the enemies of the imperial government, as has been mentioned in its proper place, and the debts and liabilities of Saif Khān Koka, who also was slain in the [3] second expedition, in the battle of Ahmadābād, by the rebels and mutineers, were ordered to be paid from the imperial treasury. The total of

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[1] روح القدس of course means the holy spirit, and it is a name given to the angel Gabriel.

[2] One of the MSS. inserts here سبق و گفتند *i.e.*, and read out the lesson.

[3] The readings are doubtful. One MS. has درین یورش و یورش دویم while another has درین یورش دویم and the lith. ed., has درین یورش اوهم The other MSS. are useless. They are very imperfect and incorrect. I have adopted the reading of the second MS.

the debts of these two [1] officers amounted to one *lākh* of *Akbar Shāhī rupees*, equivalent to two thousand five hundred *tumāns* current in 'Irāq. Such an act is not mentioned in any history in respect of any *Bādshāh*.

And it was during this year, that Rājā Todarmal, who had gone to make a correct assessment of the revenue of the country of Gujrat, obtained the honour of kissing the ground, and passed proper offerings before the noble eyes, [2] and brought the record of fixing the revenue of the country before the sacred eyes. His head was lifted to the sky in pride and distinction, owing to the honour of the praise conferred on him. After a few days, the emperor bestowed on him his own special sword, and sent him with Lashkar Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, to serve under Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān; so that he might arrange matters, under him, in respect of the conquest of the country of Bengal.

At this time also, Mīr Muhsin Rizvi, who was one of the Saiyyads of true descent, and was adorned with excellence and great erudition, and had been sent on an embassy to the [3] rulers of the Deccan, obtained the honour of kissing the (imperial) carpet and placed before the noble eyes, the tributes which those rulers had sent in charge of their servants.

In this auspicious year also, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, on the 16th Shawwāl, determined on a pilgrimage to the illustrious tomb of His Holiness Khwāja Mu'īn-ul-Haq-wad-dīn may his soul be sanctified! Although he had attained to this good fortune once during this year, at the time of his return from the second expedition

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[1] The actual words are هر دو عزیز *i.e.*, each of the two dear ones.

[2] According to V. A. Smith's "Akbar the great Mogul" p. 120 "the province as re-organised, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the emperor's private treasury, after the expenses had been defrayed." In support of this statement he quotes in note 1, p. 121, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, in Bayley's history of Gujarat (1886), pp. 20–22, 208, 200, 342 *Dāms* divided by 40 equal to 5 205,008 rupees paid to the private fisc (*khalsa-i-sharīfa*).

[3] Although the word حکام rulers, is in the plural in both places where it occurs in the text, it appears from Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, page 108 that the embassy was sent to Nizām-ul-mulk the ruler of Ahmadnagar, into whose territory Muhammad Husain Mīrza and other rebels had fled.

to Gujrāt, yet as he had placed before his sublime spirit the desire of the conquest of the country of Bang (Bengal), he thinking that, God forbid that it might so happen that the period of this expedition might exceed one year, and thus the circumambulation of this sublime shrine might be delayed, it appeared to the brilliant mind and the heart bright like the Sun that this great blessing might be attained in the early part of the 19th year of the Ilāhī era, so that he might ask for help and aid in facilitating the conquest of Bengal. For the carrying out of this intention, and the completion of this desire, on Wednesday, the 16th Shawwāl 981 A.H., corresponding with the 18th year of the Ilāhī era he turned to the country of Ajmīr. When the village of [1] Dāir became the encamping ground of the noble and grand army, he stayed there till the 20th of the month. One day at this place, His Holiness, the giver of religious guidance [2] Khwāja 'Abd-ush-shahīd, grandson of His Holiness, Khwāja Nāsir-ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-lah Ahrār, came to the gate of the high mansion with the intention of offering his prayers. When he came, he like all men dismounted from his horse, at the gate of the outer apartment. By accident however, His Majesty from the top of the balcony saw the auspicious countenance of His Holiness the Khwāja, who was standing on foot, at the gate. He immediately sent Sādiq Khān

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[1] "... که چهار کروهی فتحپور است, *i.e.*, which is four *karohs* from Fathpur."—Badaoni.

[2] This name is differently given in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. I have taken the name as it is in several of the MSS. and in the Akbarnāma and in Badāonī. The whole of the passage is omitted from the translation in Elliot V. The grand-father's name is given as Nāsir-ud-dīn Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah known as Khwāja Ahrār, in the translation of the Akbarnāma, and simply as Khwāja Ahrār by Badāonī. There is difference between the historians, as to the object and circumstances of the interview. I have translated in the text, what Nizām-ud-dīn has said on the subject. According to the translation of the Akbarnāma, Akbar saw the Khwāja, in the assembly, when he was on horse back on the festival of the 'Id of Ramazān; and he took him out of the lower rank of spectators and gave him a place near himself. On the other hand Badāonī says that the Khwāja went to Akbar, to intercede for the release of Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain, but his prayer was rejected; and although Akbar showed him all courtesy and honour and respect, yet there was some pain in the Khwāja's heart, on account of the refusal of his prayer; and he went back with a dejected mind.

who was in attendance in the sacred precincts of the pavilion of honour, to go and welcome the Khwāja, and with great respect sent the message, that it was proper that whenever he came to the palace, he would come up to it without dismounting. When Sādiq Khān conveyed this message, the Khwāja said with great respect, that no one went mounted to his own garden, and he went on foot as before. His Majesty met the Khwāja with truth and courtesy, and omitted no *minutiae* in showing him respect, and after a short time, His Holiness the Khwāja went away, after offering the prayer of farewell.

[1] An order was issued at this halting place of Dāir that Dilāwar Khān, with the help of *Yesāwals* (orderlies) should guard all cultivated lands adjacent to the camp; and in addition to this, trustworthy men were appointed, who should after the army should have passed on, carefully inspect all cultivated lands which should have been trampled upon, and damaged; and should calculate (and deduct) the amount of the injury from the demands of the treasury This rule was followed in all expeditions. Moreover in certain expeditions, bags of money were placed in charge of *amīns*, so that they might calculate the amounts due to the *raiyats*, and pay it in cash to the owner of the land, and deduct it from the amount due to the treasury.

[2] From that stage (the emperor) porceeded by successive marches, hunting along the way; and on the 12th Ziqā 'da, the pavilions of honour were encamped at the distance of twelve *karohs* from Ajmīr, and on the following day, from that stage according to his excellent custom, he on account of his devotion started on foot for the tomb, and performed the duties of circumambulation. He then went to his grand palace, and during the space of twelve days that the country of Ajmir became the auspicious encamping ground, he

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[1] I have not been able to find any reference to these salutary measures in either the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī. In the translation in Elliot V, the last part of the sentence و حق دیوان را مجری دهند, appears to me to have been incorrectly translated, in the words, "and obviate any interference with the revenue collection."

[2] The whole of this passage "from that stage, etc., in p. 350 to depart in p. 357 "occurs with various mistakes and variations in only two of the MSS., but not in the lith. ed. or in the translation in Elliot V. There is something analogous to what is mentioned in it, in the Akbarnāma.

went every day to the tomb, and made the attendants of that noble place and all the inhabitants of the country of Ajmir, partakers of his board of favours and benefactions.

A Narrative of the events of the 19th year of the Ilāhī Era.

The beginning of this year was on Thursday, the 17th Ẓiqā'da 981 A.H. (11th March, 1574). As the determination to conquer the country of Bengal and Lakhnauti had been placed in the forefront of the high-soaring spirit of his Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, he asked for help in the conquest of that extensive country from the soul, full of victories of his Holiness, the great Khwāja, that had always given help and victory to this fortunate *bādshāh*, who had always been helped by God. The time, by the rising of the dawn of spring, felt joy and happiness on hearing this news; and the daughters of herbage raised their heads from the bed of sleep to see the cavalcade of this *bādshāh* of the world. The morning breezes began to blow on his banners of victory and his standards of conquest. The sovereign of the seven kingdoms of the sky (the sun) reclined on his *masnad* in a noble and grand assemblage in the constellation of Aries, to view the fields of battle and slaughter, on the 17th of the sacred month of Ẓiqa'da, 981. At this time, one day, his Majesty, the world-conquering monarch, convened an assembly where in the presence of Saiyyads, and the nobles of the faith, and the masters of taste and devotion, and the learned in the knowledge of God, added to the honour of the holy ones. And sweet voiced singers and musicians of renown caused an excitement among the holy ones. The playing of soul entrancing instruments made the pure hearted *Sufis* shake their sleeves on the two worlds. His Majesty the *bādshāh*, the protector of the world, also found the time to be joyful, and opening his hand, which was prodigal like the sea in lavishing *dirams* and riches, ordered that heaps and heaps of *asharfis* (gold mohurs) and rupees should be poured out to the right and left of his seat; and he called each one of the men present to the imperial *masnad*, and he threw into their skirts, with his gem-scattering hands, handfuls of *asharfis* and rupees. As the noble heart became tired of this sort of giving, he began to scatter *asharfis*

and rupees like the leaves of trees; and such quantities of these were scattered about, that men were tired of gathering them up. It was ascertained from the men in charge of the public treasury, that in that paradise-like assembly, one *lākh* of rupees was distributed.

Verse;—

His hand is a cloud that showers gems,
Rather it is the sun that showers gold.

And on the 21st of the sacred month of Ẕiqa'da 981 A.H. corresponding with the 19th year of the Ilāhī era, he took the generous-hearted and noble minded prince Sultān Salīm, with himself for the circumambulation of the auspicious and heavenly illuminated tomb at Ajmīr. When the eye of that fortunate, God-gifted and successful prince fell on the tomb of the great Khwāja, he following the example of his illustrious father, bowed with great humility to the noble tomb and sacred threshold, and performed the ceremony of circumambulation, and the duty of pilgrimage.

When his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī returned to the palace, he placed the prince, deserving of the throne and the crown, in the presence of the great and the noble, in the scale of a balance against gold and silver and rich stuffs, and distributed the whole of this to deserving people. On the 23rd of Ẕiqa'da, in the early morning, he again prayed to the victory giving soul of his Holiness the Khwāja for attention and aid and assistance, and obtained permission to depart. He started on the 23rd of the month of Ẕiqa'da for the capital, and proceeded by successive marches, hunting along the way; and on the 9th of Ẕihijja of the year 981 A.H. corresponding with the 19th year of the Ilāhī era, the sun of his greatness shone on the palaces of Fathpur, and the eyes of hope of the people of the world were illuminated by the dust raised by the hoofs of the victorious horses.

A Narrative of the March of the Victorious army, for the Conquest of Patna and Hājīpūr.

At the time when His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī was besieging Surat, it came to his notice, that Sulaimān Karrānī, who had been one of the *amīrs* of Salīm Khān Afghān, the ruler of the country of Bengal and Bihar, and who had always shown himself as included in

the group of the well-wishers of the threshold by sending[1] petitions, died in the year 980. Bāyezīd, his eldest son succeeded him, but[2] owing to the want of moderation, which he had in his disposition was put to death by his *amīrs*.

Verse —

[3] See how the world, to its benefactors has
Shown such an unkindness great.
With fortune what jugglery it has done!
How it has played with the holders of thrones!

His (Sulaimān's) younger son named Dāūd then sat in his place; and placing his foot beyond his measure assumed the name of *bādshāh*. He, on account of his unruly disposition, destroyed the fort of Zamānia, which Khān Zamān had built, at the time when he was the governor of Jaunpūr. A [4] *farmān* having the currency of fate was then issued to the Khān Khānān for chastising Dāūd, and conquering the country of Behar. Dāūd was then at Hājīpūr; and Lūdī who was his *Amīr-ul-umra* or chief noble was [5] hostile to him; and

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[1] One MS. adds پیش کش و i.e. 'and tribute;' but the other MSS. and the lith. ed. and the translation in Elliot V, omit these words. Contrary to the statement in the text about Sulaimān Karrānī's showing himself to be a tributory, the Akbarnāma says that Sulaimān only showed an outward submission; and "H.M. regarded such outward submission as if it were real obedience," and did not interfere with him. Badāonī however, says, that Sulaimān استقلال تمام یافته بود, or had become completely independent.

[2] The words بواسطه بی اعتدالي که در مزاج داشت occur only in one MS., but I have inserted them in the text, as they furnish the reason for the action of the *amīrs*. Badāonī has بجهت بد سلوکي i.e. on account of his bad treatment (of the *amīrs*).

[3] These not very appropriate lines occur in both MSS.; but not in the lith. ed. In one MS. they are given where I have put them; but in the other they are written after the mention of the declaration of his independence by Daūd.

[4] One MS. has فرمان قضا امضا, while another has فرمان قضا جریان مضا and the lith. ed. has فرمان قضا جریان امضا. The second is clearly incorrect, and the third is tautological, جریان and امضا both having the same meaning. I have adopted the first reading.

[5] It appears from the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 97) that it was Lūdī who raised Dāūd to the throne, but he became hostile to the latter, on account of his killing his own cousin the son of Tāj Khān. The

was in the fort of Rohtās, where he had declared his independence. The Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān, at the head of the victorious (imperial) forces [1] arrived in the neighbourhood of Hajipur and Patna. Lūdī although he saw the ruin of the Afghāns by the eye of certainty, proposed peace to the Khān Khānān, inspite of the enmity which he had to Dāūd. He brought to the recollection of Khān Khānān the ancient friendship and affection which he had for Sulaimān, agreed to pay tribute of two lakhs of rupees in cash and one lakh in stuffs and induced the imperial troops to turn back. [2] He sent Jalāl Khān Karori to explain the terms of the peace to Dāūd.

As Dāūd was a disolute fellow, and had no experience of affairs, [3] he at the instigation of Qatlu Lūhānī, who had been for a long time

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Akbarnāma does not mention Srīdhar Bengali, but gives the names of Qatlū and Gūjar as the two men under whose tuition Dāūd was. According to the Akbarnāma peace was patched up according to their advice, between Dāūd and Lūdī; and the latter carried on a war with the Mughal army on the bank of the Sone. Dāūd then came to the house of Jalāl Khān Gidhaurah? (the Jalal Khān Karrori or Krori of the text); and there Lūdī was seized, and he and his *vakīl*, Phūl, were put to death. Lūdī's infant son Ismail was carried by Lūdī's well-wishers to the Khān Khānān.

[1] One MS. inserts كه درين طور وقت بمحض تائيد حق بهم رسيده بود between افواج منصوره بادشاهی را and سركرده, while another has the same words at the same place, but without the initial كه, while the others omit them altogether. The words mean, "Which at this sort of time had, simply by the help of God come together."

[2] There is no mention of this peace, as far as I can find out in the Akbarnāma. Badāonī does not say clearly with whom the Khān Khānān made peace. The last words of the sentence are translated, I think incorrectly, in the words "Then sending Jalāl Khān Karrori, he entered into a peace with Dāūd."

[3] The two best MSS. insert here با خود قرار داد كه چون صلح شود مغول خواهد بر گشت، خزانچی را طلبيده گفت، كه دو لكه روپيه نقد و يك لكهه روپيه اقماش سامان نموده بنظر در اورد، تا مصحوب مردم معتمد فرستاده شود; but they are not to be found in the other MSS. or in the lith. ed. or in the translation in Elliot V. The words mean that "He settled in his own mind, that when peace shall have been made, the Mughals would go back; and he sent for his treasurer, and told him to provide two lakhs of rupees in cash and one *lakh* rupees worth of stuffs, and produce these before him so that he might send them by trustworthy persons." His meaning probably was that the Mughals having gone away, he would be able to deal with Lūdī effectively.

in possession of the country of Jagannath and the neighbourhood, and [1] tempted by a Hindu Bengali named Srīdhar, and [2] according to his own foolish judgment seized Lūdī, who was his [3] chief noble and prime minister and made him over to Srīdhar Bengali. Lūdī sent for Qatlu and Srīdhar Bengali to the prison, and sent the following message by them to Dāūd. "If you consider that the good of the country lies in slaying me, quickly set your mind at rest about that; although after putting me to death, you will feel much shame and remorse. As I have never withheld good wishes and advice from you, now again I give you this advice; do you follow it, for it is for your good. That advice is this; that after my death, you should suddenly attack the Mughals; so that you may be victorious. If you do not do this they will attack you and then you will be helpless.

Verse;—

[4] Lose not opportunity, if thou hast it;
The ball of fortune, then wilt thou from the field take.
Opportunity is precious, once it's gone,
Much wilt thou, thy hand with remorse bite.

Do not be proud of the treaty with the Mughals, for they never let time slip through their hands."

As the star of the fortune of Dāūd or rather of all the Afghāns was setting, and as the holy God wished that their rule should end in ruin; and the sun of the justice and equity of His Majesty should shine upon the oppressed people of the country of Bengal; Dāūd decided that he should remove Lūdī, and should continue to rule, with a composed mind as an independent sovereign. Qatlu Lūhānī

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[1] All the MSS. and the lith. ed. have و تحریص سر یدهر "and temptation of Srīdhar." I have thought it necessary to insert به before تحریص.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have بحسن تدبیر ناقص خود. The word حسن appears to be very inappropriate, or it might have been used sarcastically.

[3] Two MSS. insert سپه سالار between امیر الامرا and مدار المک; while the two others have امیر الامرا alone. I have adopted the golden mean of the lith. ed.

[4] Only the first two lines are given in one MS. All four are given in another, but there are some variations and mistakes in them. The other MSS. do not give them at all. I have adopted the version in the lith. ed.

and Srīdhar Bengali, who had enmity and antagonism with Lūdī and knew that, in the absence of the latter, the work of minister and agent would be entrusted to them; and taking advantage of this opportunity, showed themselves to Dāūd as entirely disinterested; and repeatedly spoke to him of matters which would lead to Lūdī being put to death. Dāūd who was drunk with red wine, and proud of his youth disregarded the words of kind advisers, and determined upon the death of that unfortunate man; and seized his elephants and treasures, and all his retainers. As he was intoxicated with the wine of foolishness and ignorance, he took no steps whatever for the destruction of his enemy, and relying on the inchoate peace, which Lūdī had effected, took no heed.

[1]When the news of Lūdī's having been put to death was mentioned in the *majlis* (assembly) of the Khān Khānān, which was full of renowned *āmīrs*, he set his heart on the conquest of the countries of Bang and Lakhnautī; and turned towards Patna and Hājīpūr. In great spirits, he arrived by successive marches in the neighbourhood of Patna. Dāūd now regretting the slaying of Lūdi, who by his good management and wisdom and his keen intellect, had kept the territory of Bengal free from disturbances, and feeling depressed and sad, arrived by successive marches at Patna. At first he determined on a battle, but afterwards turning his face from the field of strife and slaughter, made up his mind to fortify himself in Patna. The Khān Khānān, hearing this good news, was pleased and happy; and saw in the vision of wisdom, the dawning of the morning of victory and good fortune, bright and shining from the horizon of the forts of

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[1] The events which followed the murder of Lūdī are narrated much to the same effect in the Akbarnāma and by Badāonī. According to the Akbarnāma, the Khān Khānān did not show much energy and initiative. He and the *amirs* with him "followed the path of vigilance and caution," and apparently entrenching themselves in the various camps, came to the neighbourhood of Patna. Dāūd in a cowardly fashion "shut himself up in the fort of Patna." Badāon says, in homely language, that when the Khān Khānān had the news of Lūdī's murder, his نان در روغن افتاد, which Mr. Lowe translates as "His loaf fell into the butter," or as one better acquainted with Indian food stuffs would translate "His bread or *roti* fell into the *ghee*;" and he turned to Patna and Hājīpūr; and Dāūd repaired the places which were broken and ruinous in the fort of Patna.

Patna and Hājīpūr. Dāūd, without a sword being drawn from its scabbard, or [1] an arrow being placed on a bow string, with the dust of the road on him, entered the fort of Patna; and [2] having repaired the broken and ruinous parts of it with great care, advanced a battery. The Khān Khānān with the advice and concurrence of the grand *amīrs* turned his attention to the siege of Patna.

In short when a report of this was submitted to His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, the resolution to proceed to Patna and Hājīpūr was confirmed in his inspired mind. He rested for a few days in the capital city of Fathpur, and then sent the camp and the elephants by road, appointing Mīrza Yusuf Khān Rizvi who was enrolled in the list of the great *amīrs*, to be the commander and officer in charge of the army. He entrusted the reins of the defence and government of the metropolice of Agra to the powerful hands of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān Naishāpūrī, who also was among the grand *amīrs*. He then attended by victory and triumph embarked in boats on Sunday the [3] last day of Safar in the year 981 A.H., with the determination to conquer the country of Bengal. The fortunate and the successful

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[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have و یا or و. This appears to me to be incorrect. I think there should be یا only, without the و. Nizām-ud-dīn frequently uses the word از گرد راه in respect of Akbar's visits to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn at Ajmīr. There of course it has some meaning, as Akbar might have gone to his palace and rested there before his visit to the tomb; but it appears to me quite inappropriate here, as Dāūd had no place where he might have gone before entering the fort. The meaning appears to be that he entered the fort in a great hurry.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. appear to differ, and to be all more or less defective. One MS. has بقلعه پٹنه در امده و مرمت نموده مرجل بخش کرد another has بقلعه پٹنه در آمده و شکست و ریخت قلعه را باهتمام تمام مرمت نموده مرجل بخش کردند while the others have بقلعه پٹنه در آمده مرمت نزول پیش گرفته and the lith. ed. has بقلعه پٹنه در آمده و مرمت نموده مترحل بخش کرد. They all mean much the same thing, but I prefer the second reading though I cannot make out the meaning of مرحل بخش کردند. Probably they are mistakes for مرچل پیش کردند.

[3] The Akbarnāma has Tuesday the 29th Safar (15th June 1574) as the date of the embarkation.

[1] princes also accompanied him. [2] Boats containing camp equipages and state equipages from the stores of armours and of drums, and from the treasury, and wardrobes and carpets, and cages of hunting leopards and kitchens and stables and all other state and domestic offices surrounded the large boats, which had been arranged for the emperor's special occupation.[3] In the same way fleets of *gharābs* and large boats belonging to the sublime government followed in succession and proceeded down the river; followed by the boats which the *amīrs* and the attendants of the threshold had provided for their own habitations and necessary offices. In the evening, which had the look of the true dawn the village of [4] Ratambh, one of the depen-

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[1] This agrees with the Akbarnāma, which according to the translation, says "in company with the august princes and the veiled ladies" but Badāonī says و شاهزاده بزرگ را همراه گرفتند i,e., he took the eldest prince (Salīm) with him.

[2] One of the two best MSS. inserts here ز دریا و خار عساکر که عرضش زاید The other has پیرنست در چنین اب مختصری در آمده روان گشت و خار عساکر ودر پار (unintelligible) عرضش پدید نیست در چنین اب مختصری در آمده روان گشت Neither version is quite intelligible, but besides, the words contain no material fact, and are I suppose a mere flourish of some kind. There is no corresponding passage in Elliot V, or in the Akbarnāma or Badāonī, except that the latter says و از کثرت کشتی و غراب روی اب پیدا نبود i.e. and on account of the multitude of boats the surface of the water could not be seen.

[3] The following rather silly lines occur in one of the two best MSS

کرد نهر ان سیه انـدر مهتـاب ، هم از زمین گاه هم از جوی آب ؛
کرد چنان گرد در ابـش تاثیـر کاب روان تیـره نمودي بهـر.
گر بدی انجا دو سه روزی مقام ، بسنه شدي پل زغبار تمام .

which may be translated

That stream became dark under the moon,
Both from the land and from the stream.
The dust produced such effect in its water,
That the flowing water looked black.
If they halted anywhere for two or three days,
A bridge would be built of that dust alone.

In the following sentence this M.S. has کرکر اقتحانه instead of کرکراقضخانه and جسر خانه instead of چیته خانه and omits بر before ود and adds سطح اب از کثرت غراب و نوارة پیدا نبود, i.e. the surface of the water became invisible on account of the multitude of *Gharābs* and boats.

[4] The name of the village is written as زینسته (Zinasta ?) and ریسه

dencies of Agra, became the halting place of the imperial procession; and a kind *farmān* was sent from this place to Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān apprising him of the progress of the sublime standard.

In the morning of Tuesday, the 1st of Rabī'-ul-āwwal, the drum of departure was struck and [1]anchors were raised. [2]Every day, along the river, (His Majesty) left his boats, and went out hunting. On Thursday, the 3rd of the aforesaid month, Muhammad Taimur Badakhshī and Taiyab Khān, son of Tāhir Muhammad Khān came from Dehli and obtained the honour of kissing the threshold. Every day [3]troops of servants of the threshold joined in the attendance and were honoured with being allowed to kiss the ground. In the village of Chakor a strange story reached the noble ears through certain servants of the threshold. The facts are these.

Strange Story.

One of the brāhmans (zunnārdārān, men with the sacred thread) in this village had a daughter of his own as a mistress or wife, and that wretched man had sons by her. An order, having the currency of fate was issued for the attendance of the brāhman and his daughter. When they attended, his sacred Majesty attended to the investigation of this wretched matter. That accursed man confessed the commission of this sinful act, without any hesitation. He said

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(Risa ?) in two of the MSS. The other MSS. say محلی که روانه شدند The name is given as Ratambh in Elliot V, page 375. It does not appear either in the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī. I have adopted Ratambh as the names in the MSS. may be that or anything else.

[1] The MSS. have لنگر را برداشدند i.e. the anchors were raised. In the lith. ed. the reading is لشکرها برداشتند, which is evidently incorrect. The translation in Elliot V, page 375 "The expedition proceeded" is apparently from some incorrect reading.

[2] The accounts of the voyage is given differently in the Akbarnāma. There is the mention of a storm on the day the boat halted at Itawah. The next halt was at Kālpī; and then there is a brief mention of the case of the wicked brāhman in the village of Cakūr. The repulsive story and the still more repulsive punishment are not given with such detail as in the Tabaqāt. There are accounts of frequent storms, and on several occasions of boats sinking and of panic among the people.

[3] One MS. has after جوق جوق, فون فون, while another has فئون فئون,

that the husband of that daughter of his had been killed some years before this, in the expedition to the country of Karha. It appeared from the tenor of his words that he had himself killed the man. It was also reported to His Majesty that Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, who at that time was the *jāigīrdār* of that *pargana*, had arrested the man for the offence, and after keeping him imprisoned for a time, had released him after taking a fine of two hundred rupees from him. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī was surprised at the meanness of Bābā Qāqshāl's spirit. At that time the accursed man said that he would become a Musalmān, if his daughter should be left to him as before. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, the composition of whose holy creed was mixed with modesty remained depressed and silent for a long time. After that, he summoned Qāzī Ya'qūb, who was the Qāzī (judge) of the imperial army, to the boat in which the *dīwānkhāna* (judicial office) was held, and asked him to explain the orders of the *sharia't* (or the law of the prophet) as regards the matter. Qāzī Ya'qūb, after praying (for the emperor's safety) submitted, that if this man had been a Musalmān, he would be by the concurrent opinion of all the *Imāms* of the religion, liable to death. But in respect of a *kāfir* there were two opinions. Some have gone for (advocated) the putting to death; and a number have said, that the man should not be put to death, so that men might know that according to the false creed of such men, such acts were allowed; and they might abominate the manners and practics of such men. His Majesty with much trouble accepted the former view, and made over both the persons to Khidmat Rāy, who was charged with the guarding of prisons, and the punishment of guilty persons. On the following day the [1] emperor ordered Khidmat Rāy, that the organ of generation and the means of his vice and wickedness should be cut off from the root and should be roasted before his eyes. That eternally accursed and forever condemned man ate that thing with great appetite, under the belief that he would probably be released after this punishment. The next day he was condemned to the

[1] There are two different readings. One of the reliable MSS. and the lith. ed. have خدمت رای گفت; the other reliable MS. has خدمت رای را گفتند. I have adopted the latter reading.

sword of punishment; and went to hell. His daughter repented of her offence, and escaped with her life.

On the 23rd of the aforementioned month, the site of Ilahābās which is at the [1] confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jumna; and is a very sacred place of the Hindus; and where the architect [2] Himmat 'Ali has laid the foundation of a city, [3] became the halting place of the great fleet. It so happened that on that day various classes of Hindus came from all sides of the country to bathe, in such numbers, that the jungles and the plains were unable to hold them. On the 25th of that month the convoy arrived at Benares; and [4] Shīr Beg Tawāchī was placed in a boat, [5] which in speed took the dust from the wind; and proved the truth of this,

Verse;

On every side of it the way (was passed) with a new speed,
Each step of it on the top of water new,
Swifter than a bird it winged its flight,
Faster than the wind in the day of a storm.

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[1] The MSS. have ملتقاء اب گنگ و جون, but the lith. ed has بکنار.

[2] The MSS. have همت علي, while the lith. ed. has چست علي. I am not sure whether Himmat 'Ali was the name of an architect or the همت علي, or the sublime spirit (of Akbar) is metaphorically described as the architect who laid the foundation of the city. The translation in Elliot V, page 375 gives no help. It does not agree with the text as in the MSS. or in the lith. ed. Nor is the Akbarnāma or Badāonī of any assistance.

[3] The author uses the stock phrase مخیم عساکر ظفر مآثر گردید, but there were, I suppose, no tents, nor any victorious army.

[4] The MSS. and the translation in Elliot V, and Badāonī have the name as I have it in the text. The lith. ed. has هر هگ تواچی; and the Akbarnāma gives the title as Tawācī-bāshī.

[5] The description of the speed of the boat to the end of the verses has been taken from the MSS. It does not appear in the lith. ed. nor in the translation in Elliot V. The translation of the Akbarnāma only says that Shīr Beg was sent in a swift skiff; and Badāonī says that the کشتی was سریع السیر, which may be correctly translated as fast-moving. The necessity of sending a message to the Khān Khānān is not at all clear, for it appears from the Akbarnāma that Qāsim 'Ali Khān came from the Khān Khānān near Ilahābās, and did homage.

and sent him to the Khān Khānān, so that he might warn him of the arrival of the sublime army at Benares. There was a halt of three days at Benares and the emperor greatly enjoyed the pleasure of hunting. On the 28th of that month the boats anchored in the neighbourhood of the village of [1] Korī, one of the dependencies of Saiyyadpur, near the confluence of the rivers [2] Kūdī and Ganges. At this place Mīrza Yusuf Khān, who was bringing the grand camp which was under his command, by the land route, prepared to have the honour of kissing the threshold. At this place, also, the world-adorning and kingdom-conquering wisdom decided, that he and the fortunate princes, and the ladies in the pavilions of chastity, should wait at Jaunpūr till the arrival of authentic news from the Khān Khānān. With this determination, he left the auspicious camp at that place, and ordered that the boats used for the imperial residence should be pulled up on the bank of the river Kūdī; and then they turned towards Jaunpūr.

Then when on the 2nd month of Rabī'-us-sānī, the imperial cavalcade halted at the village of Yehyāpūr, a dependency of Jaunpūr, a petition from the Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān arrived, to the purport that it would be right and fitting for the imperial welfare, that as much speed should be made in the march as possible. On receiving this, they halted that day, Thursday the 3rd of the afore-mentiond month at Yehyāpūr; and their Highnesses the princes and the ladies behind the screen of chastity and honour were sent to Jaunpūr and the standards were raised from that place to return to the direct road, and proceed to conquer Bengal.

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[1] The MSS. have كورى Kori, so also the translation in Elliot V. The lith. ed. has كرش, Kurush. The Akbarnāma has Godi. Saiyyadpūr according to a note in the translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, page 125 is the Saidpūr of the I.G., XXI, 344 and is in the Ghāzīpūr district.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. call it كودة Kuda, another MS. has مكودة Makuda. The translation in Elliot V, has Gumti in the text, but a note says "called in the MSS. Gūda and Gūrī, by Badāonī Gudi, and by Abul Fazl Kudi." The printed Persian Text of Badāonī has كودى which Mr. Lowe has transliterated as Gowadi, and he says in a note "often called Gumti, but the name, is properly Gumati, *i.e.*, having cows." The correct Sanskrit form however is Gomati and not Gumati.

At this time, also messengers bringing good news reported that Sultān Mahmūd Khān, the ruler of Bakkar, had accepted the call of the (summoning) angel of death; and the fort of Bakkar, which is the principal fort in the country of Sind, had come into the possession of the servants of the imperial government; and the details of this event are mentioned in their proper place. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi [1] took this to be a good omen for the conquest of Bengal.

Couplet;

With auspiciousness from that month and year,
That affairs might fortunate be from that omen good.

On the 4th of the aforesaid month, the boats arrived from the river Kudi again in the river Ganges; and Mīrza Yusuf Khān, who as the commandant, was bringing the auspicious camp along, was honoured by being allowed to offer homage. It was then decided that henceforward the grand camp should halt, so that it might guard the boats containing the royal residence; and the victorious army should comprise the forces marching by land and water. [2] As the ford at Khwājagīpūr appeared to be the right place for taking the [3] *halqas* of elephants across, on the 6th of that month the plains of Ghāzīpūr became the camping-ground of the grand army. His majesty, being inclined to hunt, landed from his boat. In the course of hunting a deer which is called a [4] *Ghumār* appeared before

[1] One MS. inserts here مراسم شکر بتقدیم رسانیدہ, having carried out the customs of offering thanks.

[2] This sentence appears in the MSS. but not in the lith. ed., or in the translation in Elliot V, or in Badāonī. The name of the place is جوحکپور in one MS. and خواجکي پور in another. The place is called Cocakpūr in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. It is not stated definitely there that the place was selected for taking the elephants over, but it is mentioned there that Akbar himself mounted an elephant called Mubārak-qadam, and led a procession of five hundred elephants across the river. One elephant called Pūskā was drowned.

[3] One hundred elephants make a *halqa* of elephants.

[4] So called in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but one MS. calls it a دھورمار, Dhūrmār. The passage about the hunt is omitted from the translation in Elliot V, and the hunt is not mentioned in Badāonī. It is mentioned in the Akbarnāma, but the local name of the deer is not given.

him. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī loosened a *chīta* on it and thought in his wise mind that if the *chīta* managed to catch the deer, Dāūd also would be caught in the talons of fate. Forthwith the *chīta* seized the deer, but the latter after much struggling released itself. At once another *chīta* was loosened. It seized the deer and devoured it. His Majesty seeing this, became pleased and hopeful; and said it would appear, that Dāūd would escape this time, in the war with the tigers of the forest of bravery; but on a second occasion he would be seized in the claws of destiny; and as it had gone on his inspired tongue, so it happened; as will be narrated before long in its proper place.

On Monday the 7th of the month, the sublime standards halted at [1]Gangdāspūr. At this place 'Itmād Khān the *major domo* (khwāja sarāi) who was included among the nobles, and had performed meritorious services in the siege of Patna, came in a boat to welcome the imperial cavalcade, and having been honoured with being allowed to render homage, described in detail all the incidents. He prayed that the greater haste that the emperor made in marching to Patna, the better and more proper it would be. [2]On this day, also, His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī summoned to his paradise-like *majlis* Mīrak Isfahānī, who was included among the attendants of the splendid threshold, and who always claimed to have a knowledge of the science of *Jafar* (divination, sortilage), and ordered him that he should examine the book of *Jafar*, and (report) what shape appeared beyond the curtain of fate, as the result of this auspicious journey. Saiyyad Mīrak in the presence of the eminent learned men, and the

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[1] The place is called Gangādāspūr in Elliot V, and Dāspur in the translation of the Akbarnāma.

[2] In the translation in Elliot V, page 376, it is said that 'Itamād Khān urged Akbar to hasten forward, who *thereupon* summoned Mīrak Isfahānī, which does not appear to be quite correct, as far as the text goes. It appears, however, from the Akbarnāma, that 'Itamād Khān represented that the enemy was very strong, and Akbar "for the sake of giving confidence to the disturbed hearts of the generality" summoned the diviner. The latter is called "Saiyid Mirakī, the son of Mīr 'Abdul-Karīm Ja'fari." Badāonī says that he wanted to learn the science (?), but was told, that it was a privilege of Saiyids, and could only be learnt by a Shiā. He accordingly declares it to be a forgery and an invention.

chiefs of the state, and the pillars of the government, who were present in that assembly, which was decorated like paradise, sent for the book of *Jafar*, and extracted letter by letter; and after the letters had been arranged, this couplet was found.

Quickly Akbar of auspicious fortune high,
Took the kingdom out of Dāūd's grasp.

After a few days the truth of this science which is the special property of the Saiyyads became patent to all.

On Tuesday, the 8th Rabī'-us-sānī, the ford of [1] Chausā became the camping ground of the grand pavilion. On this day, a petition came from the Khān Khānān, with the report, that an Afghān of the name of 'Isa Khān, who was celebrated among the Afghāns for his bravery had sallied out of the fort of Patna, with war elephants and a large army; and had engaged the victorious troops; and 'Isa Khān had been slain by one of the slaves of Lashkar Khān; and an immense host of Afghān had become food for the blood-shedding swords. The identical report was sent to the fortunate princes. On the following day, a halt was made at Chausā, for sending over the camp across the river. Dilāwar Khān was entrusted, with this work. On the 10th of that month the village of [2] Domni, one of the dependencies of Bhojpūr, became the encamping ground of the great army. From this place Qāsim Khān was sent to the Khān Khānān to inform him that the army had arrived at that place by water; and to enquire what should now be done? The Khān Khānān submitted that the sublime standards should, as before, come on by water; but the auspicious camp and army should march by land. He also submitted, that as much of the accoutrements of the soldiers had been destroyed during the rains, an order might be issued that such portions of accoutrements as might be required by the soldiers should be distributed to them from the imperial armoury. His Majesty sent large quantities of arms of various kinds to the

[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. and Badāonī all call it Jausa. The translation in Elliot V, has Chausa, the name by which the place is now known. The translation of the Akbarnāma has Causa.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. and the translation in Elliot V, and the translation of the Akbarnāma have Domnī, but Badāonī has رومنی, Romnī or Rūmnī.

Khān Khānān. The latter and other *amīrs* were later honoured at the distance of two *karohs* from Patna with the good fortune of kissing the threshold.

On the 16th of Rabi'-us-sānī, the sun of grandeur and good fortune shone on the neighbourhood of the fort of Patna. His Majesty, still seated in the boat with perfect dignity and grandeur, advanced towards the fort; and then descended and took up his residence in the dewelling place of Mun'im Khān. The latter performed the ceremonies of placing the foot, and supplication, and produced before him in the shape of tribute strings of pearls and dishes of gems and vessels containing valuable stuffs and delicate viands and ranges of Arab and 'Irāqī and roadster horses, and hundreds of elephants and lines of dromedaries and camels.

On the 18th Rabi'-us-sānī, the *amīrs* were called together at the house of the Khān Khānān for a conference. His Majesty declared that the period of the siege had been prolonged in such a way that the conquest of the province had been delayed. This however did not matter much. But now that the *huma* (phoenix?) of the imperial spirit had spread its auspicious wings for capturing the fort, the grandeur of the empire required that these men should not stand direct and firm on their feet in this fort, or indeed in the country. On the spur of the moment it came to his mind, that the fort of Hājīpūr, on whose help the life of the people of Patna depended, should be captured first; and then only the matter of the extermination of these people should be really considered. The *amīrs* and *Khāns* loosened their tongues in prayers for and praise of the world-conquering emperor, who first made this idea clear. In the same conference, the Khān-i-'ālam was selected to be sent with three thousand great horsemen, in *gharābs*, filled with all implements for the capturing of forts; and they were sent off with sails of grandeur spread out to destroy (capture) the fort of Hājīpūr.

[1] Rājā Gajpati, who was one of the zamīndārs of that country and

[1] He is called راجه كچيتي Rājā Kachīti in the Persian Text, and in the English translation of Badāonī, though a note in the latter says that he is called Gajpatī in the Tabaqāt. The translation in Elliot V, and Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma have the correct name, though the final *i* is incorrectly elongated in the latter. Gajpati is a corruption of Sans. *Gajapati*, which

had many *chardas* and *pāiks* (foot soldiers) with him, was appointed to reinforce the Khān-i-'ālam. [1]The next day, which was the 18th of the month, the Khān-i-'ālam crossed the river, and immediately with the dust of the road, embarked in a boat, and turned his face bravely to the conquest and capture of the fort of Hājīpūr. The tigers of the wilderness of bravery, going by the land route put forward their foot of courage in the field of bravery and boldness, and fought manfully. His Majesty viewed the battle from the battery of Shāham Khān Jalāir, which was situated on an elevation on the bank of the Ganges, and from where Hājīpūr was visible. As the state of affairs could not be clearly ascertained owing to the distance and dense smoke and dust; in the afternoon, a body of bold soldiers were put in three *gharābs* and sent towards Hājīpūr; so that they might bring correct information. When the eyes of the enemy of the confounded destiny, fell on these three *gharābs*, they sent [2]eighteen boats filled with brave warriors against them. When the two fleets came near each other, the brave warriors in the imperial boats, who were guided by the *bādshāh's* good fortune, routed the enemy, and did not let them go forward; and getting out of the action with the strength of their arms joined the Khān-i-'ālam. The breeze of triumph and victory now began to blow on the plumes of the dreaded imperial

means the Lord of elephants. Badāonī, both Persian text and the English translation, has a sentence about the number of his followers which is not very intelligible, but which contains two words جردہ and مانک *Jurda* and *Mānak*, evidently translated as horses and mares. These words appear to be identical with the چردہ and پایک of the Ṭabaqāt. I do not know what Mr. Lowe's authority is for translating them by the words horses and mares. I am not quite sure about چردہ; but پایک is a corruption of Sans. *Padātika*, a foot-soldier; and the word is well known in Bihar and Orissa and means, a runner. The *pāiks* of Mourbhanj were a body of picturesque rural force who appeared before King George the V, in 1911 in Calcutta.

[1] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 136, gives an account of an interview between Akbar and an ambassador of Dāūd in which, if Abul Fazl is to be believed, Akbar indulges in an awful rigmarole, and challenges Dāūd to single combat or to send one of his *amīrs* or one of his elephants to meet a warrior or an elephant of Akbar, but as that son of an Afghān had no spirit, he did not accept any of these just proposals.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, these boats were sent by the garrison of Patna to intercept the boats sent by the emperor.

standards. Fath Khān Bārha, who was the governor of Hājīpūr, and a large number of Afghāns became the food of the swords of martial vengeance and Hājīpūr came in to the possession of the Khān-i-'ālam. The heads of Fath Khān Bārha and other Afghāns were thrown in to the *gharābs*, and were sent to the threshold of firmament-like splendour. His Majesty having carried out rites of offering thanks to God for the capture of Hājīpūr sent the heads of Fath Khān and the Afghāns to Dāūd, so that seeing them with the eye of care he might become anxious and sad about the results of his own acts. Dāūd, when his eyes fell on those heads, and he saw the path of flight closed, was drowned in the sea of amazement and dismay.

On the [1] same day, which was the 18th of the month, His Majesty the monarch of the world mounted an elephant, and went to the top of Panj Pahārī, which is the name of a place opposite to the fort in order to reconnoitre it and the environs and the neighbourhood of the city. The Panj Pahārī or five domes was built by the heathen in ancient times of burnt bricks laid in tiers. His Majesty inspected all sides of the fort with a careful eye. The Afghāns who from the top of the wings of the citadel, and the bastions of the fort, looked at the imperial splendour, and the grand cavalcade, seeing their death, knew to a certainty that the thread of their lives had become twisted, and the tree of their hope torn up from its root; but inspite of that making a last dying effort they shot some cannon balls towards the Panj Pahārī., but no injury came to anyone from them. When the imperial army and troops, which was so numerous that neither fields nor forests could hold them, surrounded the fort from all sides; and the news of the victory of Hājīpūr came to Dāūd, he inspite of the fact that he had twenty thousand horsemen, and a large park of artillery and numerous *mast* elephants, got into a boat at midnight on Sunday, the 21st Rabī'-us-sānī and fled.

Verse;

He knew that he had not the strength,
That before the army of Jam, he should place a line of ants;
He ran away fast and went quickly out,
Like a fierce wind amongst hills and woods.

[1] Badāonī says on the following day.

And [1] Srīdhar, Hindu Bengali, on whom he entirely depended, and on whom, he had bestowed the title of Rājā Bikramājīt, took his wealth and treasures in a boat and followed after him. Gūjar Khān Karrani, who was the pillar of the state of that wretched man, opened the gate of the *āhūkhāna* (deer house), and driving the renowned elephants before him, went on the road of misfortune. The people, during the night which was a specimen of the day of resurrection, were perplexed and bewildered in whirlpools of amazement. Such of them as took upon themselves to go by water were most of them, owing to the crowded and congested state of the river, drowned in the sea of fate; and those who fled by land were crushed under the feet of elephants and horses in the narrow lanes and *gullis* of the city. A few for fear of death, in their dismay and confusion, threw themselves from the ramparts; and most of them threw away their lives in the ditches.

Gūjar Khān, who was the great pillar of Dāūd, on arriving at the [2] Punpun river, crossed the elephants over by a bridge which they had put up and went on. The Afghāns fleeing in his rear, crowded on the bridge. Suddenly the bridge broke in the middle, and many of the men fell into the water. Many others who had just come up to the bridge, threw away their goods and arms, and naked rushed into the water. When at the end of the night, the news of the flight of Dāūd reached the noble hearing, His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī performed the customs and ceremonies of offering thanks to God.

When the true dawn appeared, he appointed the Khān Khānān to the van; and giving strength to the vanguard under the shadow of his greatness, with great grandeur and pomp, entered the city of Patna. At this time, fifty six elephants, which the enemy had not been able to take away with themselves, were seized by the servants of the threshold, and brought before the noble eyes. The date of the victory of Patna, and in fact of the conquest of the country of Bengal, can be understood from the following hemistich

[3] The kingdom of Sulaimān from Dāūd passed.

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[1] Badāonī Persian text has سر هر هندي بنگالي. Mr. Lowe has Sarhar Hindi Bengali.

[2] A tributory of the Ganges that flows through the district of Gaya.

[3] The sama chronogram is given by Badāonī. The date comes to 983.

His Majesty, the world-conquering Khāqān remained in the city of Patna, till four *gharis* of the day; and gave assurance of safety to high and low. He left the Khān Khānān to guard the camp; and in his own sacred person, with troops of angelic power, went rapidly in pursuit of Gūjar Khān, who had all the elephants of Dāūd with him. When he arrived on the bank of the Punpun river, he plunged his bright grey horse without hesitation into the warring and tumultuous waters, and crossed over like a flash of lightening. The *amīrs* and the servants of the threshold following him, also crossed over. Then a noble order was issued, that the *amīrs* and the servants of the threshold should vie with one another in the pursuit of the enemy. The emperor himself also with greatness and good fortune passed on the way on wings of swiftness. The great *amīrs* pursuing Gūjar Khān separated him from the renowned elephants of Dāūd, and produced them before the illustrious eyes. They did not once draw the reins of their world-encompassing steeds, until they reached[1] *pargana* Daryāpūr, which was twenty-six *karohs* from Patna, and was situated on the bank of the Ganges. [2] About four hundred elephants of the size of mountains were put that night into the imperial *fīlkhāna* (elephant stable).

When the sublime standards halted at Daryāpūr, Shahbāz Khān Mir Bakhshi, and Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl were sent in pursuit of [3]Gūjar Khān. They went on feet of speed to the bank of the [4]Pulsahund river, which would be seven *karohs* from Daryāpūr. There they learnt that Gūjar Khān had carried out half his life on one foot (*i.e.* had escaped half dead with great difficulty), and had

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[1] Badāonī also says that Daryāpūr was twenty six *kūrohs* (*cosses*, in the English translation) from Patna; but the Akbarnāma says it was about 30 *kos* distant from Patna.

[2] Badāonī gives the same number, but the Akbarnāma has the more definite figure of 265.

[3] One MS. inserts here گوجر خانرا گرفتار سازند که شاید *i.e.* that they might perhaps capture Gujar Khān.

[4] Both MSS. have پل سهوند Pul Sahund, the lith. ed. has پل سوند, Pul Saund. The translation in Elliot V, has Balbhund river. The Akbarnāma does not give the name of the place from which Majnūn Khān returned. Badāonī, Persian text, has دریاچه بهوند and the English translation "A small river called Balbhund."

crossed the river; but most of his men had been drowned. Shahbāz Khān and Majnūn Khān returned, and obtained the honour of rendering homage.

[1]On Monday the 21st of the afore-mentioned month, the Khān Khānān, in compliance with orders, came by river and offered homage. He brought with him the boats used for the imperial residence, and some boats containing equipages. His Majesty remained in Daryāpūr for six days, and conferred the honour of the charge and the government of the territory of Bengal on the Khān Khānān. He left ten thousand horsemen out of the followers at his stirrups, to reinforce the Khān Khānān; and increased the stipends of the soldiers who were with the Khān Khānān, beyond what had been fixed, at the rate of ten to thirty and ten to forty. He bestowed all the boats, and the equipage which he had brought from the capital city of Agra on the Khān Khānān. He entrusted the reins of loosening and fastening, and the bridle of appointment and dismissal to his capable hands; and honoured and strengthened the other *amīrs*, and all his servants, with royal favours; and then raised the standards of power and the banners of good fortune for (a return to) the seat of the empire and the site of the capital.

After giving the Khān Khānān and other nobles permission to retire, he started from Daryāpūr; and Ghiaspūr, which is situated on the bank of the Ganges became the auspicious camping ground. The emperor halted here for four days, and spent the fortunate and prosperous time in inspecting the elephants of Dāūd and of all the Afghāns, which had now been placed in the imperial stables. From that place he sent the [2]army with the direction that they should

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[1] This agrees very closely with the account given by Badāonī; but Abu-Fazl says that a council was held at Daryāpūr, where after hearing the opinions of the *amīrs*, Akbar decided that the Khān Khānān should be ordered to conquer Bengal, and an army of more than 20,000 men with large equipments was sent with him, and he received a *jagīr* in Behār, etc. (See Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 144).

[2] One MS. has اردوی. The translation of this passage in Elliot V, is "He determined to go on tour to Jaunpūr rapidly. Leaving the command of the army as usual with Mirza Yousuf Khān he started" etc; whereas according to the text the camp was sent in advance with direction to march rapidly. Besides, the command of the army was not made over to Mīrza Yousuf Khān. He was only to conduct the camp.

march rapidly. The leadership of the camp and the army was entrusted as before to Mīrza Yusuf Khān. At midnight on Thursday, the 2nd of Jamādī-ul-āwwal in the year 982, corresponding with the 19th year of the Ilāhī era, he mounted the elephant [1]Gaj Bhaur and raised the standards for his return. In the early morning of Thursday, he stopped at the grand camp, which had halted between Daryāpūr and Ghiāspūr, and for a short time enjoyed the sight of a fight of some *mast* elephants, which had recently come into his possession

At this place Muzaffar Khān, who had risen from a clerkship to be an *Amīr*, and the brief account of whom has been written in previous pages, was sent with Farhat Khān, who had been a slave of Hazrat Firdūs Makānī (Bābar) may his tomb be illuminated ; and in these days was included in the lists of His Majesty's slaves, in order to capture the fort of Rhotas, which among all the forts in the great country of Hindustān, claims superiority, in the matter of elevation, over the lofty sky. He directed that after its conquest, the keys of its guarding should be entrusted to Farhat Khān ; and Muzaffar Khān should, after arranging the affairs of the *sarkār*, return to the foot of the throne, which resembled paradise. On Friday, the 3rd of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, His Majesty arrived in the fort of Patna. He made a general survey of Dāūd's buildings. From that place he turned his face of determination to the traversing of the distance ; and on [2]Saturday the 4th of the aforesaid month, the village of [3]Fathpūr Bihta, which is at a distance of twenty-one

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[1] The name of the elephant is گج بهور, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. *Kaj* means crooked and *Bhaur* is a corruption of Sanskrit *Bhramana*, travelling, or Bhramara, a black bee, so *Kaj Bhaur* has no meaning which would be an epithet for an elephant. If *Kaj* is changed to *Gaj*, we get Gaj Bhaur which would mean, a swift-travelling elephant or an elephant dark as a black bee. I have therefore adopted *Gaj Bhaur*. The name is not given in the translation in Elliot V, or in the Akbarnāma or Badāonī.

[2] One MS. has چهارشنبهٔ, but this cannot be correct, as the Friday being the 3rd, as stated in the earlier part of the sentence Saturday and not Wednesday would be the 4th.

[3] The name of the village is فتحپور بهتة, Fathpur Bihta in one MS. In the other it is فتحپور بهته, Fathpur Bihta also, but there are no dots under or above the letters of the second part of the name. The lith. ed. has فتحپور پٹنه

karohs, became the station of the tents, which were splendid like the sky. Mīrza Yusuf Khān and Sādiq Muhammad Khān were left in charge of the camp and the equipage; and on [1]Monday, the 6th of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, His Majesty arrived at Jaunpūr.

Verse;

Thanks be to Almighty God, that life to the body's returned,
The glad tidings to th' life has come, that th' beloved's returned;
The cypress straight, that from the empire's garden had gone,
To that garden has, with grace and beauty, returned.

On the [2]17th Jamādī-ul āwwal, the plains of Jaunpūr became the encamping ground of the pavilions of sky-like grandeur; and Mīrza Yusuf Khān and Sādiq Muhammad Khān and other servants,

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Fathpur Patna, and the trans. in Elliot V, has Fathpur Sahunda. Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma has Fathpur Patna. Badāonī does not name the place. Fathpur Bihta is undoubtedly the correct name. The place is said to be twenty *karohs* from Patna and this is the distance of Bihta from that city. Bihta is now a station on the E.I.R., on the east bank of the Sone; which is mentioned in the next sentence in the translation of the Akbarnāma as being close to the place.

[1] There is considerable difference in the readings here. One MS. gives a correct but brief and matter of fact version میرزا یوسف خان و صادق محمد خان را بجهت حراست اُردو و اروق گذاشته دوشنبه ششم ماه جمادی الاول بجونپور رسیدند. Another has a more florid and rhetorical version. It agrees with the other as far as اُردو and then goes on و اروق گذاشته انحضرت جهانگردی و عالم نوردی بجهانیان نموده، وقت ظهر روز دوشنبه ششم جمادی الاول، خطه دلکشای جونپور را، از لمعات برق سنان خسروی جهان، روشنی بخش زمین و زمان گشت *

The version in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed. are defective. I have adopted that in the first mentioned MS., though the verses which follow show that the author was inclined to be sentimental and poetic. The translation of the additional part of the other version is "His Majesty showing to the people of the world his activity in traversing the earth and in encompassing the world, on the afternoon of Monday the 6th Jamādī-ul-āwwal made the pleasant land of Jaunpūr become the illuminater of the earth and of the age by the lightning flashes of the spears of the monarch of the world."

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have هفتدهم, 17th; but the translation in Elliot has 7th. The date of the arrival of the camp does not appear to be given either by Abul Fazl or by Badāonī.

with the dust of the road on them, came to the *darbār;* and made their *kurnīsh*. Mīrza Yusuf and some other *amīrs* were received in audience and were honoured by being allowed to kiss the ground. In short, during the space of thirty-three days, that Jaunpūr became the station of the grand and sublime presence, the noble mind became composed with the conclusion of the affairs of the soldiers and the *raiyats;* and Jaunpūr and Benares and the fort of Chunar and other estates and *parganas* were included in the *khālsa-i-sharīfa* (royal exchequer); and the management of them was entrusted to [1] Mīrza Mīrak Rizavi, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sīkrīwāl.

On the [2] 9th Jamādī-us-sānī 892, A.H. (22nd September, 1574) corresponding with the 19th year of the Ilāhī era, the (emperor) left Jaunpūr, and the first halt was made at Khānpūr. He halted in this delightful place for four days. Among the events which happened during this time, one was this, that [3] Qāzī Nizām Badakhshī, who was one of the most learned men of the age, and was distinguished by the possession of great knowledge of sciences, both rational and traditional, and had a great share of the doctrines of Sūfī-ism and the practices of Sūfīs, and who had been one of the great *amīrs* of Mīrza Sulaimān, came from Kabul and Badakhshān, with the object of entering the service of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He had with him Firūzā, who was one of the *Khānazādas* (slaves) of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, who on account of his having been long in the service of scholars had acquired a share of erudition, and wrote the *Nastālīq* script. They had been honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold of sky-like splendour at Jaunpūr.

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[1] This agrees with Badāonī, Persian Text, Vol.II, page 182, but in the English translation Sīkrīwāl is made two words Sīkrī Wāl. The Akbarnāma (Bev.'s trans., Vol. III, p. 144) says that Rizavī Khān received the Viziership of the *Khālsa*, and does not mention Saikh Ibrāhīm Sīkrīwāl. In the translation in Elliot V, p. 381 he is called Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sīkrī.

[2] According to Badāonī Akbar set out from Jaunpūr on this day, the 9th Jamādi-us-sānī.

[3] Much of what happened to Qāzī Nizām, as stated in the text agrees with what is stated about him by Badāonī, but it is not said that he got the appointment of *Parwānchi*. According to Badāonī he was made Qāzī Khān, and afterwards Ghāzi Khān. The text is silent as to what happened to Firūza except that his affairs got worse.

Royal favours were now conferred on Qāzī Nizām, and a jewelled sword belt, and five thousand rupees in cash were given to him as a reward, and he was included in the band of the servants of the threshold. The post of *Parwānchīgarī* was also conferred on him; and within a short time, he was included in the group of the great *amīrs*.

And it was also at Khānpūr, that a petition came from the Khān Khānān, containing [1] the news of the capture of the fort of Garhī. The details of this brief statement are these. At the time when the contemptible Dāūd fled from Pātna, and arrived at Garhī, he left some of his trustworthy men there, and himself went to the town of Tānda. He made such exertions in the matter of the strengthening of Garhī, that according to his absurd idea, it would be impossible to pass through it within one year. But when the Khān Khānān, under the auspices of the emperor's great fortune, advanced towards Tānda by successive marches, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Garhī, immediately when the frightened eyes of the Afghāns fell on the victorious army, seeing as it were in person the angel, that holds souls in his grasp, flying above the standards of the servants of the imperial state, they took the path of flight; and Garhī was taken without battle or strife. On hearing this news, (the emperor) occupied himself with offering thanks to God; and sent repeated congratulatory and encouraging *farmāns* to the Khān Khānān and the other *amīrs*. He himself, under the wings of safety and good fortune, and riding bridle to bridle with victory, and attended by greatness,

[1] The Akbarnāma says that before Garhī was taken, the Khān Khānān took the towns of Suryagarh (which according to a note in p. 381 in Elliot V, which is based on a translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, p. 84, is situated on the Ganges about 80 miles from Patna. According to this note Rājā Sangrām of Gorakhpūr and Puran Mal Rājā of Kidhur rendered help in the taking of Munghyr). I have not been able to find this out, but according to Bev.'s translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, pp. 150–52, Munghyr, Bhāgalpūr and Colgong (Khalgāon) were taken and Rājā Sangrām of Kharagpur and Rājā Puran Mal of Gidhor made their submission. The defenders of Garhi were apparently panic-struck owing to the advance of the Mughal army in two bodies the vanguard of the army under Qiyā Khān by the high road, and some chosen horsemen under Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl along a narrow path by the side of a ravine.

traversed the stages, and passed through places, engaged in hunting and sports. On the 20th of Jamādī-us-sānī, he arrived in the town of [1] Iskandarpūr. At this place, the good news of success and the glad tidings of the capture of the capital city of Tānda reached the ears of the attendants of the threshold of pomp and grandeur; and the particulars of this joy-increasing event are these; that when the imperial troops passed the defile of Garhī, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Tānda, which was the capital of that country, at first scouts and spies brought information to the Khān Khānān, that Dāūd was standing firmly on his feet in Tānda, and was ready to give battle. On hearing this news, the Khān Khānān called together the great *amīrs*, and as a precautionary measure, busied himself in equipping the imperial troops On the following day, he started towards Tānda, with the army ranged in battle array. The multitude of his troops was such that the woods and plains could not hold them.

Couplet:

On land and sea from that terrible army,
There were thunders in the sky, and tremors in the land.

When Dāūd's spies carried this news to him, he and his chiefs remembering that dark night in Patna, which had been a specimen of the day of resurrection read the text of flight, and giving up all hope of rule, abandoned Tānda in great depression of heart, and with great longing. The Khān Khānān then on the 4th Jamādī-us-sānī 982, corresponding with the 19th year of the Ilāhī era, entered the capital city of Tānda, under the shadow of the greatness of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, without battle or strife. He made proclamations of peace and safety to the ears of high and low.

His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī performed various ceremonies of thanksgiving on obtaining this victory, which might be an introduction to the chronicles of the great deeds of the Sultāns of the ages. He then turned his face with faith and trust from a place, which was three stages from the metropolis of Agra, towards the holy capital of Dehli. The neighbourhood of Dehli became the encamping ground of the

[1] The text of the translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, page 153, says "which is near Mānikpur"; and a note says "Apparently the Sikandarpur of Jarrett II, 164, and which is in Jaunpūr *sarkār*."

pavilions of sky-like grandeur. He with true piety and purity of heart went to the tombs of the great (holy men), and Shaikhs who are the protectors of the helpless; and prayed for their help in obtaining his wishes. He made the *faqīrs*, and those who sat in the corners in the holy place, happy and cheerful from the [1] exchequer of his bounty. He also went to the holy tomb of his great father, which was the site of the holiest of tombs, and opening his hands, prodigal like the sea, in lavishing *dirams* and wealth, removed the custom of mendicancy and the practice of begging from the poor and needy. He remained for a few days opposite to Dehli, to allow some rest to the soldiery, and spent most of his auspicious hours in the pleasures of the chase.

In the early part of Sha'bān, the honoured, he raised the standard of his progress, from the capital city of Dehli towards Ajmīr; and went on, hunting. Within the boundaries of the town of Nārnaul, one day, when he was hunting, the Khān Jahān who had come from Lahore, with the object of offering his congratulations and felicitations, obtained the honour of rendering homage. His Majesty felt great pleasure on seeing him, and conferred many royal favours and imperial benefactions on him. After a few days, the Khān Ā'zam came by rapid marches from Ahmadābād, to offer his congratulations, and was honoured by being allowed the bliss of kissing the threshold. In the beginning of the auspicious month of Ramazān, the air of Ajmīr became perfumed with musk and ambergris by the dust of the hoofs of the horses of the imperial cavalcade. He went with the dust of the road on him to the tomb, which was the alighting place of the refulgent rays, of Khwāja Mu'īn-ul-haq-wad-dīn; may his tomb be sanctified; and performed the rites of pilgrimage and the ceremony of circumambulation. He made over to the *Naqqār-i-Khāna* (drum house) of his Holiness, a pair of kettle drums which had belonged to Dāūd, and which he had from the beginning kept apart out of the spoils of Bengal, as an offering to his Holiness

[1] There are some variations in the readings here. One MS. has و نهال امال فقرا و گوشهٔ نشینان مقامات متبرکه را از دیوان احسان. Another MS. and the lith. ed. omit the words نهال امال, and the MS. but not the lith. ed. has خوان instead of دیوان. The other MSS. are very defective, and say about Akbar's visit to Delhi, بدهلي آمده و چند روز تشریف داشته, started for Ajmīr.

the Khwāja, may his tomb be sanctified for ever! He went every day in accordance with his former practice to the tomb, which was illuminated with rays of splendour; and made the *faqīrs* and the needy free from all obligations of mendicancy by his offerings and gifts and charities.

At this time, [1] it was brought to his noble attention, that [2] Chandar Sen, the son of Māldeo, was causing harassment to the *raiyyats* in the neighbourhood of the forts of Jodhpūr and Siwāna, and that he was creating various kinds of disturbances. His Majesty nominated a number of *amīrs* to punish him, and appointed Taiyib Khān, son of Tāhir Khān *Mīr-i-Faraghat*, the governor of Delhi, Subhān Qūlī Turk and other warriors as their leaders. When the victorious troops arrived, in order to [3] punish the robberies and disturbances caused by that refractory person, he betook himself to an inaccessible place, a jungle densely covered with trees, and disappeared. The victorious troops got hold of some of his men, and struck them down with their ruthless swords, and having got much wealth as plunder returned safely, and with much booty rejoined the great camp. In the middle of Ramazān, his Majesty took leave of the spirit of his Holiness the Khwāja of high dignity and turned towards the capital. The same day he granted permission to the Khān Ā'azam to return to Gujrāt. At the end of Ramazān in the year 982 A.H. Fathpūr became the seat of the throne of the Caliphate.

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[1] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 155 says "Rāi Rāi Singh came in haste from fort Siwāna and reported that Candar Sen, the son of Māldeo, was making a disturbance in Jodhpūr, and that the army which had gone to take Siwāna had not been able to put him down." This is rather different from harassing the raiyyats and creating disturbances. One MS. has در خلال این ایام instead of همدرین ایام.

[2] More correctly Chandra Sena, the son of Malla Deva.

[3] Both MSS. have incorrectly بہ بینند instead of بہ تنبیہ.

A NARRATIVE OF CERTAIN EVENTS, WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THE END OF THE 19TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA, CORRESPONDING WITH THE YEAR 982 A.H.

As much of the land of the extensive country of Hindustan was lying [1] uncultivated but which still was capable of being cultivated in the first year, so that the benefit and advantages of such cultivation would reach both the cultivators and the imperial exchequer, after deep [2] thought, the (emperor's) noble wisdom, which from the beginning was devoted to the consideration of the amelioration of the condition of the subjects ('Ibad i.e., true worshippers) and the improvement of the country, directed that after examining the lands of the *parganas* included in the empire, an area of land which after being cultivated, should yield produce of the value of one *karor* of *Tangahs*, should be separated and should be made over to one of the servants (of the emperor), who would possess the necessary capacity and honesty and loyalty. That man was to be called a *Karorī*, and should be sent to the *pargana*, with a *kārkun* (an agent) and a cashier from the royal treasury. He should make his best endeavour with good faith and ability, and should in the space of three years bring the land under cultivation and collect the actual produce. In order to carry out this intention a number of men were selected, and appointed to perform this onerous work. A *karori* was also obtained from each *amīr* who had retainers, and was sent to the *amīr's* country on his security and responsibility.

It was also at this time, that Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and

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[1] One MS. has ویران و after نا مضروع. The other has only و between نا مضروع and افتادہ.

[2] One MS. has after تعمیق نظر. تافق فکر. The other MS. substitutes عمق for تعمیق. In the translation in Elliot V, p. 383, it is said that "some rules for dividing the profits of the first year between the government and the cultivator seemed to be required * * * * . The clerks and the accountants of the exchequer were to make arrangement with these officers and send them to their respective districts, * * * This translation does not appear to me to be correct.

Jalāl Khān Qūrchī and some other *amīrs* were sent to conquer the fort of Siwāna which was in the possession of the descendants of Māldeo. The seige lasted for a long time and Jalal Khān Qurchi, who was one of the paradise-like *majlis* (court) of the emperor, attained to martyrdom there. After that Shahbāz Khān Kambu was sent there. He obtained possession of the fort within a short time.

It was at this time also that a petition came from the *vakils* (agents) of Sultan Mahmud of Bakar, in which they stated that the Sultān had rendered the deposit of his life, and they did not place any trust on Muhibb 'Ali Khān and Mujāhid Khān. They prayed that if someone was sent from the threshold, they would make the fort over to him. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sent [1] Mīr Gesū Bakāwalbegī, (Superintendent of the Kitchen) who had received the title of Gesū Khān to take charge of the fort.

There was a severe pestilence and a great famine this year in the country of Gujrat, and they lasted for nearly six months. Owing to the distress and confusion, both the great and common people of that country abandoned their homes and became scattered. Inspite of the pestilence, grain became so dear that one [2] *maund* sold for one hundred and twenty black *tangas*; and there was no grass for horses and fodder for cattle, except the bark of trees. Another incident is this, that Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who had the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and was the permanent *vazīr* (prime minister) of the empire of Hindustan accepted the call of death, in Lucknow in the early part of Sha'bān 982 A.H.

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[1] The name is میر گسوی , Mīr Gesūī in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed.; but the title is Gesū Khān without the final ی. In the Persian text of Badāonī also the name is میر گسوی Mīr Gesūi but in the English translation it is Mīr Gesu. Bakāwal-Begi means head cook or superintendent of the kitchen. In the translation in Elliot V, he is called Mir Kisu Bakāwal-Beg. and Kisu Khān. The Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation Vol. III, pp. 128–29 narrates the events which happened after Mir Gesu's arrival.

[2] Badāonī names *jawārī* (maize) as the grain which sold for 120 black *tankas*. In the translation of Badāonī, as in Elliot V, the word black as an adjective of *tangas* is omitted. I suppose the black *tanga* was a copper *tanga*.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 20TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

[1] The beginning of this year was on [2] Tuesday, the 29th Zīqa'ada 282 A.H.

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[1] One of the two reliable MSS. begins the history of this year with the following instead of what appears in the text و درین وقت افتاب عالم تاب خسرو و نور بخش کرهٔ خاک و اب بجهته تهنیت و مبارکباد این فتح عظیم که طراز فتوح سلاطین نامدار است روز پنجشنبه بیست و هفتم ذی القعدة الحرام سنه اثنی و ثمانین و تسعمائه به بیت الشرق خود خرامیده نداء نشاط و انبساط بگوش عالم و عالمیان رسانید. و بشکر این موهبت عظمه و عطیه کبری خلاع اخضر بخاک نشینان کورهٔ ارغنی پوشانید. و روزگار بقدوم سال بیستم که با نو زور تشبیه توامانی دارد شرافت احیا باموات در یافته. و مدبران افلاک و خازنان اب و خاک بال مرتبت بر فرق اسمانسای حضرت شهریار گردون اقتدار گسترده ربقه بندگی و اطاعتش را در رنطه گردن‌کشان دوران و سرداران جهان انداخت. لاجرم هر که از درگهش سر بتافت ذلیل و خوار گشته هیچ جا عزت نیافت؛ و تصدیق این سخن؛ مصراع، بهر در که شد هیچ عزت نیافت. which may be translated. "At this time the world-illuminating sun, and the light-giving sovereign of the ball of earth and water, walked in to his eastern home, on Thursday, the 25th Zī-qu'da, the sacred, in the year 982, in order to offer congratulations and felicitations for this great victory, which is a model for the victories of celebrated Sultāns; and gave a proclamation of joy and happiness in the ear of the world and its inhabitants. In thanksgiving for this great gift and this splendid boon, those who sat on the dust of the ground were invested with robes of green. The age knew the nobility of life over death on the arrival of the 20th year of the Ilāhī era, which has the resemblance of twinship with the *naurūz*. The organisers of the skies and the treasurers of water and earth spread the plumes of grandeur on the sky-touching head of his Majesty, whose power and splendour are like that of the sky, and cast the yoke of homage and service on the necks of the turbulent of the age and the chiefs of the earth. Of a necessity, whoever turned his head from his threshold became wretched and miserable, and did not receive honour anywhere. The following is the proof of the truth of this.

Hemistich:

To whatever door he went he no honour got.

[2] The MSS. have شنبه, Saturday; the lith. ed. has سه شنبه, Tuesday; but both have the 29th Zī-qa'da as the date. The translation in Elliot V, has Monday, the 29th Zilka'ada (15th March, 1575); and the translation of the Akbarnāma has Friday, the 27th Zil-qaada 982 (11th March 1575).

A NARRATIVE OF THE WAR OF THE KHĀN KHĀNĀN WITH DĀŪD KHĀN AFGHĀN, AND THE DEFEAT OF THE LATTER BY THE VICTORIOUS TROOPS.

As by the good fortune of His Majesty the emperor, the capital city of Tānda had come into the possession of the Khān Khānān, Mun'im Khān; and the abandoned Dāūd had fled towards the country of Orissa, the Khān Khānān after putting the affairs of the country into order sent Rājā Todarmal with a number of other *amīrs* in the direction of that country, in pursuit of him. [1] He also appointed Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl to govern and guard Ghorāghāt. When Majnūn Khān went there, Sulaimān Mangli, who was the *Jāigīrdār* there, and who was distinguished among all the Afghān *amīrs* for his great bravery, collected his forces, and came forward with the intention of withstanding, and the purpose of crushing him. There was a great battle, and Majnūn Khān gained the victory. [2] Sulaimān Mangli was struck by the blood drinking sword, and fell on the dust of death His family and dependants and those of other Afghāns were seized and made prisoners.

Couplet:

Though there were many thorns of danger,
The thorns all became the dust of hell.

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[1] One MS. inserts ثانياً, i.e. (secondly) between فرستاد and مجنون خان. Ghorā Ghāt according to a note in page 384 in Elliot V, is 48 miles S.E. of DināJpur. Nothing is said in the translation of the Akbarnāma or of Badāonī to identify the place. Ghora Ghāt is printed as Gora Ghāt in the map appended to Elphinston's history and is marked as being situated on the Karatya 89° E and 25° N; and appears at one time to have been an important place as the name is printed in large letters like the neighbouring district towns of Rangpur and Dinajpur. It seems however to have declined in importance, as the name is very rarely mentioned now. The account of the happenings at Ghorā Ghāt as given in the text agrees with that given by Badāonī; but according to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation Vol. III page 169) Kālāpahār Sulaimān and Baba Mankali went to Ghorā Ghāt, and raised disturbances there. Majnūn Khān, Babu Khān Jabbāri and others were sent to put them down. Sulaimān Mankali was killed, and the families of the Afghāns and much booty fell in to the hands of the Mughals.

[2] The second name is written as منكلي and ميكلي in the MSS. and منگلي in the lith. ed. It is printed as Mangali in Elliot V, and Mankli in the translation of Badāonī.

So much booty fell into the hands of the Qāqshāls that they were unable to keep it and hold it all. Majnūn Khān married the daughter of Sulaimān Mangli to his son Jabbārī and went to Ghorāghāt. All that country was divided among the Qāqshāls, and the fact was reported to the Khān Khānān.

Rājā Todar Mal who had been sent in pursuit of Dāūd arrived by successive marches at [1] Madāran. The scouts then brought him news that Dāūd was at [2] Din Kasari; and was collecting men, and day by day his forces were increasing in strength Rājā Todarmal halted at Madāran, and sent a detailed report to the Khān Khānān. When this report reached the latter, he sent Muhammad Qūlī Khān Birlās, Muhammad Qūlī Khān Tūqbāī and Muzaffar Khān Maghūl with a well-equipped army to reinforce the Rājā. When these nobles joined the latter, they in consultation with one another, started from Madāran, and did not once draw their reins in their rapid march till they arrived at [3] Gwālīār (probably a mistake for Goālpārā) which is ten *karohs* from Dīn Kasārī. Dāūd on hearing this news, went further back and took up a strong position at [4] Dharpūr.

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[1] According to a note in page 385 of Elliot V, "Madāran is in the Hughly district between Burdwan and Midnapūr, see Blochmann 'Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, page 375." It is now known as Garh Mandāran, and is mentioned in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's Bengali novel called Mrinālīnī. It is not far from the boundary of the Hughly and Bankura districts.

[2] The name of the place is given as دین کشاری, Dīn Kashārī and رین کساری, Rīn Kasārī in the MSS. In the lith. ed. it is دهي کساری Dihi Kasārī. though further on it is also written as Dīn Kasāri. It is printed as Dīn Kasārī in Elliot V, page 385. Badāonī, Persian text, has درین کساری. The English translation has Rīn Kasārī, on the presumption, that درین کساری is a mistake for در رین کساری. The name does not appear in the Akbarnāma.

[3] The account of the pursuit of Dāūd as given in the text agrees generally with that given by Badāonī; but the Akbarnāma, as in the case of the fight at Ghorā Ghāt, gives a different account, with different names of persons and places.

[4] The name of the place is دریر پور Darīrpur and دهر پور, Dharpūr in the MSS.; and دهرمار Dharmār in the lith. ed. In the translation in Elliot V, it is Phupur. Badāonī Persian text has روهر پور, but هرپور and روهرپور are given as variants. The Akbarnāma Bev.'s translation III, 174 has Harpur for Haripur, or perhaps Harpat. Jarrett 225. I.O.M, 236 has Dharpur.

About this time spies brought the news that Junaid, the son of Dāūd's uncle, who among the Afghāns was the most famous man of the age on account of his bravery and valour, and who had formerly entered the service of the (emperor), and had fled from Agra to Gujrat, and had now come from Gujrat to Bengal, wanted to come to Dīn Kasārī and join Dāūd. Rājā Todarmal with the advice and the concurrence of the *amīrs* sent [1] Abul Qāsim Namki and Nazr Bahādur to attack Junaid. They considered an engagement with him to be an easy matter, and did not act with circumspection and caution; and [2] had to take to flight, and thus to bring disgrace on themselves.

Hemistich:

No enemy should be counted as helpless and weak.

Rājā Todarmal on receiving this news, with the advice of the other *amīrs* turned to attack Junaid. The latter did not consider that he was in a position to meet them. He fled and took shelter in the jungle [3] before they could come up to him. Rājā Todarmal with the concurrence of the other *amīrs* advanced further, and halted in Medinīpūr. At this place, Muhammad Qūlī Birlās lay on the bed of weakness for some days, and passed away. As he was a *sardār*, and many things depended upon him, his death produced some weakness and trouble in the imperial force.

Rājā Todarmal with the advice of the remaining *amīrs* returned from Medinīpūr, and came to Madāran. At this place [4] Qīyā

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[1] This name is given as ابو القاسم نمکی, Abul Qāsim Namki in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. In the translation in Elliot V, it is Abul Kāsim Namaki. Badāonī gives the name as میرزا ابو القاسم, with a variant غمگین for کو سالہ کہ نمکین ملقب است (given in a foot-note). In the translation of the Akbarnāma the second name is Namakin.

[2] This agrees with Badāonī; but the Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 170 gives a very different account. "By heaven's help" it says "they did good service and the enemy suffered loss," etc.

[3] Apparently Jhār Khand.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, there was some suspicion of his having been poisoned by one of his own servants. (Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 180 and note.) It also appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 172, that a party of the *amīrs*, whom Abul Fazl calls the babblers, who were at enmity with the Khān Khānān made Qīyā Khān their leader, and they resolved to proceed to court by way of Jhār Khand.

Khān Gang, becoming, without any reason, dissatisfied with the other *amīrs* went away into the jungle. Rājā Todarmal reported the fact to the Khān Khānān and remained for some days at Madāran. The Khān Khānān, on receiving this information sent Shāham Khān Jalāir and Lashkar Khān, Mīr Bakshi, and Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah and [1] Kujak Khwāja to reinforce Rājā Todarmal, and they joined him at Bardwān. The Rājā left the other *amīrs* there, and himself went to Qīyā Khān, and after giving him encouragement and comfort, brought him back with himself and joined the other *amīrs*.

Couplet:

One who is really wise, puts things, with a word, aright,
That a hundred warriors bold can ne'er achieve.

He then marched with great strength, by way of Madāran, to [2] Jitura. At that place, the spies brought the news, that Dāūd had left his family in the fort of [3] Katak Banāres, and was busy with the preparation of materials of war and strife. The Rājā halted where he was, and sent swift messengers to the Khān Khanān, and in-

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[1] The word is کجک in the lith. ed., and کهجک in one of the reliable MSS. The other reliable MS. is very defective at this place, the whole of the passage from بیموجب to نزد قیاخان about three lines of the lith. ed. is omitted. The translation in Elliot V, omits the names of the officers who were sent to reinforce Rājā Todar Mal except that of Shāham Khān Jalāir. Badāonī does not give the name of Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah, but the Akbarnāma gives it but omits the latter portion.

[2] The name is written as جقورہ, Jaqūra, and جتورہ, Jitura in the MSS. and جنورہ, Janura in the lith. ed. It is Jitura in the translation in Elliot V. Badāonī Persian text page 193 has جهورہ Jhūra, but further down, the place is called صجهورہ, p. 194 but the English translation has Bajhōra, the به which means 'to' being prefixed to Jhora the name of the place; and a note says (see Blochmann 375). Elliot V, page 346 has Jitura. On the other hand the Akbarnāma has Citua or Chihua, which is said in a note to be in sarkār Madāran, the Cutwa of Jarrett II, 141. It is in Midnapore near Ghattal, Beames, R.A.S. for 1896, page 106.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. has کنک بنارس Kanak Banāras, but Elliot V, has Katak Banāras and Badāoni Persian text has کنک بنارس, and the English translation Katak Banāras.

formed him of the facts of the matter. The [1] Khān Khānān immediately left Tānda, and advanced to make war against Dāūd. When he joined Rājā Todarmal, Dāūd also with a well equipped army came and confronted him. The Afghāns dug a ditch round their camp and made an entrenchment.

On the 20th of the sacred month of Zi-hijja 982 A.H., corresponding with the 20th year of the Ilāhī era, the Khān Khānān arranged his victorious troops in this way. The *qaul* (centre), which is also called the *qalb* of the army, the [2] Khān Khānān and other *amīrs;* the *altamsh*, Qīyā Khān Gang; vanguard Khān 'Ālam, Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah Kujak Khwāja, Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, Mīrza 'Ali 'Alam Shāhī, and most of those who had come to reinforce the Khān Khānān; the left wing Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshi, Rājā Todarmal, Lashkar Khān, Muzaffar Khān Maghūl, Yār Muhammad Arghūn, Abul Qāsīm Namkī and other warriors; the right wing Shāham Khān Jalāir, Pāinda Muhammad Khān Maghūl, Qutlaq Qadam Khān, Muhammad 'Ali Khān Tuqbāī, Saiyyad Saman Bukhārī, and other brave men, who had performed feats and seen warfare before. On the side of the enemy, Dāūd was at the centre; Ismail Khān Ābdār, who had the title of Khān Khānān with some other *amīrs* was at the left wing; and Khān Jahān, governor of Orissa held the right wing. The vanguard was commanded by Gūjar Khān, who was the main prop of the Afghāns.

In short, after the lines had been arranged, the pillars of the earth began to shake under the load of the armour of the *mast* elephants of the size of mountains; and the globe of earth rose from its place owing to the blows of the hoofs of the [3] horses and cattle. War-seeking soldiers advanced fast and furiously from the

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 173) the Khān Khānān was not carrying on the war with sufficient vigor, so "The prescience of the world's lord took matters into its hands," and directed that the Khān Khānān should address his energies to the extirpation of Dāūd.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's trans. III, 174) this battle took place at Tukaroi, now in the Balasore district. Many of the names given below, with other names are given in the translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, page 175.

[3] One MS. adds هامون نورد, and another غبار مانند after ستوران, but the other MSS. and the lith. ed. have no adjective.

Afghān ranks. The Khān Khānān ordered that the mortars and the light guns, which had been placed on carts in front of the lines of soldiers should be fired. Some *mast* elephants which were in front of the Afghān lines were turned back by the balls fired from the guns. Some of the Afghān warriors who had bravely come forward from their ranks were struck down by musket-shots. About this time, Gūjar Khān came up with a well armed force; and when he came close to the imperial vanguard, the [1] horses in that body became so restive for fear of the elephants of the enemy, that the brave warriors, although they wanted to turn them back and fight, found it impossible to do so. Gūjar Khān now swept away the vanguard, and attacked the *Altamsh*, which was under Qīyā Khān Gang. Khān 'Ālam who commanded the vanguard stood firm at his post and attained to martyrdom. The *Altamsh* also could not maintain its position, and being defeated, joined the main central detachment. That also was routed. The Khān Khānān although he exerted himself and fought as manfully as he could, to keep his men together was unable to do so. Gūjar Khān came up to him, and inflicted several wounds on him, and the Khān Khānān in answer to each blow struck at him with his [2] whip. At this juncture his horse stumbled and became unruly, and although he tried to hold the bridle, and rally the men who had fled, found it impossible to do so. The Afghāns pursued the Khān Khānān for a distance of half a *karoh*. Qīyā Khān Gang turning to the Afghāns on both sides showered arrows on them, till gradually things came to such a pass that the Afghāns had no power left in them to move. The Khān Khānān had by this time turned the bridle of his horse, and had collected his men round him; and with a small number of men, placed his foot in the field of bravery. The warriors being now within bow shot began to shower arrows. Then an arrow from the bow string of destiny hit Gūjar Khān, and struck him down.

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[1] It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 176 that the horses were frightened because the tusks and heads and necks of the elephants were covered with black yak tails, and the skins of those animals.

[2] The words used are قمچي بر گوجر خان راند. قمچي is a Turki word meaning a whip. Badāonī in the corresponding passage has تاز یانه, a rod or whip.

Couplet:

As the sword of his victory had gone astray,
What good, that profitless strength, did him gain ?

The other Afghāns who saw their leader slain turned their back on the field of battle and were routed. The victorious troops hurled most of the wretches on the dust of death. Rājā Todarmal and Lashkar Khān and the other *amīrs*, who had been stationed in the left wing attacked the right wing of the enemy; and in the same way, Shāham Khān Jalāīr, Pāinda Muhammad Khān, and the other *amīrs* who had been in the right, attacked their left wing. They swept away both wings of the Afghān army; and turning towards Dāūd drove away his *mast* elephant by showers of arrows among his troops, and threw the stone of dismay among his men. About the time that this happened, the standard of the Khān Khānān appeared before the eyes of the men; and the news of Gūjār Khān's death reached Dāūd; and being unable to stand firm, he fled in great distress.

[1] Couplet:

His body he surrendered to flight,
To carry away his life, he counted a gain.

So much booty fell into the hands of the soldiers that they were unable to take possession of it all. The Khān Khānān, now crowned with victory and triumph, halted at the same place; and remained there for a few days for the treatment of his wounds and submitted a report of the facts to the threshold of sky-like splendour. He made all the prisoners food for the merciless swords. After a few days, Lashkar Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, who had performed meritorious services, as he had suffered wounds, made over the deposit of his life at the call of death.

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[1] This couplet is not in the lith. ed., but it is in both the good MSS. It is, however, in one of them after the sentence about the stone of dismay, while in the other it is where I have placed it.

AN ACCOUNT OF DĀŪD'S MAKING A TREATY OF PEACE, AND HIS MEETING WITH THE KHĀN KHĀNĀN.

As owing to the auspicious fortune of His Majesty the world-conquering monarch, Dāūd Afghān [1] fled and escaped towards [2] Katak Banāras, which is the centre of the country of Orissa, and the Khān Khānān had to remain at the place where he had defeated him, for a few days, for the treatment of his wounds, he held a conference; and by the advice and with the concurrence of the renowned *amīrs*, Rājā Todarmal, Shāham Khān Jalāir, Qiyā Khān, Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, Muhammad Qūlī Khān Tuqbāī and Sā'īd Badakhshi were sent with a large number of brave men, who had seen much warfare, and had tasted the hot and cold of the times, in pursuit of Dāūd; and it was settled that the Khān Khānān himself should proceed towards that [3] *Sūba*, after his wounds should have healed. Rājā Todarmal and the other *amīrs*, on receiving orders to leave, did not draw their bridles of swiftness till they arrived within three *karohs* of [4] Kalkal ghātī. After they had halted there, the spies brought the news, that Dāūd and the other Afghāns had placed their families and children in the fort of Katak Banāras, which they had strengthened. As there was no room for them in the plains of Bengal, and they had no place where they could have a foothold or shelter, they had set their hearts on death, and their bodies on war; and had commenced to collect materials for war and strife. Day by day those who had escaped the sword were gathering together. Rājā Todarmal and the *amīrs* [5] reported these facts to the Khān

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[1] One MS. inserts here بهٔ نکبت تمام, i.e., in great wretchedness.

[2] It appears that Atak (Attock) and Katak (Cuttack) which were at the two extremities of the empire had the word, Banāras (Benares) affixed to them.

[3] One MS. and the lith ed. have بانصوبه, but another MS. has بانصوب. The translation in Elliot V, has simply "would follow".

[4] The MSS. have کلل کوهي, Kalal Kohī and, کلکل کاتهي Kalkal Kāthi. The lith. ed. has کلکل کلهي Kalkal Kalhi. Elliot V, and the English translation of Badāonī have Kalkal Ghātī. The Persian text of Badāonī has کلکل کهاتی Kalkal Khāti. Abul Fazl mentions Bhadrak as the place to which the imperial troops came. Bhadrak is now the headquarters of a civil subdivision of the district of Balasore, and is a station on the B. N. Railway.

[5] It would appear from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III,

Khānān. The Khān Khānān advancing with his face of power towards Katak Banāras did not [1]draw his bridle of bravery till within two *karohs* of that place. There a conference having been arranged, with the concurrence of the *amīrs*, the tents of firmament-like grandeur were pitched on the bank of the [2]Mahānadī, which is half a *karoh* from Katak Banāras, and preparations for the collection of materials for capturing the fort were commenced.

As Dāūd had been defeated repeatedly, and Gūjar Khān, who was his main support, had been slain, he saw his own death before his eyes; [3]and with humility and helplessness sent an emissary to attend on the Khān Khānān, with the message, that "It was not the course of greatness, to try to extirpate a body of Musalmāns, and that this slave (i.e., he himself) like all the other slaves wished to serve the threshold, which was the nest of the angels. It was his prayer that a corner of the extensive territory of Bengal, which would be sufficient for their support might be fixed, so that contenting themselves with it, they would not turn their heads from the line of service." The *amīrs* reported the purport of this proposal to the Khān Khānān.

Couplet:

Give protection to him, that doth it seek;
For protection-giving is better than war.

The Khān Khānān, after much exchange of messages, accepted the prayers of the *amīrs*, on this condition, that Dāūd should come

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183-84, that there was dissension among the *amīrs*, and the Rājā had to write that "If reliance were placed on conceited men (a note says that the Rājā was probably referring specially to Qiyā Khān) who were inefficient and heedless of the day of reckoning, things would again become difficult"; and the Khān Khānān, whose wounds had not yet healed, set off in a litter (*sukāsan*) and speedily arrived.

[1] The language is figurative, as he was in a litter. See the preceding note.

[2] The name of the river is Mahindri in the MSS. and in the lith ed. and the Persian text of Badāonī. This is, of course, incorrect.

[3] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 184, says that "Dāūd, at the advice of tricksters, adopted feline stratagems", "his emissaries by gold and words induced the leaders of the army to come to terms", * * "Rājā Todar Mal, who knew the real state of the case, exerted himself, hand and foot, but it was of no use."

in person and render homage; and should confirm the engagement in person by strong and solemn oaths. Dāūd, also, agreed that he would come and render homage to the Khān Khānān, and confirm the engagements and promises in person.

The next day, the Khān Khānān ordered that a grand assembly should be arranged. The *amīrs* and the servants (of the empire) who were present in this expedition took their stations, at the proper places, in accordance to their conditions and ranks; and stood in lines in handsome array, at the door and in front of the pavilion. Dāūd also with the Afghān *amīrs* and great *sardārs* came out of the fort of Katak Banāras, and came to the Khān Khānān's camp. When they arrived near the pavilion, the Khān Khānān got up with great courtesy to show his respect and esteem for Dāūd, and walking across the floor, met and welcomed him. When they came face to face, Dāūd took his sword off from his belt and held it before himself. He said "When an esteemed person like you receives wounds, I am vexed with soldiering." The Khān Khānān took the sword from his hand and made it over to one of his bodyguard. He caught Dāūd's hand with kindness; and gave him a place by his side, and made affectionate and fatherly inquiries. The butlers brought various kinds of food and drinks and sweets. The Khān Khānān, very delighted (with what was happening), repeatedly pressed Dāūd to partake of the food and drinks. After the viands had been taken away a conversation about the promises and engagements took place. Dāūd entered into an [1] agreement, that as long as he lived he would not transgress from the path of loyalty; and he confirmed this agreement with strong and solemn oaths. A treaty was accordingly drawn up; and after this had been done the Khān Khānān [2] gave a sword, with a valuable jewelled belt, which was

[1] The terms of the agreement are given in the Akbarnāma, pages 184–85 Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation. It also appears that the assembly to which Dāūd came took place on the 1st Muharram 981 (12th April, 1575). Abul Fazl's account of what happened in the interview is different in some particulars from what is stated in the text. He says that every one showed joy, except "Raja Todar Mal, who from his far-sightedness, kept his head in the fold of thought, and who was not present in the banqueting hall, nor put his seal to that document of peace."

[2] The MSS. omit دادن, "gave." I think دادن should be retained, and a ی inserted after it. I have inserted it.

brought from his own office (*sarkār*), to Dāūd; and said "As you have now been included in the band of the servants of the threshold of sky-like grandeur, and have become a loyal servant, I shall pray that the country of Orissa might be given to you for your subsistence from the grand treasury; and His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, with his innate generosity, will grant the honour of acceptance to my prayer; and would confer this stipend which I fix for you now. Now I shall gird this sword of leadership afresh round your waist"; and with his own hand he tied the sword round his waist; and after showing him much courtesy and politeness, and presenting him with various sorts and kinds of elegant things bade him farewell. The assembly then broke with much cheerfulness.

The Khān Khānān then returned from that station under the wings of good fortune; and on the 10th Safar 983 A.H., arrived at Tānda, the capital of Bengal. He then submitted a report of the happenings to the threshold, which was the asylum of Sultāns. When the report of the settlement of the affairs of the country of Bengal reached His Majesty, he held it to be satisfactory and praiseworthy, and issued a gracious *farmān* to the Khān Khānān; and sent him a splendid robe of honour and a jewelled sword belt and a horse with a golden saddle; and all the petitions and prayers which he had made received the honour of acceptance.

At the time when the Khān Khānān was in the neighbourhood of Katak Banāras, the sons of Jalāl-ud-dīn Sūr, in conjunction with the *zamīndārs* of Ghorāghāt, commenced a war with Majnūn Khān, and having defeated him pursued him to the boundary of Tānda, and took possession of the fort of [1]Gaur. Mu'īn Khān and Majnūn Khān occupied themselves with the guarding of Tānda; and waited for the news of the victory of the Khān Khānān. When the news of his return became known, the enemies became scattered and entering the jungles disappeared.

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[1] The name is given as گوړ گهاټ in one MS., but the other MSS., and the lith. ed. have گور. Badāonī Persian text has گور, and the English Translation and the translation in Elliot V, have Gaur. In the translation of the Akbar-nāma Vol. III, page 186, where this insurrection is mentioned, there is no mention of any fort being captured by the Afghāns.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE 'IBĀDAT KHĀNA (HOUSE OF WORSHIP).

As from the beginning of the time of his adolescence, which was the commencement of the glad tidings of grandeur and greatness, His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī had by the guidance and direction of good fortune, a great desire for the society of men of high attainments and perfection, and the company of persons of contemplation of and immersion in Divine goodness, and always held these persons of precious existence, high in his affection and esteem, and used to ask them to attend his court which was like paradise and his assemblies which were like the high heaven; and had acquired much Divine knowledge by listening to the subtleties of the sciences and knowledge of ancient and modern times, and the histories of ancient times and of old religions, and of the happenings in the various sections of the world; and from the great desire which he had for the society of such people; at the time of his return from the beneficent journey to Ajmīr, in the sacred month of Zi-l-qa'da in the year 982 A.H., corresponding with the 20th year of the Ilāhī era, a noble order was issued that skilled architects, and expert builders should lay the foundation, by [1] the side of the noble palace, of a building of the manner affected by the *Sūjīs*, and of a pure abode (*nashīman*) into which none but Saiyyads of high standing and learned men and Shaikhs should have access. The quick and active builders, in accordance with that world-obeyed order, completed the building consisting of four corridors within the appointed time. After the completion of that auspicious place, His [2] Majesty the

[1] The actual words are در جنب which mean by the side of. Badāonī has نزدیک, near, but in the translation in Elliot V, the, *'Ibādat Khāna* is said to have been built in the garden of the royal palace. The ایوان *Āywāns* of which the building consisted are called 'halls' in Elliot V and by Lowe, and 'verandas' by Beveridge. I think, however, that the proper name would be a corridor or cloister. Mr. Beveridge says in note IV, page 158, "the original building must surely have been much larger than what is now pointed out as the *'Ibādat Khāna*." I think, however, that those who have seen it, must agree with me that it is now as Akbar left it.

[2] The account of the meetings in the *'Ibādat Khāna* given in the text is disappointing. First of all, there is the statement that none but Saiyyads, etc.,

Khāqān, who had the sky as a slave, passed his auspicious hours on Fridays and other holy and auspicious nights, keeping awake all night till the rising of the great luminary (the Sun), in that abode of holiness and of loving companionship in the company of pious men. It was ordained that Saiyyads should sit in the western corridor; and Shaikhs and men of learning and wisdom and pious men without confusion or intermixture in the southern. A number of the *amīrs*, and the attendants of the threshold, who were connected with the men of wisdom and of ecstatic devotion sat in the eastern corridor. His Highness the Khāqān used to illuminate all the four assemblies with his honour-conferring steps; and conferred gifts to those who were present there from the stores of his benefactions. He used to select a number of those who were present, and directed them that they should bring before his noble eyes such of the deserving men as should have collected in the sacred precincts of the 'Ibādat Khāna, and he gave each of them with his own hand, lavish like the sea, handfuls of gold and silver coins, (*asharfi wa rupia*). All those who, through their ill-luck, could not partake of the benefactions of His Majesty the Emperor, in the course of the night were made to sit down on the Friday morning, in lines, in front of the 'Ibādat Khāna, and he gave them with his own auspicious hands, handfuls of rupees and gold mohurs; and on many occasions these proceedings went on till midday of Friday. If accidentally there was any indisposition in his honoured person, he nominated one of the attendants of the threshold, in whose piety and compassion he had a

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had access to the place. Then there in the vision of Akbar stalking through the corridors, and finally there are pictures of somewhat indiscriminate charity, handfuls of gold and silver coins being thrown around. The fault may, however, be Nizām-ud-dīn's. The Akbarnāma, Bev.'s trans. 359-60 gives a different account. But even there it is rather one-sided. There is a little too much of Akbar, "Lofty points and subtle words from his holy lips," and "Physical and Divine truths trickling from that soothsayer from the court of variety"; but we also find "A set of wisdom-loving and judicious men" ready "to propound questions and record views." We find that "the mirrors of the inquirers of the age were polished. The whole of that night was kept alive by discussion, * * * The degrees of reason and the stages of vision were tested, and all the heights and depths of intelligence were traversed, and the lamp of perception was brightened."

belief, for this service. May the great and holy God bestow on the auspicious destiny of the great Khāqān the recompense of these beneficent acts, the like of which has not been seen in the case of any bādshāh! with His great goodness and mercy!

In the course of this year which was the 20th year of the Ilāhī era, Her Highness, the sublime cradle and the great veiled one, Gulbadan Begam, daughter of His late Majesty, Firdūs Makānī, Zahīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābar Bādshāh, who is the aunt of His Majesty and that secluded one of the pavilion of chastity and purity Salīma Sultān Begam, undertook the journey to the Hijāz, on account of truth and piety. The particulars of this brief statement are these, that when the kingdom of Gujrat was included in the empire, the imperial resolve which is the emperor of resolutions, was confirmed, that every year, one of the attendants of the threshold should be appointed to the post of *Mīr Hāji* (Superintendent of pilgrims to the Haj); and a caravan should be sent from Hindustan like the caravans of Egypt and Syria.

This resolution was carried into effect; and every year, a number of men of enlightened minds from Hindustan and Māwara-un-nahr and Khurāsān received provisions and the expenses of the journey, from the public treasury, and went with the Mīr Hāj by way of the ports of Gujrat, and reached that sacred land. Up to the time of the rising of the Sun of this Sovereign, no other monarch had attained to such an honour and grandeur, that he should send a caravan from Hindustan to Mecca the revered, and should remove the custom of need from the poor of that honoured place. It was in this year, which was the 20th year of the Ilāhī era, that Gulbadan Begam, and Salīma Sultān Begam asked for permission from His Majesty to go and circumambulate the two sacred places. His Majesty gave them a large sum of money for the expenses of the journey. He also granted to all pious men and *faqīrs* and [1] soldiers, that had the

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[1] The MSS. have سپاهي, after فقرا, but the words are omitted from the lith. ed.; I have inserted them. One MS. only adds after مرحمت فرمودند, و از منشیان سدهٔ خلافت و خادمان عطبهٔ سلطنت و از طبقات افاضل و اکابر خیلی بدر رفته؛ و در سنه ثلاث و ثمانین و تسعمائه حضرات سرا پردهٔ عصمت به بنادر گجرات رسیدند و در اول موسم بکشتی در امدهٔ روان گشتند. Which means that of the attendants

intention of making the pilgrimage, provisions and the expenses of the journey, from the board of his bounty.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF MĪRZA SULAIMĀN TO THE THRESHOLD WHICH IS THE ASYLUM OF THE SULTĀNS.

Mīrza Sulaimān, who from the time of the reign of His Majesty Firdūs Makānī, Zahīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābar Bādshāh, may God illuminate his soul! had been the ruler of the country of Badakhshān, had a son named Mīrza Ibrāhīm, who was distinguished for beauty of appearance and behaviour. This year, when Mīrza Sulaimān invaded Balkh, Mīrza Ibrāhīm fell into the hands of the men of Pīr Muhammad Khān Uzbek, in a battle; and attained to martyrdom.

[1] Couplet:

Oh Lord! may the breast of the sky (*i.e.*, destiny) be torn to shreds!
That it makes dust of such darlings sweet!

Mīrza Ibrāhīm left a son named Mīrza Shāhrukh. [2] Mīrza Sulaimān had his hand of training on his head; and in spite of his youth

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of the Khilafat and the servants of the threshold of the *Saltanat*, and of the bands of the wise and the great, a large number went; and in the year 983 A.H. Their Highnesses, the pavilions of chastity, arrived at the ports of Gujrat, and embarked in a boat in the beginning of the season, and started (on their journey).

[1] This couplet is not to be found in the lith. ed. but I have inserted it as it is in the MSS.

[2] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation Vol. III, Ch. XXVIII, pp. 211 etc., has a long account of the relation between Mīrza Sulaimān and his grandson. According to that account, contrary to what is stated in the text, Mīrza Shāhrukh appears to have been more sinned against than sinning. It appears that after promises and oaths had been exchanged between the two at a grand banquet, M. Sulaimān wanted to go on a pilgrimage to the sacred places. "His wish was that they should part on good terms, and that the division (of territory) which had been made should be adhered to. M. Shāhrukh from goodness and reverence hesitated to grant this request. .. ..every supplication that M. Shāhrukh made was regarded by M. Sulaimān as something different and sinister. When nothing could pacify M. Sulaimān, M. Shāhrukh was compelled to take leave of him, with all reverence, and to allow him to depart with his property." It must be noted, however, that Mr. Beveridge, in a note in page 321, remarks that Abul Fazl's account differs from

gave him some estates in Badakhshān. Afterwards, when Mīrza Shāhrukh arrived at years of discretion, and Mīrza Sulaimān became old, some strife-mongers incited the former to disobedience and hostility. Mīrza Sulaimān's wife was, however, an intelligent woman; and she always kept an eye on Mīrza Shāhrukh's movements, and prevented his creating any disturbance. After her death, however, those people incited Mīrza Shāhrukh to attempt to usurp the rule of Badakhshān. They acted in this way, that he came from Qanduz to Kūlab, and collecting a force, took possession of the whole of Badakhshān, from the boundary of Hisār Shādmān to that of Kābul; and he [1] wanted that his grandfather should go to meet his father. Mīrza Sulaimān fled in the greatest distress and confusion, and came to Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm; and prayed to him for aid.

Verse:

Do not on grandeur, throne or crown rely,
These are but grass, a storm will blow away.
Think of the tyranny of that wretch, the sky (fate)!
One blast of it makes a hundred kings *darwishes* all!

As Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm behaved towards him, contrary to his expectation, he prayed to him that he should (at least) pass him through the stages, and send him on to the bank of the Nīlāb river. The Mīrza did not even grant him this easy prayer, which he usually granted to merchants and other travellers. He only sent a party of pretended guides to accompany Mīrza Sulaimān. They fled from the first stage, and went back to Kābul.

Mīrza Sulaimān then placed his reliance on the great God and turned his face towards Hindustan. The Afghāns obstructed his path at several places up to the bank of the Nīlāb. In the end being compelled to fight, the Mīrza exerted himself as far as he

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that given in the T.A. and Badāonī, and says that A.F.'s account reads as if it had been inspired by Shāhrukh. On the other hand, in another note in page 225, he says that the character given of him (Shāhrukh) by A.F. corresponds with that given him by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs. Shāhrukh married Shukrannissa, a daughter of Akbar.

[1] That is he wished to slay his grandfather. One MS., however, has و کس نماند که جد را با پسر ملاقات دهد, *i.e.*, there was no one who might bring about a meeting between the grandfather and the son (grandson ?).

could, and was wounded by an arrow. However, he at last reached the bank of the Nīlāb. He then sent a petition, in which he narrated his adventures and the incidents which had occurred to him, by one of his trusted attendants, with two horses bred in his own stables to the sublime threshold. The emperor, on account of his great generosity, sent to him fifty thousand rupees, and other royal furnishings, and some 'Irāqi and readster horses with [1] Khwāja Āqā Khān Khazānchī (Treasurer). A noble order was also issued, that Rājā Bhagwān Dās should go as far as the Nīlāb river to welcome the Mīrza, and should arrange every day for his entertainments, and should bring him with all honour and respect to the imperial presence. An order was also issued that the governors and the administrators of every city and town, where the Mīrza might halt, should attend on him, as their guest. The Mīrza had not yet crossed the Nīlāb, when Khwāja Aqā Khān, came and waited on him, even before the arrival of Rājā Bhagwān Dās; and presented to him the equipages and the money which he had brought with him. [2] After a few days, Rājā Bhagwān Dās arrived with a well equipped army, in the neighbourhood of the Nīlāb, and waited on the Mīrza and brought him with all respect and honour to Lahore.

About this time a *farmān* was sent to Gujrat to summon Ā'azam Khān, that he should also be present, [3] at this time. He came on the wings of speed and eagerness, and on the 4th of Rajab, attained to the honour of waiting (on the emperor). After some time, [4] the

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[1] He is called آغا خان, Āghā Khān by Badāonī, and Khwaja Āqā Jān in the translation of the Akbarnama.

[2] Contrary to this Badāonī says و قبل ازان راجه بهگوان داس حاکم لاهور بموجب فرمان نانیلاب پیش از و رفته هرروز from which it appears that Rājā Bhagwān Dās, who was the governor of Lahore, arrived on the bank of the Nilab before Āqā Khān.

[3] The expression used both in the text and in Badāonī is that he should be present درین معرکه, but it is not clear what معرکه is intended, or why the matters connected with him should be considered in connection with it. Probably, however, it only means that he was to come to the capital at this time.

[4] The meaning is not quite clear. The translation in Elliot V, is "Some cavillers and fault finders made insinuations about the management of affairs." The words in the text do not mean this. It must either be a very free transla-

matter of branding (of horses), and the renewal of the matters of giving and taking (of the wages, etc.), of the soldiery were mentioned. The Khān Ā'azam having taken the path of denial and insincerity, spoke words which a loyal subject should not have used; and this was the cause of the emperor's displeasure. Ā'azam Khān then resigned his office, secluded himself in the garden which he had in Agra, and closed the path of coming and going on himself.

In short, Mīrza Sulaimān rested for two or three days in the metropolitan city of Lahore; and then came towards the capital (Fathpūr Sīkrī). When he arrived in the town of Mathura, which was at a distance of twenty *karohs* from Fathpūr, Tarsūn Muhammad Khān, who was included in the class of the great *amīrs* and Qāzī Nizām Badakhshī, to whom Mīrza Sulaimān had given the title of Qāzī Khān, and who having joined the service of the emperor, had attained to the title of Ghāzī Khān, and some account of whose affairs has already been mentioned, were sent to welcome him. It was settled that the Mīrza would arrive and wait on His Majesty on the 15th of the month of Rajab, 983 A.H. corresponding with the 20th year of the Ilāhī era. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, out of a wish to show honour to one who had become poor, sent all the great

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tion, or the text from which the translation was made must have been very different from those I have seen. I have given a literal translation, only inserting two paranthetical clauses to elucidate the meaning. Abul Fazl's account (Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 208) is not clear. He says that 'Azam Khān was summoned from Gujrat post haste, in order that the business of the branding might be begun with the leaders. He arrived * * and was received with boundless favours. Then "he let his foot slip in the path of prudence. He used language which men of ordinary prudence would not use." Akbar made as if he did not hear what he had said. "When good counsel was of no avail, * * * he, for a time degraded him from the position of an *amir*." As far as can be gathered from this, there was no other matter in discussion except that of branding. According to Badāonī, the Khān Ā'zam said every thing that he knew about داغ, branding, and معاملهٔ کروری, the matter of the *karoris* (revenue officers), and داد و ستد سپاهي, giving and taking of soldiers and خرابي احوال رعايا, the miserable condition of the *raiyyats*, and بدعتهای دیگر other matters of oppression. The emperor from old habit could not endure this unpleasant speaking, and ordered that for sometime he should be forbidden the royal presence. So that according to Badāonī, Ā'azam Khan was not to blame, but Akbar could not endure his unpleasant but truthful plain speaking.

and noble men and the *amīrs* and the pillars of the state to a place five *karohs* from Fathpūr to welcome the Mīrza. When the Mīrza mounted at that stage, and advanced towards Fathpūr, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, on account of his extreme graciousness, himself put his foot of prosperity in the stirrup of good fortune, and mounted in order to receive and welcome him. On that day, an order, to be obeyed by the world, was issued that [1] five thousand elephants of mountain-like size, and of cloud-like appearance, with jhūls (housings) of velvet of European manufacture (*makhmal Firangi*), and gold embroidered fabric of Constantinople *zarbaft Rūmī*, and adorned with chains of gold and silver, and having black and white fringes suspended from their heads and necks and trunks, should be placed on either side of the road from the gate of Fathpūr to a distance of five *karohs*. Between every pair of elephants, there was a cart containing a *chītu* or hunting leopard, which had collars of gold studded with gems, and coverings of fine cloth, and carts with pairs of bullocks, with headstalls of gold embroidered cloth. When the plain was adorned in this way, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, with a pomp and grandeur, at the sight of which the inhabitants of the sublime assemblies were astonished, mounted and started. When he came in front of the Mīrza, the latter suddenly threw himself from his horse and ran forward to salute him. That politest of men, adorned with a courtesy akin to Divine graciousness, casting a glance at the great age of the Mīrza, dismounted from his horse, and did not allow that the Mīrza should adhere to the customs of salutation (*taslīm*), and the condi-

[1] All this pageantry is mentioned by Badāonī in equal detail, only he inserts the word بعضی (some), before *makhmal Firangi*, and again before *zarbaft Rūmī*, so that according to him, some were adorned with housings of one kind and some with the other. Abul Fazl is slightly more concise, and according to him, or at least according to Mr. Beveridge's translation "between every two elephants there was a *chita* attired in costly clothing." It is not clear whether the animal was in the cart or outside on the ground. There is no mention of the cart with the pair of bullocks. These latter are described as "two bullock-carts" in the translation in Elliot V, and "as oxen carts" in the translation of Badāonī. In the Persian text of the latter also the words used are *Gawān Arāba*. I think, however, that what is meant is what is known up-country as a *rath*, a more or less highly decorated car, covered with a canopy and drawn by a pair of large bullocks.

tion of service. With great kindness he caught the Mīrza in an embrace. After salutation he mounted his noble horse and directed that the Mīrza should mount also. He gave him a place at his own right hand; and during the (ride of) the whole of those five *karohs*, he occupied himself in attending to his comfort. When they arrived at the great palace, he made a place for the Mīrza on the *masnad* of the empire by his own side. He ordered the attendance of the princes of high station, and introduced them to the Mīrza. After the enjoyment of much pleasure and happiness, the table servants placed various articles of food and drink, and various sweetmeats before them. When these were removed (the emperor) made the Mīrza promises of help and troops, and assigned to him a place of residence in the neighbourhood of the imperial palace. Khān Jahān, the governor of the Punjab was ordered in the *majlis*, to start for Badakhshān with five thousand well armed horsemen to render service to the Mīrza, and to purify that country from all disturbances, and to deliver possession of it to him, and then to return to Lahore.

At the time, when the Khān Khānān having freed his mind (of all anxiety connected with Dāūd), arrived in the metropolitan city of Tānda, in complete peace and tranquility, he was guided by the angel of death to remove his residence from Tānda. He accordingly crossed the river Ganges, and took up his abode in the fort of Gaur, which, in former times, had been the capital of Bengal. [1] He ordered that all men, soldiers and raiyats, should be removed from Tānda and brought to Gaur. The people suffered the calamity of banishment from their homes in the depth of the rains. The air of Gaur was extremely unhealthy and foetid, and in former times, on account of the various kinds of diseases, which owing to the debilitating

[1] Neither Nizām-ud-din nor Badāonī mentions the reasons, which led the Khān Khānān to order the migration from Tānda to Gaur, which appears to have been rather a senseless proceeding. Abul Fazl, however, (see Beveridge's translation III, p. 226) mentions two reasons; (1) that "he might be near Ghorāghāt, which was a fountain of sedition, and to where, in fact he had to hasten immediately after his return from Katak Banāras, to quell a disturbance." And (2) that he might restore Gaur "which was a delightful place, and had a noble fort, and magnificent buildings."

effect of its air, had affected its residents, the rulers of those days had abandoned it and had left it desolate and made Tānda the capital. At this time, (i.e , after the migration ordered by the Khān Khānān) diseases appeared among the inhabitants generally. Every day, crowds carried the property of their existence and the capital of their lives from Gaur to the *gor* (tomb); and bade adieu to their friends and companions. Gradually things came to such a pass, that people were unable to bury the dead and threw the corpses into the water. [1] Every day the news of the death of a number of the *amīrs* and the servants of the threshold was taken to the Khān Khānān. He did not, however, take any warning, and did not give up living there. His pomp and grandeur were such, that no one had the boldness to remove the silk-cotton of negligence from his ear, and give him information of what was happening. After some time, his health turned from the line of equability, and became bad. When the period of his illness had extended to ten days, in the month of Rājab-al-murajjab 983 A.H., corresponding with the 20th year of the Ilāhī era, he travelled from this ephemeral to the eternal world. The *amīrs* and servants of the threshold, who used always to assemble in the *diwān khāna* (audience chamber) of the Khān Khānān, and used to offer him congratulation on the victories which he had achieved, engaged in mourning on that day.[2] In order to guard the boundaries (of the empire) Shāham Khān Jalāir was raised to the

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[1] The account given in the text agrees generally with that given by Badāonī. Abul Fazl's account is somewhat different. He says that "as the Khān Khānān had acted contrary to the opinion of many, he stuck to what he had said, and did not take warning. That when the mortality exceeded calculation * * , he applied himself to remedy matters." As Junaid was beginning to raise a disturbance in Bihar at this time, "a motive of coming away from that valley of annihilation presented itself." He left Gaur "with the intention of crossing over to Behar." It was extraordinary, that "although he did not suffer in that typhoon of plague, as soon as he came to Tānda he died after a little illness." According to Badāonī, the Khān Khānān was over eighty years at the time of his death. (See note 2, page 227 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnama Vol. III for some other facts connected with him.) His most enduring monument is the bridge he built at Jaunpūr over the Gumti in 1981 (1573), which is still standing.

[2] Only one MS. inserts here :—

* بیت *

درین صندل سرای ابنوسي، گهی ماتم بود گاهی عروسي.

head of the government; and a report of the occurrence was submitted to the sublime threshold. As the Khān Khānān had no sons all his property, speaking and dumb, (i.e., live and dead stock) was made over to the imperial exchequer, and a detailed list of it was also submitted.

When the petition of the *amīrs* was presented to the emperor, [1] Khān Jahān, who before this was the fully-empowered governor of the Punjab, had various royal favours and imperial kindnesses conferred on him; and the reins of the government, and the bridle of the defence of the territory of Bengal was placed in his powerful hands. He was honoured with the rank of *amīr-ul-umra*, and various favours and kindnesses were shown to him. He was directed to look favourably after the rights of the *Raiyyats* and dependants. He was honoured with the gift of a gold embroidered *Qaba* (robe), and a *chahārqab* (also a special kind of robe) of gold embroidery, and a belt and sword ornamented with gold and jewels, and a horse with a golden saddle; and leave was granted to him to go to Bengal. After having obtained correct *farmāns* and orders in respect of his objects he proceeded to the territory of Bengal, to undertake its government.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 21ST YEAR OF THE ILĀHI ERA.

[2] The beginning of this year was on Sunday, the 9th of Zi-l-hijja 983 (11th March 1576).

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEPARTURE OF MIRZA SULAIMĀN TO MECCA, THE NOBLE.

Mīrza Sulaimān, having been deprived of the government of Badakhshān, came with the face of supplication to the threshold, which was the asylum of Sultāns. His Majesty the Khālīfa-i-Ilāhī did every thing to comfort his heart, and he repeatedly ennobled the

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which may be translated,

In this house made of sandal wood and ebony,
There is mourning now, and now bridal revelry.

[1] The Akbarnama (Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 329) says that Raja Todar Mal was directed to accompany the Khān Jahān.

[2] Neither the MSS. nor the lith. ed. have any verb in this sentence. I have inserted بود at the end. The MSS. have here the usual sentences about

lodging of the Mīrza, by his honour-conferring steps. On many occasions, he summoned the Mīrza on Friday nights to the assemblies of the learned men and Shaikhs in the *'Ibādat-Khāna* (the house of worship). He had also determined that he would send the Khān Jahān, with the army of the Punjab, with the Mīrza to reconquer Badakhshān. [1] By accident, however, owing to the revolution of the skies, affairs assumed a different aspect. The Khān Khānān who had the charge of the regulation of the affairs of the East and of Bengal past away by a natural death; and His Majesty, the Khālifa-i-Ilāhī, considered the charge of the Eastern territories, and the regulations of the affairs of Bengal more important than the conquest of Badakhshān; and he sent Khān Jahān to the former place. From this trickery of the sky, the Mīrza became convinced

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the *Nauroz*. One MS. has after درین ایام خجسته قرجام نیر اعظم رایت سروری و لوای مهتری بر افراخت، و از طلوع کوکبه و سطوع دبدبه او، صحرا و بستان مثال جنان گردید؛ و روز سه شنبه بست و سیوم ذی قعده سنه ثلث و ثمانین و تسعمائه، خورشید جهانتاب سایه سعادت بر شرف خانه خویش انداخته عالم و عالمیان را بقدوم سال بیست و یکم الهي که نسبت توامانی بنوروز سلطاني دارد بشارت و مژده داد؛ و جهانیان بوزود سال فرخنده مال ابواب خرمی و بیغمی بر روی روزگار کشوده، هر طرف بساط نشاط گستردند *

The other MS. has after و یکم الهي سال بست، و ; و قدوم نوروز سلطاني then as in the other MS. with the single exception that the word انبساط is inserted after نشاط. The passage may be translated. In this auspicious time, the great luminary (the sun) raised the standard of leadership and the banner of greatness. From the rising of his greatness, and the pomp of His Majesty the plain and the garden became like paradise. On Wednesday the 23rd Zi-qa'da 983 the world-illuminating sun cast the shadow of happiness on his own noble mansion, and gave glad tidings of the advent of the 21st year of the Ilāhī era, which has the relation of twinship with the imperial *Nauroz*, to the world and its inhabitants. The people of the world, on account of the arrival of the auspicious year opened the doors of joy and happiness on the face of the age; and spread on all sides the bed of enjoyment.

[1] Abul Fazl makes the curious statement, that Akbar "thought that he might entrust Bengal to M. Sulaimān;" but the latter was bent on "revenging himself on M. Shāhrukh". But as Khān Jahān, who was prepared to go to Badakhshān, was ordered to undertake the government of Bengal, Mīrza Sulaimān obtained leave to go to the Hijāz.

that the time had not come, when the hand of his hope should reach to embrace success.

Verse:

Success doth ever come at its own proper time;
At the proper season, each tree doth bear its fruit;
It is impossible that in the garden should bloom,
The violet in summer, and the rose in winter cold;
Every object one can with triumph gain,
But to partake of to-morrow's food to-day.

Having fully made up his mind to circumambulate Ka'aba, the revered, [1] he submitted this petition, through the great officers of the state to the notice of the emperor. High spirited men have always attained to their objects, by accepting this high aspiration. His Majesty, the shadow of God, accepted the Mīrza's prayer, and sent a sum of fifty thousand rupees, in addition to various articles, to help him in his expenses. He also directed [2] Muhammad Qulīj Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs* and was in charge of the government of the port of Surat to accompany him, so that he might render him meritorious services in the journey; and embark him in a ship bound for the Hijāz. He was also directed to furnish a further sum of twenty thousand rupees from the revenues of Gujrat to the servants of the Mīrza. The latter embarked in a boat in the port of Surat, and in the course of the same year he attained to the honour and happiness of circumambulating and making pilgrimage to the two sacred places. As he had brought his petition to the lord of lords, who was the lord of the hearts of the raiyats and the subjects, he again attained to the greatness of the government and rule of the country of Badakhshān, as will be mentioned later.

Towards the end of this year, on the 7th of the sacred month of Zi-qa'ada 984, (the emperor) went to Ajmīr. He started on that day on the pilgrimage from Fathpūr, and travelling in great joy all the way, on Tuesday the 4th Zi-hijja of that year the tents which

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[1] Abul Fazl says that Mīrza Sulaimān probably thought that he would reach Badakhshān *via* the Hijāz, and "thus obtain his aims by feline tricks".

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Rupsī was associated with Muhammad Qulīj Khān to attend on Mīrza Sulaimān.

were grand and lofty like the sky were pitched at a place ten *karohs* from Ajmīr. From that place, according to his fixed practice, he wanted to go on foot to the sepulchre which is surrounded by light and travelled five *karohs* on foot; and with the dust of the road on him, he went to the tomb which is the resting place of light; and with humility, performed the duty of pilgrimage and the ceremony of circumambulation; and on the first day he bestowed ten thousand rupees to the attendants of that noble place and the servants of the holy shrine.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 22ND YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [1]Monday, the 20th Zi-hijja 984 (11th March 1577). [2]During the time that the pavilions of pomp and grandeur were pitched in the country of Ajmīr, the Sultān of the seven regions (the Sun) entered the sign of Aries on the 9th of Zi-hijja 983 A.H. and gave to the world and its people the good news of the advent of the 22nd year of the Ilāhī era, which contained trees of all hopes and owing to the auspiciousness of this happiness the doors of joy and sorrowlessness were opened on the face of age.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN THE COUNTRY OF AJMĪR.

During the time, when the pavilions of pomp and grandeur were pitched in the country of Ajmīr, news came successively from the territory of Bengal that Dāūd Afghān had placed the treaty and

[1] The day of the week is not given in the translation in Elliot V, but the date agrees; and both the day and the date agree with those given in the Akbarnāma. There is, however, some confusion in the sequence of events, for some of the incidents which are said in the text to have occurred in the 22nd year, appear from Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma to have occurred in the 21st year. This occurs in the narratives of other years also.

[2] This passage down to "the face of the age" does not occur in the lith. ed. nor in the translation in Elliot V, but has been inserted from the MSS., but the date is certainly incorrect. It should be 20th Zi-hijja 984 as given in the preceding sentence, and also in the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 283) where the exact time is given as seven hours twelve minutes of the night of Monday the 20th Zi-hijja.

engagement, which he had made with the Khān Khānan, on the lofty shelf of oblivion; and having stretched his foot beyond his measure, had attacked Tānda. As there was no competent chief among the *bādshāhī amīrs* who were in Tānda, they had abandoned that country and had come to Hajīpūr Patna. [1] Owing to this reason, the dust of trouble and disturbance became thick and dense. The Khān Jahān marched on the road to Bengal with procrastination and delay, on account of the fact that his troops were at Lahore. When these facts were reported to the noble attention, a *farmān* was addressed to the Khān Jahān, and was sent by the hand of Subhān Qulī Turk, directing him to take with him the *amīrs* and *jagīrdārs*, who had relinquished the territory of Bengal, and to attack Dāūd. Subhān Qulī traversed a distance of about a thousand *karohs*, in the space of twenty two days, and carried the *farmān* to the Khān Jahān. The sublime standards were still at Ajmīr, when he came back, and brought the news, that Khān Jahān had with the victorious troops advanced towards Bengal, relying on the Divine grace; and when he had arrived at Garhī he had immediately, with the dust of the road on him, advanced to attack the three thousand Afghāns, whom Dāūd had left there to defend the post; and had taken possession of the place, and about one thousand five hundred Afghāns had become food for the ruthless swords, and most of their chiefs had been taken alive.

It was also during this time, when the victorious army was encamped at Ajmīr that Kunar Mān Singh who was distinguished with the attributes of courage and manliness, and the qualities of high spirits and wisdom was sent at the head of five thousand bold horsemen to attack [2] Rānā Kīkā. Qāzī Khān Badakhshī, Shāh

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[1] The translation of this passage in Elliot V, page 397 is different. It is said there that the commotion arose because Khān Jahān had taken his time in going there, etc. The account in Badāonī (Persian Text, Vol. II, page 227) agrees with that given in the text. But the Akbarnāma does not say anything about Khān Jahān's dilatoriness. It says, "he addressed himself to service according to the rule of the loyal and fortunate". He met the Bengal officers who were retiring, in the neighbourhood of Bhāgalpur, and although they objected to turn back and co-operate with him, they were silenced, and Garhī was recovered with little difficulty (Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 230).

[2] No reason is given by Nizām-ud-dīn or by Badāonī for the attack on

Ghāzī Khān Tabrīzī, Saiyyad Hāshim Bārha, Khwāja Muhammad Rafī' Badakhshī, Mujāhid Khān, his grandson Muhibb 'Ali Khān, and other enterprising warriors were sent with him. The post of Bakhshi (pay master) of the army was conferred on Āsaf Khān. His Majesty, the shadow of God, honoured Kunwar Mān Singh, and the other *amīrs* and *sardārs* by bestowing on them valuable robes, and 'Irāqi and Arab horses; and sent them forward. After completing the arrangements connected with this victorious army, the bridle of return was placed in the hands of the guides of prosperity on the 20th Muharram [1] 985, and on the first day of the month of Safar of that year the Sun of grandeur shone on the palaces of Fathpūr.

After the arrival at the capital, one day, the news-writers reported to His Majesty, that when the Khān Jahān, after the victory at Garhī, arrived in the neighbourhood of Tānda, Dāūd sallied out of that place, and posted himself at a spot in [2] Mouza Ak Mahal, which was bounded on one side by the river, and on the other was close to a hill, and dug a trench or erected a fortification round his army. Khān Jahān halted in front of him with the victorious army; and was engaging him hotly in battle and strife. In one of

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the Rānā. Abul Fazl, however, says, Beveridge's translation III, page 236, that "as the disobedience and presumption of the Rānā, as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, H.M. addressed himself to his overthrow". But no examples are given of the offences committed by him. Mān Singh left Ajmir on the 2nd Muharram 984 (2nd April, 1576). The real name of the Rānā was Rānā Partāb, the correct Sanskrit form being Rānā Pratāpa, but he is generally called Rānā Kikā. This, with subsequent passages about the campaign against Rānā Kikā, should be read with ch. xi of Tod's Rajasthan, which gives an account of the incidents by an ardent admirer of the Rānā.

[1] The year is 985 in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and also in Elliot, V, page 397; but I am doubtful as to its correctness. As Kunar Mān Singh started on the expedition against Rānā Kikā on the 2nd Muharram 984, and as Akbar started for Fathpur after the arrangements of the expedition had been completed the correct date would appear to be 20th Muharram 984.

[2] The Akbarnāma says that it was Khān Jahān who fortified himself at Ak Mahal (see Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 230). Mr. Beveridge says that the text is wrongly punctuated and makes it appear, as if it was Dāūd who was encamped at Ak Mahal. There can be no doubt whatever that both Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāonī say, that it was Dāūd who entrenched himself there.

these engagements, Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lāh, [1] who was one of the descendants (grandsons) of His Holiness, the Pole star of saints, Khwāja Nāsir-ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-lāh Ahrār, may God sanctify his dear soul! and was among the attendants of the sublime threshold, sallied out of his battery with a small number of his servants, and went to the side of the Afghān trench. A large body of the Afghān soldiers rushed out and attacked the Khwāja. The latter made very valiant efforts, but was united with the Divine mercy. On hearing this [2] news, the fire of the imperial wrath flamed up. A grand *farmān* was issued to [3] Muzaffar Khān, who was at this time the governor of Patna and Behar, that he should take with him all the victorious troops that might be in those territories, and the *jāgīrdārs*, and should proceed to reinforce the Khān Jahān; and should make earnest efforts for exterminating the Afghāns. After a few days a report came from the Khān Jahān, to the effect, that one day a conflict took place between the victorious troops and the Afghān army; and as the

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Ak Mahal is Raj Mahal. Mr. Beveridge says "Perhaps Ak is Turkish, and the name means white house. The name Raj Mahal was given to it when Rājā Mān Singh chose it for his residence. The Turkish word for white is properly اق, Aq. Badāonī Persian Text page 22 calls the place اک محل, Ak Mahal, but the English translation, page 235, has Ag-Mahall. The translation in Elliot V. page 397 has the village of Ak, but a note says "Ak Mahāl or Aga Mahal. Afterwards called Rāj Mahāl by Rājā Mān Singh". The ancient name was Rājā Griha. There is no authority whatever for elongating the second *a* in Mahal, as there is none for Mr. Lowe's doubling the final *l*. I do not know, however, whether there is any authority for the statement that the ancient name of the place was Rājā Griha. Rājā-Griha is grammatically incorrect. The well known Rāja-griha was the ancient capital of Magadha in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna district, now known as Rājgir.

[1] The clause about Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah being a descendant of Khwāja Nāsir-ud-dīn does not occur in the lith. ed. or in the translation in Elliot V, but has been inserted from the MSS. In the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 239 he is called Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah Naqshbandi.

[2] One MS. inserts وحشت اثار, after اخبار.

[3] It appears from the Akbarnāma that there was much discord in the army. Most of the officers were *Chaghtāis* and they did not wish that Khān Jahān who was a *Qizlbāsh* should be at the head; and they raised various difficulties; but the Khān Jahān and the Rājā did not listen to them. Muzaffar Khān and the Bihar troops were unwilling to go to Bengal in the rains, but their objections were met by Muhibb 'Ali Khān, by an appeal to their loyalty; and the Bengal and Bihar armies united with each other on the 10th July 1576 (see Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, pp. 250–252).

good fortune of the Lord of the earth was the friend and ally of the devoted warriors, the breeze of victory and triumph blew on their standards; and some brave and enterprising warriors struck down the commander of the hostile army, who was named [1] Khān Khānān, with blows of the ruthless sword. At the same time the news of the victory of Kunar Mān Singh, and of the defeat of Rānā Kīkā reached the auspicious ears.

An account of the fight of Kunar Mān Singh with Rānā Kīkā, and of the defeat of that reprobated one.

As Rānā Kīkā was the head of all the rājās of Hindustān, and after the conquest of Chitor had founded a city of the name of [2] Kokandā, consisting of mansions and gardens in the hilly country of Hindwāra, and was passing his time there in rebelliousness; and when [3] Kunar Mān Singh arrived in the neighbourhood of Kokanda, Kīkā

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[1] The name Khān Khānān apparently puzzled Mr. Lowe, who has put a note of interrogation after it. It should be remembered, however, that Dāūd had both a Khān Khānān, and a Khān Jahān in his army. The Khān Khānān was Isma'el Khān Ābdār, who commanded the left wing; and the Khān Jahān who was the governor of Orissa commanded the right wing of the Afghān army, in the battle in which the Afghāns, after partially defeating the Mughal army were finally routed and driven out of Bengal; see page 463.

[2] I have not been able to find out the meaning of Kokanda or Goganda. According to a note in Elliot V, page 398, the name is spelt as كوكندة, Kokanda, in all the MSS. of the Tabaqāt and of Badāonī, and of the Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāma. Todd calls the place Goganda. Blochmann (Ain-i-Akbarī p. 339) writes it Gogandah.

[3] Mān Singh's march is thus described in the Persian text of Badāonī; مانسنگه و اصف خان بکوچهای متواتر با فوج اجمیر براه مانداگڑه در بلدهٔ نام درة بهفت کروهی کوکندة رسیدند. Mr. Lowe's translation is not quite correct. He says "Mān Singh * * * on their way to Māndalgarh, arrived by forced marches at the town of Darah seven *cosses* from Kokanda" براه مانداگڑه does not mean on their way to Māndalgarh: and بلدهٔ نام درة probably means town of Nāmdarah. There is a more correct translation of the first clause in a note in Elliot V, page 398, which is "by way of Māndalgarh". The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 244 says the imperial army remained for sometime in the town of Māndalgarh, waiting for their officers and the gathering of the camp.

having summoned the rājās of [1] Hindwāra to his help, crossed [2] Ghātī Haldeo with a force, which the plains and forests could scarcely hold, and occupied himself in making preparations for war. Kunwar Mān Singh in conjunction with the *amīrs* arrayed his troops, and advanced to the [3] battle field. When the two lines approached each other, the brave men of the two armies made strong attacks like furious wind blasts. The time of the conflict extended to one *pahar*, and there was much bloodshed.

Verse:

The land with blood, was like a tumultuous sea,
In it the horsemen were boats, the slain like anchors fixed.
Death, roaring aloud, rushed in directions all,
The men swam about, as it were, in the blood!

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[1] One MS. and lith. ed. have Hindwāra, but the other MS. has Mārwār.

[2] That is the pass of Haldighāt.

[3] Badāonī was present at the battle, and has given an account of it in pages 230–33, Vol. II, Persian text. The account is rather a confused one, but it shows that the different sections of the Mughal army were defeated and fled. (1) The advance guard, and the chosen band who were sent in advance of it, and were called the *Jauza-i-harāwal*, which Mr. Lowe has translated as the chickens of the front-line, were drawn back, (2) then a body of Shaikh-zādas of Sikri, who under Qāzi Khān formed the left wing fled, though Qāzi Khān himself stood his ground manfully for a time, but afterwards being wounded and overwhelmed by fearful odds, he also fled after quoting one of the traditions of the Prophet; (3) then the Rajputs of Mān Singh also fled, and caused the flight of Āsaf Khān. Against all this flight, we have (1) the bravery of the Saiyyads of Bārha, but for whose brave stand the whole affair would have been a disgraceful defeat; (2) the bravery of Rāja Rām Shāh of Gwāliār (grandson of the famous Rājā Mān) and his Rajputs; and (3) finally that of Husain Khān, the leader of the elephants; and last, but not least, of Mān Singh. The driver of the Rānā's elephant was accidentally killed by an arrow; and the driver of one of the imperial elephants, with great bravery, jumped from the back of his own elephant, and jumped on to the neck of the Rānā's elephant. The Rānā had then to fall back and his army fell into disorder. Mān Singh's bodyguard performed brave deeds and Mān Singh's generalship proved the truth of the line of Mulla Shiri, "a Hindu wields the sword of Islam." Badāonī also says, at one time when the Rajputs of Rājā Mān and those of Mān Singh were mingled together, and he asked Āsaf Khān how in shooting his arrows he was to distinguish between friend and foe, he was told with cynical contempt "to shoot promiscuously, and whoever was killed, it was the gain of Islam". For Abul Fazl's account of the battle see Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, pp. 244–46.

The Rajputs of both the armies fought in rivalry of each other. About one hundred and fifty bold horsemen of the imperial army were struck down; and more than five hundred renowned Rajputs of the hostile army went to the house of [1]perdition. Among the chiefs of the infidels, [2]Rājā Rām Shāh Gwāliārī and his sons and the sons of [3]Jaimal on the side of the enemy went to the lowest pit of hell. Rānā Kīkā fought so hard that day, that he received arrow and spear wounds, and turning from the battle field carried his life out of that danger in great wretchedness. The brave warriors of the war-seeking army rushed in pursuit, and struck down many of the Rajputs. Kunar Mān Singh being distinguished with victory and triumph sent a report of the facts to the threshold. The next day, he passed through the defile of Haldeo; and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the palaces of Rānā Kīkā; and offered thanks to God afresh. Rānā Kīkā fled and fortified himself in the lofty hills. When the purport of the petition reached the noble attention, His Majesty expressed his joy and pleasure, and sent grand dresses of honour, and 'Irāqī horses for Kunar Mān Singh and the other *amīrs*.

An account of the circumstances of the war of Khān Jahān against Dāūd.

It has been previously mentioned, that after the victory of Garhi, Khān Jahān advanced towards Tānda, and Dāūd Afghān coming out of Tānda stationed his army at a place called Akmahal,

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[1] One MS., and the lith. ed. have دار البوار the house of perdition, but one MS. has دار البقا the eternal city or house.

[2] See note 3, p. 488. He is called, incorrectly I think, Rāmeswar Gwāliārī in Elliot V, page 399. Only one of his sons is mentioned by Badāonī. He is called سالباهن, in the Persian text of Badāonī, but Mr. Lowe calls him Sālabāhan. The Akbarnāma gives the names of three sons which are given in the translation as Sālbāhan, Bhān Singh and Partāb Singh; and says that they all as well as the father fell. The correct Sanskrit form of the names would be Rāma Sāhu (or Sādhu,) Sālibāhana, Bhānu Sinha and Pratāpa Sinha.

[3] Jaimal was the heroic defender of Chitor. The Sanskrit form of the name is Jaya Malla. His son, who fell in the battle, was named Rām Dās, or more correctly Rāma Dāsa.

and [1] erected fortifications round his army. Khān Jahān also took up a position in front of the enemy, and waited for Muzaffar Khān and the army of Behār and Hājīpūr. When this news was reported to His Majesty, he sent a sum of five lakhs of rupees towards the cost of the army by *dāk chauki;* and also passed an order that many boats filled with grain might be sent from Agra to feed the victorious army. He also sent Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, who had at that time brought the news of the victory of Rājā Mān Singh, to Khān Jahān; and told him that if the great God so willed, he would also bring the news of the defeat of Dāūd. Owing to the auspiciousness of the sacred spirit of His Majesty, he (Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān) brought Dāūd's head within a short time, as will be mentioned before long.

It was at this time, that a *Zamindār* of the name of [2] Gajpati, who was in the neighbourhood of Hājīpūr and Patna, and who had been included in the band of the well-wishers of the emperor, collected a force, at the time when Muzaffar Khān had gone to reinforce the Khān Jahān, and the country had remained unprotected (*khālī*), and attacked Farhat Khān and his son [3] Mirak Radāī, who were in *thana* Ara (Arrah); and they, after fighting, attained to martyrdom. There was great disturbance in that country, and the roads were closed. When this news reached the noble attention of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, he, in his sacred person, moved out of the capital

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[1] See page 428, where however it was mentioned that it was Dāūd who dug a trench or erected a fortification round his army. See also note 122.

[2] See note 2, page 239, Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, from which it appears that Gajpati was either Raja Gajan Shah of Dāwā, pargana Bihiya Zila Shāhābād, 73rd in succession from Vikramāditya of Ujjain, or Gujan Shāhī, whose palace was at Jagdīspūr.

[3] There is much difference as to the second part of this man's name. The MSS. have دوائي Dāwāī or ردائي, Radāī; the lith. ed. has روانى, Rawānī; Elliot V, has Rāwī and Badāonī, Persian text, has ردائي and the English translation Radāī. I have adopted Radāī. In the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, III, page 240, Farhat Khān's son is called Farhang Khān, and it appears that his fief was situated to the east of the Sone, and he crossed over to help his father. He was killed fighting gallantly, and his father on hearing of his death came out of the fort of Arrah, and was slain.

city of Fathpūr, and took up a station at a spot five *karohs* from it, and issued orders for the muster of the troops, and the provision of boats and artillery. It was at this place, that Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān came by forced marches from the Khān Jahān, in the manner in which it had been uttered by the inspired tongue (of the emperor); and threw the head of Dāūd Afghān beneath the hoofs of his horse.

Couplet:

He whose mind to submission did'nt come;
He came on's head, if on's feet he did not come.

His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī performed the rites of offering thanks for this great boon; and returned to, and took up his residence, in the seat of the *Khilāfat*. Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān described the facts of the victory in this wise. Muzaffar Khān with the army of Behar and Hājīpūr and Patna, amounting to about five thousand horsemen joined the Khān Jahān. On the [1] 15th of the afore mentioned month they arrayed the troops and advanced towards the enemy. Dāūd also in conjunction with Junaid Karrāni, who was his uncle, and the other Afghān *Sardārs*, drew out his troops. By accident a cannon ball struck Junaid's leg, and shattered his knee. After a while, the two armies closed with one another, and the enemy was defeated. Dāūd was stuck fast in a quagmire, and was taken prisoner. [2] Khān Jahān cut off his head, and sent it to

[1] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. read و در پانزدهم شهر مذکور; but the translation in Elliot V is on the 15th Rabī'-ul-ākhir 984. The English date is given as 12th July, which is, of course, the correct date. The Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation page 353-55 gives a more detailed account of the battle. It appears, however, that Junaid was struck by the cannon ball, when he was sleeping on a *chārpai* bed on the night preceding the battle. Dāud was taken prisoner, as his horse had stuck in a quagmire. Badāonī however says that "At the very first attack, a cannon ball struck the knee of Junaid, and shattered it."

[2] Badāonī says, that Khān Jahān did not wish to kill Dāud, for he was a very handsome man; but the *amīrs* said that to spare his life would be to incur suspicions as to their own loyalty; so he ordered them to cut off his head. On the other hand, Abul Fazl says that Khān Jahān asked Dāud what had become of his compact and oaths. He answered that the engagement was with the Khān Khānān. "The time has now come ..... to enter into a new treaty". The Khān Khānān (Khān Jahān ?) ..... ordered that he "would be relieved of the burden of his head of contentious brains".

the threshold. Much plunder and many [1]elephants came into the possession of the servants of the daily-increasing grandeur. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī took rest in the seat of the Khilāfat, and made deserving people happy, by gifts of red and white gold, which were distributed in skirts on skirts in his sacred presence. Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān was rewarded with gifts of gold and horses and robes.

Sultān Khwāja who was the son of Khwāja Khāwind Mahmūd was honoured by being made Mīr Hājī of the caravan of pilgrimage, and a sum of six *lakhs* of rupees in cash and commodities was made over to him for the *faqīrs* and other deserving persons of the two sacred places; [2]and an order was passed, that the travelling expenses of any body, who might intend to perform a pilgrimage to the sacred places, should be paid; and an immense number of people attained to this happiness.

As every year, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī used to go on a pilgrimage to the illustrious tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn he started (this year also) from Fathpūr, and on [3]Thursday the 3rd of

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[1] One MS. adds و اسپ, and horses.

[2] Badāonī referring to Akbar's later change of faith exclaims here بخلاف حال که نام نمیتوان برد و بمجردا طلبیدن رخصت مجرم واجب القتل میشوند تِلْکَ الْاَیَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَیْنَ النَّاسِ which has been translated by Mr. Lowe as "but the reverse is now the case, for he cannot now bear even the name of such a thing, and merely to ask leave to go on a pilgrimage, is enough to make a malefactor worthy of death. We alternate these days among men". The quotation is from the Quran III, 134.

[3] It is rather difficult to fix the date of this visit to Ajmir. One of the MSS. and the lith. ed. do not give the date of the departure from Fathpūr; but one MS. inserts after سنه ششم جمادي الثاني و بست بتاريخ وقت درين اربع و ثمانين و تسعمائه موافق سال بست و دوم الهي تشريف مي بردند. From which it appears that Akbar started from Fathpur on the 26th Jamādī-us-sānī 984 corresponding with the 22nd year of the Ilāhi era, and arrived at Ajmir on the 5th Rajab. I have thought it best to insert this in the text. In Elliot V, the passage has not been translated, but there is a note to indicate that the passage omitted is about the annual pilgrimage to Ajmir. Abul Fazl does not give the date and month and year of the Hijri era; but it appears (see page 259 Vol. III of Beveridge's translation and note II in that page) that the expedition

the month of Rajab of the above-mentioned year, a grand arrival at Ajmīr took place. After making his pilgrimage to the tomb, the emperor made the *faqīrs* and the poor of the place, both young and old, fortunate with gifts of red, white and black gold. During the few days that he remained at Ajmīr, he hastened every day to make the pilgrimage and gave alms to the *faqīrs* and the helpless.

It has been mentioned in previous pages that Rājā Mān Singh defeated Rānā Kīkā, and seized his territory. The latter fled to the high mountains, and thickly wooded forests, and took shelter there. The victorious troops went in pursuit of him to Kokanda which was the place of his residence and stationed themselves there. At this time it was brought to the notice (of the emperor), that owing to the narrowness (and difficulties) of the roads, very little grain arrived and there was great scarcity among the troops. [1]Kunar Mān Singh had also prohibited his men from plundering and devastating Kīkā's country. Owing to this there was great privation among the troops, His Majesty, on hearing these matters, [2]issued a *farmān* for summoning Kunar Mān Singh. He came and waited (on the emperor); and for some days was forbidden to appear in the presence. After some days, the pen of forgiveness was drawn across his offences; and it was decided that a second army should be sent to devastate Kīkā's country. [3]On the 19th of the aforesaid month the noble standards moved from Ajmīr, and marched towards the Rānā's territory.

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commenced on the 15th September 1576, and the arrival at Ajmir took place on the 26th of that month. Badāonī says that the arrival at Ajmir was on the 6th Rajab, the anniversary of the saint's death (29th September, 1576).

[1] This order of Mān Singh shows him in a very favourable light, whilst Akbar's treatment of him does not reflect any credit on the emperor.

[2] One MS. inserts between مقدمات and فرمان the words سبب بیعنایتی بندگان حضرت نسبت کنور مانسنگه گشته .

[3] One MS. rather irrelevantly inserts here واضع باد که در اصطلاح اهل هند کنور پسر راجه را گویند, *i.e.*, let it be known that in the idiom of the people of India, the son of a Rājā is called a Kunar.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE APPOINTMENT OF KHWĀJA SHĀH MANSŪR TO BE THE DIWĀN.

Shāh Mansūr was a [1] writer of Shirāz. In the beginning, he entered the emperor's service as the officer in charge of the perfumery department. At that time Muzaffar Khān had great authority; and as he saw that Shāh Mansūr possessed great intelligence, he entangled him [2] in various matters and affairs, and had him [3] thrown into prison; and at last things came to such a pass that he could not remain at the threshold. He went away to Jaunpūr, and joined Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, and entered his service. He gradually rose to be his *Diwān*. After some years, in connection with the affairs of the Khān Khānān he entered the service of His Majesty. As his intelligence and aptitude for work became known to the world-adorning intellect from his words, a *farmān* was issued for summoning him, after the death of the Khān Khānān. He then entered the imperial service, and became the recipient of royal favour; and (finally) he attained to the post of the *Diwān* of the empire.

As Sultān Khwāja had been appointed to be Mīr Hājī, and the road to Kokanda was near Gujrat, an order was issued to Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, and Qulij Khān and Āsaf Khān, that they with a number of other *amīrs* should become the guides of the caravan of Sultān Khwāja, and pass it through Kokanda; and [4] while

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[1] The words are نویسندهٔ شیرازی both in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and in the Persian text of Badāonī. Both the translations in Elliot V, and the English translation of Badāonī have "A Shirāzī clerk." In Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma (Vol. III, page 273) the man is described as "an adept in the mysteries of accounts". I am, however, inclined to think that نویسندهٔ means a writer or calligraphist. Badāonī is rather sarcastic about him, and mentions his economy and stinginess in army expenses, and his great grasping in season and out of season.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have در مهمات و معملات برو پیچیدهٔ. Another MS. substitutes او را for برو. This I consider is the correct reading, and I have adopted it.

[3] The translation in Elliot V, page 401, says he was first imprisoned, and afterwards, banished from court. Badāonī says او فرار نمودهٔ, he fled; and the Akbarnāma says he was dismissed.

[4] Akbar's bitter hostility to the Rānā was remarkable. There is some

doing so should ravage and devastate Kīkā's territory; and wherever they might hear of him, should go and attack him, and effect his destruction. At the time when he gave Khwāja Sultān permission to leave, [1] His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī followed Sultān Khwāja for a few paces in the manner of pilgrims with head and feet naked, and wearing the pilgrims garb. Seeing this, a shout arose from the people who were present, and they involuntarily opened their mouths in prayer and praise.

When the sublime standards arrived in *pargana* [2] Mohī intelligence was brought from the front, that when Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and the other *amīrs* arrived in the vicinity of Kokanda, the Rānā fled into the hilly country. A world-obeyed order was then issued, that [3] Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Rājā Bhagwān Dās should halt at Kokandah, and Qulīj Khān with other *amīrs* should accompany the caravan as far as Idar; and should (then) lay seige to that place, but should send a detachment to convoy the caravan to Ahmadābād. When Qulīj Khān arrived at Īdar, the Rājā fled and took shelter in the hilly country in the neighbourhood. Some Rajputs, who were determined on death and had remained in a temple in Īdar, were in one moment slain to a man, by the large crowd (of assailants). The next day Qulīj Khān sent

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difference about the *amīrs* who were ordered to accompany the pilgrims. According to Badāonī, Persian text, Vol. II, page 241, Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Rājā Bhagwān Dās were ordered to remain in Kokanda, while Qulīj Khān and other *amīrs* were ordered to convey the caravan as far as Idar; while the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 269, says that "Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Kunar Mān Singh * * might go in to the hollows of the hills to lay hand on the villainous dwellers in ravines", (meaning apparently Rānā Kīkā), while Qulīj Khān * * and many other strenuous men were sent on that day to Idar, that they might clear the country of the weeds of the ungrateful."

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, 269, Akbar was inclined to undertake the pilgrimage to the Hijāz, "but on the petitions of the officers of the dominion, he abandoned his intention".

[2] The MSS. have موئی, Mūy, and the lith. ed. موهی, Mūhī. Elliot V, page 402, has Mohi. Badāonī, Persian text, has موهني, and the English translation Mohani. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 274, has Mohī.

[3] One MS. has Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, but the other MSS. and the lith. ed. omit Muhammad.

Taimur Badakhshī with five thousand horsemen to convey the cara van to Ahmadābād.

At this time Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn and Shāh Badāgh Khān and his son 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān and other *amīrs*, the *jāgīrdārs* of Mālwa, waited (on the emperor). [1] The sacred mind (then) turned its attention to the organisation of the *thānās* (military posts) of the country; and first he honoured Qāzī Khān Badakhshī by promoting him to the rank of a *Hazārī* (commander of thousand horse); and left him with Sharīf Khān Atka, and Mujāhid Khān, and Subhān Quli Turk (and) about three thousand horsemen in the town of Mohi; and appointed 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Beg, and 'Abd-ur-Rahmān, the son of Mu'id Beg, with five hundred horsemen, to be in the hilly country of [2] Madārīya.

When the sublime standards arrived at Udaipūr, a petition came from Sultān Khwāja from Surat to the effect that [3] owing to there being no agreement with the *Firangis*, the ship was being held up. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sent 'Ali Murād, who was a brave warrior, that he should bring Qulīj Khān quickly from Īdar, that he might be sent for starting the ships on the voyage.

(He was also directed to convey the order that) Āsaf Khān should be the commander of the force in place of Qulīj Khān. At this place Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Rājā Bhagwān Dās waited upon His Majesty. Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn and Jagannāth were stationed at Udaipūr; and Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān at the mouth of the [4] *Ghati* of Udaipūr. When the world-conquering standards arrived

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[1] This sentence has been left out in the translation in Elliot V, and no reason has been given for the omission.

[2] The MSS. have مداريه Madāriya. The lith. ed. has بلايه, Balāya. Badāonī Persian text has مداريه, and in the English translation it is printed as Mudāriya. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, III, 274, has Madāriya.

[3] This passage has been translated in Elliot V, as "Owing to no pass (Kaul) having been obtained from Europeans, the ship was useless". The translation of Badāonī is that for want of an agreement from the Europeans the ships were lying idle. The version in the Akbarnāma is rather vague. It is to the effect that the pilgrims were frightened about the officers of the Firinghi ports.

[4] The name of the place is differently given. One MS. has در دهنه کانی اودی پور and another has در دهٔ کانی اودهو پور, while the lith. ed. has در و کانی و اودیپور The translation in Elliot V, is "in Dhauli-ghati of Udipur". Badāonī Persian

in the neighbourhood of Bānswāla (Bānswāra) and Dūngarpūr, the Rājās of those places and the Zamīndārs of the neighbourhood were honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold, and presented suitable tributes, and became the recipients of royal favours.

It was at this place that Rājā Todar Mal came from Bengal, and obtained the honour of waiting upon His Majesty. He placed before the sacred eyes about five hundred elephants, and other valuable things, and various tributes pertaining to the plunder of Bengal. At the same station also Qulīj Khān came, and waited (on His Majesty), and received permission to go to Surat, so that he might go there, and arrange for the leaving of the ships. He, in conjunction with [1]Kalyān Rāi, obtained an agreement from the *Firangīs*, and started the ships on the voyage and returned quickly; and the sublime standards were still in Malwa, when he had the honour of presenting his services. As the sacred mind had now become composed by the appointment (of *amīrs*) to the different *thānas*; and the men of the locality had enlisted themselves in the band of his servants, he marched in to Mālwa, seeing the country (سیر کنان), and hunting.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 23RD YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram [2]986 A.H. (11th March 1578). [3]The celebration of the *Naurūz Sultānī*

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text has در دهنه درهٔ ودی پور and the translation is "at the entrance of the defile of Udīpūr". I cannot find the corresponding passage in the Akbarnāma It appears to me that the most probably correct reading is در دهنه گهاٹی اودی پور.

[1] One MS. affixes بقال Baqqāl, after the name. The translation in Elliot V has "Kalyan Rai, a merchant (bakkal);" Badāonī affixes بقال ساکن کمبایت (i.e., a merchant living at Kambāyet) to the name. The correct Sanskrit form of the name is Kallyāna Rāya.

[2] One MS. and the lith. ed. have 985 A.H., but another MS. has 986 A.H. I have adopted the latter, as it is the correct year. The translation in Elliot V, says in a note "one MS. has 985, but this is a manifest error". The Akbarnāma also says that the 23rd year began on Tuesday the 2nd Muharrum 986, after the passing of 58 minutes.

[3] This passage, to the end of the paragraph, does not occur in the lith. ed. but has been taken from the MSS. where it is to be found, with certain differences, which I have indicated by putting the variants within brackets. There is a corresponding passage in the translation in Elliot V.

took place in the neighbourhood of *pargana* Dipālpūr, a dependency of Mālwa. On Monday, the 20th of Zihijja of the year 985, corresponding with the 23rd year of the Ilāhī era, (the emperor) sat on the imperial throne, and made the world and all its inhabitants joyful and happy by imperial benefactions. He turned his attention at this time, to the amelioration of the inhabitants of that territory and tried to improve its condition; and owing to his innate kindliness, he inquired one by one into the condition of the people, who came in large numbers, and represented the truth about their affairs; and he settled the affairs of that *Śūba*, and made most of the *zamīndārs* obedient and submissive.

At this time, when the grand army was encamped in *sarkār* Mālwa, as [1] Rājā 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, did not carry out the duty of submission, the world-adorning intellect decided upon his punishment; and certain great *amīrs* such as Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Shujā'at Khān and Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn, and Shāh Badāgh Khān and his son 'Abdul Matlab Khān and Tulak Khān and other *jāgīrdārs* of Mālwa were sent to attack his territory. A noble order was issued that [2] Shahāb Khān should be the commander of the force; and Shahbāz Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, should check the branding of the horses and the mustering of the troops, and attend to the preparations of the *amīrs*, and send the army forward quickly.

At the same station, Rājā Todar Mal was deputed to check the revenue assessment, and to [3] arrange the affairs of the country of

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[1] This agrees generally with Badāonī Persian text, Vol. II, page 244 and English translation, II, 251. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 279, gives some names of the *amīrs* who were in command of the troops, which are not to be found in the text, and omits some which are there; and says that the *amīrs* were in the first place to admonish the rebels, and in the event of this having no effect, they were "to clear off the rust from these darkened ones by the flashings of Indian swords". And "they were to make over the country to just and disinterested men, and to protect the subjects generally, who are a trust from God". But according to the Akbarnāma this happened in the 21st year of the reign.

[2] One MS. gives his full name Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān but the other and the lith. ed. have the abbreviated name.

[3] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 280, says that Todar Mal

Gujrat. At this time news came from the *amīrs* and the army which had been sent to Īdar that they had fought a battle with Rājā Narāin Dās and had gained a victory. The particulars of this brief statement are these: that at the time, when Muhammad Qulī Khān had, in accordance with orders, come to the sublime threshold, in the company of 'Ali Murād Uzbek, and Āsaf Khān had remained as the commander of that army, news was suddenly received that the Rājā of Idar had collected a large body[1] of Rajputs, who had lost everything and were wandering about, and other *zamindārs* of the neighbourhood, with[2] the object of aiding Rānā Kīkā, and were stationed at a place ten *karohs* from Idar, and intended to make a surprise attack by night. Āsaf Khān and Mīrza Muhammad Muqīm and Taimūr Badakhshi[3] and Ma'sūm Bakari and Muzaffar Khān. brother of Khān 'Ālam, and Khwāja Nāsir-ud-dīn and all the victorious troops had a consultation. They left a detachment of about five hundred men to guard the *thāna* (station); and after arranging the troops,[4] started at midnight, and they traversed a distance of seven *karohs*, by the morning of the 4th[5] zi-hijjah 984, when the two armies met each other. The fire of battle flamed up. [6] Mīrza Muhammad

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was sent to Gujrat because "that territory was in a disturbed state, owing to the carelessness of Wazir K." The emperor "bade skilful and trusty men to go there quickly, and endeavour to put it into order, with the officers of the country". "Todar Mal hastened there and showed the jewel of his abilities to mankind. The inhabitants * * enjoyed prosperity."

[1] One MS. has با جماعته از راجهایی راجپوتان, but the other MSS. and the lith. ed. omit راجهای.

[2] The words are بامداد را نا کیکا. The translation in Elliot V, page 404, "and supported by Rájá Kíká" is incorrect, if the same or similar words were used in the MSS. from which that translation was made.

[3] One MS. inserts the name of Mīr Muhammad between those of Taimūr Badakhshi and Ma'sūm Bakari, while another has Mir Qulīj at the same place.

[4] One MS. inserts here صفها و بتسویه صفوف پرداخته بقواعد و قوانین جنگ اراسته با فیلان خاصه حضرت اعلی; while another inserts only صفها اراسته.

[5] The date is the 4th Muharram 985 in one MS. and in the lith. ed. In the other MSS. it is 4th Zi-hijja 984. In the translation in Elliot V, the date is 4th Zi-hijja, but the year is not given. Badāonī has 4th Zi-hijja, 984. The Akbarnāma does not give the date or year according to the Muhammadan calendar, but places it at the end of the 21st year of the Ilāhī era.

[6] The account of the battle is given in pp. 280-81, Vol. III, Beveridge's

Muqīm who was the leader of the van attained to martyrdom; and the enemy was defeated. Rājā Narāin Dās escaped by flight; and the imperial servants were distinguished with victory and triumph. As this news was brought to His Majesty's notice, it produced great joy in his mind which had seen the angelic world. *Farmāns* to be obeyed were issued for granting rewards and favours to each one of the *amīrs* and *sardārs* of the army of Īdar. When the mind of the world-conquering monarch had rest after attending to the affairs of Mālwa, and appointing *amīrs* to the districts of Āsīr and Burhānpūr, the bridle of determination was turned towards the metropolis of Fathpūr; and he traversed the whole district seeing sights and hunting; and on Sunday, the 23rd Safar, Fathpūr became the seat of the standards of honour and splendour. The common people and the nobles and all the inhabitants hastened to welcome him; and raised the shouts of prayers and praise to the residents of the highest heavens.

[1] After two or three months, a certain amount of disturbance occurred in the country of Gujrat, on account of the arrival there of Muzaffar Husain Mīrza, son of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, who was the grandson (daughter's son) of Mīrza Kāmrān. The details of this occurrence, narrated briefly, are these. At the time when the world-conquering standards were stationed round the fort of Surat, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Kāmrān Mīrza, and wife (*Mankūha*) of Ibrāhīm

translation. It appears that both sides fought bravely, that the van of the imperial army was discomfited, but that army was ultimately victorious. Rājā Narāyan Dās is not named, and the ruler of Idar is called the Rai of Īdar. One Asa Rāwal is mentioned as collecting daring men and coming out of the defile to deliver battle but it is not clear who he was. Badāonī's account pp. 244-45, Vol. II of the Persian text does not contain any new facts.

[1] The Akbarnāma which places the events, already described, in the 21st year of the reign, mentions various incidents in the interval; namely, the death of Māhī Begam, a daughter of Akbar by the daughter of Rāwal Harrāj, ruler of Jaisalmir; the capture of the fortress of Bundi; the appointment of an *Atālīq* or tutor for Sultān Dāniāl; the illness of prince Salīm; the arrival of letters from Nizām-ul-mulk with presents; and the recovery of Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār, who was a favourite of Akbar, and to whom poison was administered in his drink, but who recovered by the employment of some medical remedy as well as some spiritual medicines by the emperor. These events are said to have occurred in the beginning of the 22nd year.

Husain Mīrza had left that place, taking with her, her young son Muzaffar Husain Mīrza. The details of this matter have been mentioned in the story of the victory of Ahmadābād. At this time, a strife-monger of the name of [1]Mihr 'Ali, one of the servants of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, who had accompanied Gulrukh Begam from the fort of Surat to the *Dakhin*, brought back Muzaffar Husain, who [2]had now attained to the age of fifteen or sixteen years, and whom he made the centre of disturbance and rebellion. A number of evil-minded men and homeless wanderers gathered round him; and turned the face of revolt and hostility towards Gujrat. At this time, Rājā Todar Mal was at Pattan, engaged in settling and testing the land revenue of the country. Owing to this disturbance and revolt, men, who were always ready to create disaffection, raised their heads in every corner; and a wonderful state of disturbance and rebellion was produced. Vazīr Khān, who was the governor of Gujrat had three thousand horsemen round him; but still as he had among his retainers, many men who were seeking for adventures, he decided on shutting himself up, and writing an account of the incidents, sent it to Rājā Todar Mal. Before the Rājā could come to reinforce and help him, Bāz Bahādur, son of Sharīf Khān, fought with Muzaffar Husain Mīrza in [3]*pargana* Nadarbār, and was defeated. Muzaffar

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1 He is called Mihr 'Ali Kūlābī in the translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, page 292.

2 In the translation of Badāonī, Vol. II, page 256 the age of Muzaffar Husain Mīrza has been incorrectly stated to have been 15 or 16 years at the time when his mother had carried him away. As a matter of fact he was 15 or 16 years of age when he was brought back by Mihr 'Ali. The Persian text agrees with the text of the Tabaqāt.

3 The name of the *pargana* is written as بربـاد, Barbād, and تربـاد, Taryād in the MSS.; and as نربـاد, Narbād in the lith. ed. The translation in Elliot V, page 404, has Nāndurbār in the text, and a note says "in Khandesh. This is written as Nadarbar and Naryādba in the MSS.". Badāonī has Patlād. The name of the *pargana* is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma. One MS. has after پسر شویف خان, بابا گدای دیوان گجرات. The translation in Elliot V, also has "and Baba Gadai the Diwan of Gujrat". In Badāonī Sharīf Khān is called Sharīf Muhammad Khān Atka, and the Diwān is called Baba Beg. Bāz Bahādur is mentioned in the Akbarnāma, and he is said to have come out with a force, but owing to the baseness of his servants he could not effect anything. The Diwān is not mentioned.

Husain Mīrza went to Kambāyet. He remained there for two or three days; and then turned to Ahmadābād. At this time Rājā Todar Mal came from Pattan to Ahmadābād. The rebels, when they heard the news of the coming of the Raja, [1] left the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād; and marched away towards Dūlqa. The Rājā and Vazīr Khān pursued them, and overtook them in the neighbourhood of that place; and a sharp fight took place. [2] The servants of the daily-increasing grandeur were distinguished by victory and triumph; and the rebels were routed and withdrew themselves towards Jūnagadh.

After the victory, Rājā Todar Mal proceeded to the threshold which was the asylum of the world. When the news of his departture reached Mīrza Muzaffar Husain, he again came to Ahmadābād and besieged Vazīr Khān. Although the latter had a large force, he was compelled to shut himself up in the fort, on account of his having no trust in his men. Mihr 'Ali, the *vakīl* (representative or agent) of Mīrza Muhammad Husain, who was the source of the disturbance, placed ladders against the walls of the fort with the intention of entering it, when he was suddenly hit by a shot from a gun fired from the fort, and was sent to hell. As he was removed from the scene, Muzaffar Husain Mīrza took the way of flight [3]; and went away towards Sultānpūr and Nadarbār; and that disturbance and rebellion subsided. [4] And we return now to our subject.

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[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. and the Persian text of Badāonī all have از کنار احمد آباد برخاسته, which Mr. Lowe has translated "decamped from outside Ahmadabad".

[2] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 273, there was much cowardice and treachery in the imperial army; and the enemy believed that "as soon as the forces were face to face, most of the imperialists would join them, while some would take to flight". But Rāja Todar Mal and the force under him fought bravely, and their bravery was the cause of this victory; but "the right wing of the imperial army fled without making a proper fight". Most of the centre behaved in the same way, but when Raja Todar Mal suddenly appeared after defeating these opposed to him, the rebels were routed.

[3] One MS. inserts here, و ادبار *i.e.* and to misfortune.

[4] This sentence is omitted from one MS. but is given in the other and in the lith. ed.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE AMĪRS AND THE VICTORIOUS ARMY IN THE COUNTRY OF ASĪR AND BURHĀNPŪR.

It has been mentioned in previous pages, that in accordance with order, obeyed by the world, Shahbāz Khan and other *amīrs* were sent, with ten thousand horsemen to attack the country of Asīr and Burhānpūr. When the news of the mustering of the troops reached Rājā 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, he took shelter in the fort, and showed signs of submission. The great *amīrs* entered the country, and did not draw the reins of their might till they had reached Bījāgadh. There was great distress in Asīr and Burhānpūr. Rājā 'Ali Khān, came forward with submission and humility; and made the *amīrs*, the means (of the forgiveness) of his offences; and agreed that he would send a suitable tribute consisting of various commodities, and renowned elephants, through some trustworthy agents of his, to the threshold which was the asylum of all people. [1] At this time, Qutb-ud-dīn Husain Khān separated himself from the other *amīrs*, on account of the disturbances, which had occurred in Baroch and Baroda and other *jaigirs* of his, owing to the inroads of Muzaffar Husain Mīrza; and went to Nadarbār and Sultānpūr. Owing to this, there was a certain amount of trouble in the settlement of the affairs of Asīr and Burhānpūr. For this reason, Shāhāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and all the *amīrs* became the means of sending a petition (for the forgiveness) of the offences of Rājā 'Ali Khān; and they sent his tributes and his elegant and curious presents to the threshold, which was the asylum of Sultāns; and returned from Asīr and Burhānpūr to their own *jāigīrs*, and took up their residence there.

And it was at this time, that Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk who had gone on an embassy to 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of the Dakhin, came back; and brought before the noble eyes, the renowned elephants and the valuable tribute (which he had brought).

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[1] The course of events at Asir and Burhānpur is not quite clear, but it would appear that there was a certain amount of disagreement and half-heartedness among the *amirs*. In fact Badāonī says, that Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammed Khān became دل دو which Mr. Lowe translates as disaffected, but which I should translate as two-hearted or vacillating. The *amīrs* took advantage of Rājā 'Ali Khān's fear, to patch up a peace, so that they might go back to their own *jāigirs*.

A NARRATIVE OF THE MARCH OF THE WORLD-CONQUERING CAVALCADE FOR PILGRIMAGE TO AJMĪR.

As His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī had made it a duty to go every year on a pilgrimage to the illustrious tomb of His Holiness Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn, may his soul be sanctified!; in the month of Rajab which was the time of the celebration of the anniversary of the death of His Holiness, he turned to the auspicious country of Ajmīr. At the halting place of Tūda, the asylum of Saiyyadship, [1] Mīr Abu Turāb, who was one of the great Saiyyads of Shirāz, and whose father and uncles had for years been much trusted and honoured by the Sultāns of Gujrat, and Rājā Todar Mal, who after the defeat of Mīrza Muzaffar Husain had started for the royal threshold, arrived: and were honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold. From that place (the emperor) marched by successive stages to Ajmīr. When he arrived there, he performed the duties of pilgrimage, and made the *faqīrs* and the poor of that noble place [2] prosperous by his universal benefactions. [3] He went once every day to perform the pilgrimage, and was in the company of *darwishes*; and learned and pious men; and the *darwishes* who were present, spoke words of real importance; and there was instrumental and vocal music; and men of devotion and taste were in ecstacies. Deserving men were made happy with rewards, and stipends. The day of the anniversary was passed in making great gifts, and benefactions and in sublime communion.

(The emperor) commenced the return journey under the wings of honour and grandeur; and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of the town of [4] Ambirsar, he ordered the erection of a fort and city

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[1] Badāonī says that afterwards when Akbar was near Mairtha he made Mīr Abu Turāb, whom he calls Shāh Abu Turāb the Mir Hāj of a caravan of Hājīs. The Akbarnāma mentions the appointment of Mīr Abu Turāb to be Mīr Hāj: but according to it, Rāja Todar Mal came and saw the emperor at Basāwar, when the latter was on his way to Ajmir. He brought many prisoners in chains, who were all capitally punished.

[2] One MS. inserts here و شاداب before بهرؤ مندٔ

[3] This passage down to "sublime communion" does not occur in the lith. ed.; but has been taken from the MSS.

[4] The MSS. have قصبهٔ امرسر, Qasba Amarsar and قصبهٔ ایذ سر, Qasba Izsar;

in the village of [1] Mūlthān, one of the dependencies of the town of Ambirsar; and he distributed the task of the erection of the walls and the fort and the doors and the gardens among the *amīrs*, and impressed on them the necessity of their early completion. A structure, which would not have been finished in the course of years, was thus completed in a period of twenty days. After that a noble order was issued, that raiyyats and various classes of artisans, from all *parganas* of that *sūba* should settle in that fort. As the land had from ancient times, belonged to [2] Rai Lonkarn, this city was named

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the lith. ed. has Ajamir. The translation in Elliot V, has Ambir. Badāonī, Persian Text, Vol. II, page 251, has Ambir, but a note says there is a variant Ambirsar, I have not been able to find out any reference to the building of the fort in the Akbarnāma. Ambir or Amber is, of course, the old capital of Jaipur, four miles N. E. of the present city of Jaipur.

[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have مولتهان, Mūlthān. The name is transliterated as Mulathan in Elliot V, page 406. Badāonī, Persian Text II, 251, has مولتان, and the English Trans. II, 258, Multan.

[2] Badāonī says he was the ruler of Sambhar. There is some difference in the readings about the son. One MS. and the lith. ed. have و جوان شایسته بفهم است و شعر فارسي خوب میگوید; while another MS. has دران زمان در سنه سی سالگي بود و در خدمت شاه زاده نشو نما یافته و جوان before The translation in Elliot V, has apparently been made from a text containing this clause. According to this, the translation of the passage would be: "who bore the name of Manohar, and who at that time was in his thirtieth year, and who had received training and education in the service of the prince, and who was now in the prime of life, and of good manners, and composed good Persian poetry", etc. Badāonī's text is similar to this. Badāonī also says that he had for some time been known as Mīrza Manohar. There is some difference as to his *nom-de-plume*. The MSS. have تونسني, Tusni; the lith. ed has طوسی, Tusi; and Elliot V, has Tausani which the translator says is after Tausan "the celebrated wit and poet". Badāonī has توسني. The Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation Vol. III, 311, says the new town was named after Manahar Das; (by the way Manahar is grammatically incorrect, the correct Sanskrit form being Manohar) and was called Mul-Manahar-Nagar. According to note I, in the page Manohar Das was a poet and wrote under the name of Tausani (a mettled steed). He was also called Muhammad Manahar. As to the town there is a Manoharpur I.G., XVII, 200, 28 M.N.E. Jaipur. Tiefenthaler I, 323, mentions another 15 leagues N. Jaipur and calls it a "*ville de marque*" and says it had a fortress. A Manoharnagar is mentioned in J. II, 277. There is also difference as to the name of the new city. The MSS. and Elliot V, have Manohar Nagar; the lith. ed. has Manohargarh and Badāonī has Manoharpur.

Manohar Nagar after the name of his son, who bore the name of Manohar, and was a young man of polished manners; and composed good Persian poetry, and had the *Takhallus* (poetical *nom-de-plume*) *Tūsnī*.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE APPEARANCE OF A STAR[1] ZŪ ZŪĀBA.

At this time, at the time of the evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky in the west inclined to the north, and for[2] two hours during the night appeared extremely terrible. In accordance with the emperor's order[3] astronomers (or astrologers came up; and their opinions were to the effect, that its effect would not be felt in the country of Hindustan; but in all probability, they would be in Khurāsān and 'Irāq. [4] In the end, about that time Shāh Isma'el, son of Shāh Tahmāsp Safauī, passed away into the world of permanence. And there [5] was very great disorder in the country of Irān.

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[1] One MS. adds یعنی دمدار *i.e.*, having a tail.

[2] There are some variations in the readings. One MS. has تا دو ساعت از شب موئی گذشته بغایت مهیب می نمود The other omits the word موئی. The lith. ed. omits the whole sentence. Elliot V, has "and continued very awful for two hours". Badāonī (II, 240) places the appearance of the comet in the 22nd year of the reign. He also records a joke of the time. Shāh Mansūr, the *Diwān*, used to wear a turban with the end hanging down his back; so he got the name of the comet, or "long-tailed star". Abul Fazl likewise places the comet in the 22nd year of the reign or 1577 A.D.; and according to Fergusson, the comet passed its perihelion on the 26th October, 1577 (Fergusson's astronomy, Vol. II, p. 234) "Abul Fazl enters into a learned discussion upon comets in general" Akbarnama, Vol. III, page 192—note quoted from Elliot V, page 407. The reference to the comet in Beveridge's translation is in III, 311.

[3] One MS. has ارباب تقاویم after اهل تنجیم.

[4] There are variations in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have عاقبت دران نزدیکی شاه طهماسپ صفوی بعالم بقا انتقال نمود; while another MS. has شاه اسمعیل بن before شاه طهماسپ صفوی The translation in Elliot V, agrees with the latter reading. The Akbarnāma apparently ascribed the deaths both of Shāh Tahmāsp and of Shāh Isma'el to the comet; the former having died a little before, and the latter just after its appearance.

[5] There is some variation in the readings here. One MS. has دافع شد, another has سانح شد, while another and the lith. ed. have only شد.

As (the emperor), at this time arrived at [1]Narnaul, having in accordance with the purport of the (following verse);

If thou for that esoteric world dost wish,
Do thou honour a *faqīr* as thou dost a king,

he went to see [2]Shaikh Nizām Nārnauli, who was one of the (great) Shaikhs of the age, and gladdened the hearts of the *faqīrs* and *darwishes* of the place by rewards and imperial favours. There was mystic assembly or dance (*majlis-i-sumā'*), and the *sufīs* who were with the Shaikh fell into devotional ecstacies.

From this place (His Majesty) turned to the capital city of Dehli, and the pavilions of firmament-like foundation were pitched at the *hauz-i-khās*. His Majesty went to the tomb, marked with beneficence, of His late Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī, his great father, and carried out the duties of pilgrimage. From that place he went on pilgrimage to the great Shaikhs, who live in peace and comfort in Dehli, [3]and performed the duties of humble salutation; and cheered the hearts of the *faqīrs* and other deserving persons, who were settled in those places, by lavish gifts of *dirams* and *dinārs*. From that place he went to, and halted at [4]Sarāi Bāuli; and at that place Hājī Habīb-ul-lah, [5]coming from the country of Firang, produced beautiful articles

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[1] "Nārnaul or Nārnol is described by Tiefenthaler I, 212. He says it was rich and populous, until Jai Singh took it from the Muhammadans. It is now in Patiala, I.G., XVII, 380." Note quoted from Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, III, 321.

[2] Shaikh Nizām is described by Abul Fazl as a "hermit" and as "a vaunter of simplicity" *Dukkān-ārā-i-sāda-lūh*, which it "seems is intended as a sneer". Badāonī simply describes him as one of the great Shaikhs of the age.

[3] There are some variations in the readings. One MS. has after در دهلی رفته خضوع و خشوع بجا آورده اند; while another omits رفته and has از روی خضوع و خشوع تمام بجا آورده while the lith. ed. omits the whole clause, and has after فقرا و مستحقان را, اسوده اند etc. I have adopted the first reading.

[4] The name is written سرای باولی in the MSS., and in the lith. ed.; but it is translated as *Sarāi* of Bawali in Elliot V, page 407 and as *Sarāi* of Bāwali in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III, page 321; and it is said in a note "Perhaps Bāwal in *sarkār* Rewari". I think, however, *Bāuli* means a large well, like many found in Dehli and Agra; and Sarāi Bāuli was a place close to Dehli where there was a *Sarāi* near such a large well.

[5] The word امده which occurs after از ولایت فرنگ in the MSS. is not in

of food and fabrics and furniture of that country, before the noble eyes. Early the next morning (the emperor) started from that place, and marched to *pargana* Pālam. [1] At that place he enjoyed the pleasures of the chase; and at night, rested in the house of the head man of the village. In the morning, he said, "whenever I shall by accident halt in the house of a cultivator, I shall grant him help towards his livelihood. The revenue officers, in charge of the cultivated lands, should confirm the lands to him by way of help to his maintenance (*Madad-i-ma'ash*), and should excuse him from all demands on account of rent or revenue".

At this place, he incidentally remarked to Mīrza Yusuf Khān, "When I shall take possession of Kashmīr I shall confer it on you, and when I come to see the country, I shall stay in your palace". From that day after ten years the country of Kashmīr having come into his possession, it was granted as a *jāgīr* to Mīrza Yusuf Khān; and His Majesty (then once) took up his quarters in his palace.

[2] On the day on which, *pargana* Hānsī, became the halting ground of the grand pavilions, he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of [3] Shaikh Jamāl Hānswī in that town, and gave alms and votive

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the lith. ed. In the translation in Elliot V, the passage has been translated "Haji Habib-ul-lah who had visited Europe and who had brought with him," etc. It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 322, that "Hājī Habīb-ul-lah had been sent to Goa with a large sum of money and skilful craftsmen, in order that he might bring to this country the excellent arts and the rarities of that place" * * * "He produced before H.M. the choice articles of that territory. Craftsmen who had gone to acquire skill, displayed the arts which they had learned and received praises in the critical place of testing."

[1] The whole of the passage of which this and the next paragraph are the translation is not to be found in the lith. ed.; but has been taken from the MSS. There was apparently a similar passage in the MS. from which the translation in Elliot V, has been made. The substance of the first para is to be found in that translation; and there are asterisks which probably indicate the existence of the reference to Mirza Yusuf Khān and Kashmir. There is only a brief reference to the emperor's hunting in Pālam, in Badāonī.

[2] There are some slight variations in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have در روزی که برگنه هانسي while another MS. has چون برکنه هانسی

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 328, Shaikh Jamāl "was one of the lieutenants (jānashīnān) of Shaikh Farīd

offerings. In that same place, a petition came from Shīr Beg to the sublime threshold (to the effect), that when [1] Muzaffar Husain Mīrza was fleeing from Gujrat, Rājā 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhanpūr had seized and imprisoned him. When the purport of this petition was submitted to the emperor, a *farmān*, which had to be obeyed, was issued to Rājā 'Ali Khān, and was sent by the hand of Maqsūd Jauharī, that he should send Muzaffar Husain, in company with his own son, to the threshold which was the asylum of Sultāns.

It was also at this place, that Mīr 'Ali Akbar Mashhadī produced before the noble eyes (of the emperor) a horoscope of the latter, with a letter from [2] Qazī Ghiās-ud-dīn Jāmī, who was one of the most learned men of the age, and who had spent many years in the service of His late Majesty Jinnat Āshiānī. It was written in that horoscope, that on the night of the birth of His Majesty, which was the night of the 4th Rabī-us-sānī 947 A.H., His late Majesty Jinnat Āshiānaī saw in the world of sleep, that the great God had bestowed on him, a son of august fortune. He gave the name of Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar on that noble and precious gem. His Majesty bestowed on him, as a reward for the composition of that horoscope, immense royal favours and granted the *pargana* of [3] Nadīna as a

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Shakarganj; and on an indication from his Pīr he had settled there in order to guide inquirers". Badāonī mentions Akbar's visit to Hānsī (Persian Text, II, 253), but does not mention his pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Jamāl.

[1] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 330, says that Muzaffar 'Ali Khān, after escaping from Gujrat, went to the Deccan, and joined with some ill-conditioned men in Berar. He was defeated in a hot engagement by the troops of that country, and then came to Khandesh, where he was seized. The man by whose hands the *farmān* was sent is called Maqsūd Jauhari in the MSS. and by Badāonī; and Maqsūd Chaudhurī in the lith. ed. He is called Maqsūd Damba in the Akbarnāma. His name is not given in Elliot V.

[2] The name is Qazī Ghiās-ud-dīn Jāmī in one MS. and Qāzī Ghiās-ud-dīn Hājī in another, while the lith. ed. has what looks like Qāzī Ghiās-ud-dīn Jāid.

[3] The name of the *pargana* appears to be نديله, in the MSS. It may be Nadina or Mazina. The name of the *pargana* is omitted in the lith. ed. The paragraph about the *Maulūdnāma* has not been translated in Elliot V; and I have not been able to find any reference to the matter in either the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī. The passage about the visit to Pattan-i-Shaikh Farīd has not also been translated in Elliot V. There is just a passing reference to it in Badāonī, Persian text, Vol. II, page 253.

reward. On the 2nd of Zi-l-hijja 985 A.H., His Majesty arrived in state in Pattan-i-Shaikh Farīd, and after performing the ceremony of circumambulation made, the *faqīrs* and deserving persons happy by alms and votive benefactions.[1]

A NARRATIVE OF THE 24th YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Thursday the 13th Muharram [2]987 A.H. (12th March 1579). [3]In the beginning of this year the

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[1] One MS. has after this the following couplet

بدل اصحاب دل را اشنا باش ، درون درویش و بیرون بادشاه باش .

which may be translated

In heart be thou a lover of high-souled men ;
Inside be thou a *darwish*, and outside be thou a king.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have 986 but the correct year is 987. The Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 385) says the year commenced on Wednesday, the 12th Muharram 987 (11th March 1589), after the passing of six hours forty seven minutes.

[3] There is a good deal of difference in the readings. One MS. has

در ابتدای این سال از پٹن کوچ بر کوچ متوجه دار الخلافت گشتند ، که تحویل ثبر اعظم از حوت بحمل واقع شده ، سال بست و چهارم از جلوس بادشاهی در امد ؛ و عالمیان را از بزم جمشید و جشن فریدون یاد داد . و از هر طرف غلغله نشاط و خرمی و اوازه انبساط و بیغمی بامقیمان عالم بالا و مسکان (؟) ملاء اعلي رسید . درین ولا که عالم از نسیم جان پرور بهار خوشبو تراز طبله عطار بود ، و خاطرهای بتماشاء صحرا و مرغذار رغبت می نمود . و ان حضرت اکثر اوقات همایون ساعات در روضه متبرکه حضرت شیخ فرید شکرگنج قدس سره بطاعت و عبادات مصروف می داشتند ، و شبها تا صبح بارواح بصحبت مشایخ و اهل الله موقف بودند * * بیت *

بدل اصحاب دل را اشنا باش ، درون درویش و بیرون بادشاه باش .

و از انجا شکار کنان کوچ بر کوچ نهضت فرمودند *

which means "in the beginning of the year the emperor marched by successive marches towards the capital, that the transit of the great luminary from *Pisces* to *Aries* took place. The 24th year from the accession of the emperor commenced; and reminded the people of the world of the great assemblies of Jamshīd, and the festivities of Farīdūn. From every side the noise of mirth and happiness, and the sound of sorrowlessness reached the residents of the higher world and the denizens of high heaven. At this time when the world became perfumed, as from the casket of an 'Atar-seller by the vernal breeze, and hearts became desirous of seeing the plains and lawns, His Majesty occupied

emperor travelled towards the capital by successive marches, hunting along the way. [1] It so happened that, at this time, people suffered great privation from excessive rain. His Majesty called for a mirror, and breathed three times on it with his auspicious breath, and then placed the mirror on a fire. The rain immediately stopped, and the people escaped from the distress caused by it. At the same time the sound of a kettle drum was heard. The emperor said "It is Yār Muhammad Naqqārchi (drummer), who is beating the drum". When an enquiry was made, it was found that it was as he had said.

[2] At this time, in the neighbourhood of Nandna Rhotās, (the emperor) thought of a *qamargha* hunt, and ordered the *amīrs* and soldiers, that they should drive game from different directions, and bring them together in a spacious plain. In the space of four days, they surrounded countless game, and brought them before (the emperor); and things were coming to this, that the *qamargha* should meet from the two sides. Suddenly, a certain condition, at once, came upon the emperor, and a great ecstasy took possession of him.

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most of his auspicious moments, in adoration and devotion, at the auspicious tomb of Shaikh Farīd Shakarganj, may his spirit be sanctified! and spent the nights till the morning in the company of Shaikhs and God-loving men.

In heart be thou a lover of high-souled men;
Inside be thou a *darwish*, and outside be thou a king.

and from that place he marched by successive stages hunting along the way. If this reading is accepted, it appears that there is some reduplication at the beginning and at the end. The other MS. has در ابتدای این سال از پکّن کوچ بر کوچ شکار کنان متوجه دار الخلافت گشتند. اتفاقاً which means, in the beginning of this year he marched towards the capital by successive stages, hunting along the way. It so happened, etc. After this the two MSS. have the same reading. The lith. ed. agrees with the second MS. as far as گشتند and then after omitting some lines agrees with the MSS. from the words در نواحی نندنه رهتاس. I have adopted the reading in the second MS.

[1] I cannot find any reference to this miraculous cessation of rain caused by Akbar in either the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī; nor any mention of his finding out the man who had beaten the drum.

[2] This passage has not been translated in Elliot V, but the Akbarnāma has a similar passage, in Beveridge's translation III, 346, and Badāonī in the Persian text II, 253 and the English translation II, page 261. According to the Akbarnāma the *qamargha* was at Bhira and wild beasts were enclosed "From Girghak on the right bank of the Jhilam to Bhira a distance of twenty-five *kos*".

There came upon him, in whom was revealed personal and attributive rays of brightness and were combined all perfections, partial as well as total, such a condition as words cannot describe. In this matter people expressed different opinions. A number of people thought that, that chosen one of God had communion with supernatural beings; and others imagined that the tongueless ones that roam in the plains, and the silent-lipped ones that wander in the forests, had told him, what there was to say, with the tongue of silence.

Couplet;

Oh joyful is the ecstasy that suddenly comes!
And joyful, when to a feeling heart, it comes!

Immediately a high order was issued that the *qamargha* hunt should be stopped; and the game that had been collected should be allowed to escape. At the foot of the tree, where the Divine grace had descended on him, he gave much gold to the *faqīrs* and the poor; and an auspicious order was issued that a building should be erected and a garden planted at the spot. The emperor shaved off the hair of his auspicious head, and most of his immediate attendants agreed with and followed his [1] example.

Then they started from that auspicious spot. In the neighbourhood of the town of [2] Bhīra, the news of the appearance of Her Highness Mariam Makānī came, who had undertaken the journey from the metropolis. It became the cause of gratification and happiness to the affectionate heart, and a noble order was issued, that Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm should go to meet and welcome her. The emperor himself also started with good fortune, after him. After performing affectionate service, and the performance of the rites of honour and

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[1] Badāonī says (Persian Text, II, 254) that the news that what had happened to Akbar reached the eastern provinces, and gave rise to wild rumours; and there were some disturbances among the raiyyats, but they quickly subsided. Mr. Beveridge surmises (see note IV, Vol. III, page 346 of his translation of the Akbarnāma) that perhaps it caused Akbar's mother to come to see him.

[2] The name of the place is variously transliterated as Bahira in Elliot V, page 408, Bhera in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 245, and Bihrah in the translation of Badāonī, Vol. III, page 261. It is in the Shāhpur district of the Punjab.

respect, they all came to the court, which was the asylum of Sultāns. Then after making over the government of the Punjab to Sa'īd Khān, they raised the standards of return towards the metropolis of Agra.

When the noble standards arrived at the village of Sultānpūr, one of the dependencies of Khizrābād, an order was issued that a large number of boats should be collected, and they should continue the journey by river. Muhammad Qāsim Khān *mīr bahr* (the admiral of the fleet), quickly collected many boats, and brought them before the noble eyes. The *amīrs* and chiefs also collected boats for their own use. His Majesty embarked in the boats at Khizrābād on Thursday, the 3rd Jamādī-us-sānī 986 A.H. corresponding with the 24th year of the Ilāhī era, and started towards the metropolis of Agra.

Couplet:

The lord of the realm and of the faith into the boat he got,
[1] Who has seen the river, seated on a boat?

According to his order the great camp marched by land. On the 9th of the aforesaid month, the boats rested opposite to the city of Delhi, [2] in front of the tomb of His Holiness Khwāja Khizr, on whom be peace!

As the 6th of the month of Rajab was the time of the anniversary festival of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn, may his soul be sanctified! the emperor determined on a pilgrimage to Ajmir. On the 1st of the month he left the boat, [3] and exceeded the wind in speed; and every

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[1] This is the translation of the words in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., though the propriety of likening Akbar to a river or sea is not very clear.

[2] The words the translation of which follows are not to be found in the lith. ed. They occur in the MSS. with a slight variation. One MS. has برابر مقام حضرت خضر علیه السلام, whereas the other omits the words حضرت and علیه السلام. In the translation in Elliot V, the boats are said to have been moored opposite to the tomb of Khwajā Khizr.

[3] One MS. omits بسرعت سیر از باد استعارة نمودند و هر روز سی کروه راه طی کردة در اخر روز ششم رجب که روز عرس خواجه بود, which occurs with slight variations in the other and in the lith. ed. and which is translated with some abbreviation in Elliot V. This visit to Ajmir is described by Abul Fazl in pp. 361–363 of Beveridge's translation Vol. III. According to that Akbar

day, traversing a distance of thirty *karohs*, towards the end of the 6th day of the month of Rajab, which was the day of the anniversary of (the death of the Khwāja) he arrived at the threshold, which was the abode of angels. He performed the pilgrimage with piety and humility. He made the hearts of the *faqīrs* and of the poor of that sacred place happy by universal alms. On the following day, with the same swiftness, he started for the capital city of Fathpūr. He traversed a distance of fifty *karohs* every day, and on the afternoon of Friday the 9th of the aforesaid month, the capital city of Fathpūr became the envy of the garden of paradise.

(The emperor) spent most of his time in the building which was named the 'Ibādat khāna, in the company of learned and pious men and Shaikhs. He made each one of them happy by conferring royal favours on them; and made them rich and free from all wants with gifts of red and white gold. The Friday nights he passed without sleep in purity in that house, and the whole night was spent in charitable and devotional gifts and offerings. At this time a reservoir which was twenty yards in length and three yards in depth, and which had been constructed in the courtyard of the palace of Fathpūr was filled with red and white and black coins, and (the emperor) made a dedicatory vow that he would spend the whole of this money in rewards and gifts; and every day he bestowed rewards out of this money to *amirs* and *faqīrs* and Shaikhs and learned men. The money which amounted to twenty *karors* of *tangahs* was spent in the course of three years.

It was during this year that Ma'sūm Khān the *Koka* (foster brother) of Mīrza Hakīm, who was a brave warrior [1] became dis-

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mounted a swift steed n the neighbourhood of Muttra on the 24th Shahriyar, and arrived at Ajmir on the 27th, travelling more than a hundred kos in four days. He left Ajmir on the 28th after midnight, and arrived at the capital at the end of the month, travelling 120 kos in two days. Badāonī mentions it in page 254 of the 2nd volume of the Persian text, but he breaks off the account of the return journey at Tudah, where he (Badāonī) met the emperor, and presented him with a book of the *ahādis*.

[1] One MS. inserts here امدہ بود و بوقوع کارهای بزرگ از و i.e. "Who had performed great feats." The account of Ma'sum Khān given in the text agrees with that given by Badāonī, Persian Text, II, 255.

pleased with the Mīrza, as it had been decreed by fate, and came to the threshold which was the asylum of the world. His Majesty conferred favours on him, and raised him to the dignity of the command of five hundred (horsemen), and giving him a *jāgīr* in the country of Behar sent him there. When he arrived there he had a fight with, and defeated Kālā Pāhār, who was one of the great Afghān *amīrs*, and was celebrated for bravery; though he received some wounds. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhi on hearing this news raised him to the dignity of the command of a thousand horse; and sent a commendatory *farmān* to him with a horse and a special robe of honour. Also during the month of Shawwāl of the same year, [1] Mulla Taib was appointed to be the *Diwān* (Minister) of *suba* Bihar and Hājīpūr, and [2] Purkhotam to be the *Bakhshi* (Pay master) and Mulla [3] Majdī as *Amīn* (Judge?) and Shamshīr Khān Khwāja Sarā (eunuch) to be the superintendent of the exchequer; and they were sent to that place.

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[1] Badāonī, Persian Text II, 266, is very emphatic in his denunciation of Mulla Taib and the other men who were appointed. He described the first as سفله ازل, which Mr. Lowe translates as a worthless wretch. As regards Purkhotam, to whom he however gives the prefix of Rāi, he says بشرح ایضاً which Mr. Lowe translates "In reward for his commentary"; but which I think means "Of a similar description." As regards the whole lot of them he says و ایشان، بمقتضای تغل که لازمه ارذال است، انجا رفته، نه خدا را بنده بودند، و نه بادشاه را، which Mr. Lowe has translated "And these through the vileness of their birth, which necessarily produces vileness of character, having arrived at that place, were loyal neither to God nor their emperor." Abul Fazl also condemns them. He says, Beveridge's translation III, 418, that they were sent that they might display their abilities in managing the province, and exert themselves in developing the country. "But being base and narrow-minded they ignorantly fixed themselves at Patna, and plunged into the wide expanse of cupidity. In the matter of reviews and drills and of branding, they exhibited harshness and malignity, and in their wildness neglected tact and the acceptance of excuses."

[2] A very corrupt form of Sans. Purushottama.

[3] This name is given as مسعود, Muhammad, and مجدین Majdīn in the MSS. In the lith. ed. it is Majdī, and it is Majdī in Elliot V. It is also مجدی in the Persian text of Badāōni, and Mr. Lowe has transliterated it as Mujdi. The name appears as Mujdu-din in the text of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma.

It was also during the same month, that [1]Maqsūd Jauharī, who had been sent to Rājā 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr, to demand the surrender of Mīrza Muzaffar Husain, brought the Mīrza, with tributes sent by Rājā 'Ali Khān, and produced them before the noble eyes.

AN ACCOUNT OF SENDING SOME AMĪRS TO THE COUNTRY OF RĀNĀ KĪKĀ.

As the energy of the welfare-intending mind was occupied with the desire of clearing the entire country of Hindustan of the dust of disturbance and rebellion, and of the infidels and heretics, Shahbāz Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, with certain other *amīrs* such as Qāzī Khān Badakhshī, and Sharīf Khān Atka, and Saiyyad Qāsim, and Saiyyad Hāshim Bārha, and Subhān Qūli Turk, and other *amīrs* were sent against Rānā Kīka; and emphatic instructions were given to them to devastate his country, and to capture him. Shahbāz Khān entered the Rānā's country, and ravaged and devastated it, and roamed about in the hills and jungles in pursuit of him. When the Rānā got in to the fort of Kambalmīr, Shahbāz Khān besieged it and in a few days captured it. The Rānā got out of the fort at midnight and escaped.

[2]And it was during this time that Sultān Khwāja, whom His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had appointed to be Mīr Hāj and had sent to Mecca, returned from that honoured city, and waited on him. He brought with him various kinds of viands, and fabrics of Turkey and other European countries (*Rūmī ya Firangī*) and horses of Arabian pedigree and Abyssinan slaves and slave girls, in the way of

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[1] There is a curious mistake in the translation of Badāōni II, p. 274, by which Maqsūd Jauhari and Mirza Muzaffar Husain appear to be jumbled up in to one person, although in page 260 it was stated that a *farmān* was sent "to Raja 'Ali Khan by the hand of Maqsud Jauhari, which resulted in the sending of the Mirza to the Imperial Court." The Persian text of Badaoni is responsible for the mistake by the omission of a و between میرزا مظفر حسین and پیشکشهای.

[2] This account agrees with that given by Badāonī, who however only mentions اسپان عربی نژاد و غلامان حبشی و هدایای دیگر نفیس, as the articles brought by Sultān Khwāja.

tribute, and produced them before the noble eyes. He was honoured with many royal favours, and was appointed to the post of *sadr* (judge). As the sending of a Mīr Hāj every year to Mecca the revered, had now become a fixed practice, and as this year the lot of this greatly-honoured post came out in the name of Khwāja Muhammad Yehya, who was one of the descendants of his holiness, Khwāja Ahrār, Khwāja Nāsir-ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-lah, may his spirit be sanctified! he was sent to Mecca the revered, with four *lākhs* of *rupeas*.

At the end of the year 987 A.H. corresponding with the 24th year of the Ilāhī era, news came that Khān Jahān, the governor of Bengal had died. His Majesty on hearing this news expressed great grief and sorrow, and sent a *farmān* of sympathy and favour to Isma'el Quli Khān, who was the brother of Khān Jahān. He appointed Muzaffar Khān, who was the *Musharraf* (superintendent) *diwān*, to be the governor of the country of Bengal, and Rizvi Khān to be the Bakhshī (Pay master) and [1] Hakīm Abul Fath to be the *sadr* (judge), and Rāy Patar Dās and Mīr Adham to be the joint *diwāns*.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 25th YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Friday the 24th Muharram 988 A.H. (11th March 1581).

As the governors and rulers of the country of Kashmīr had always been in a band of [2] well-wishers and servitors and tributary

[1] In the translation in Elliot V, page 410, Hakīm Abul Fath and Patar Dās are said to have been appointed to the joint office of *Diwān*, instead of the former being appointed to be *Sadr*, and the latter being appointed with Mīr Adham to be the joint *Diwāns*.

[2] There are slight variations in the readings. One MS. has دولت خواهان خدمتگار و هوا خواهان باج گذار, and another دولت خواهان خدمتگار و هوا خواهان باج گذار, while the lith. ed. has دولت خواهان خدمتگاران و هوا خواهان باج گذار. I consider the reading of the second MS. correct and have adopted it. The account of the embassy to Kashmir is given in page 356 Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. It is said there that it was sent from Kalānūr, and it also appears that it was sent because 'Ali K. the Hākim of that country had not hastened to the high way of obedience. Nothing more is said about it, at least at that place, and a note says "For its return see Badayuni, Lowe 276."

admirers of this high and sublime dynasty, at the time when the (emperor with the) world conquering army, after circumambulating the tomb at Ajmīr, had marched towards the Punjab, with the purpose of performing the pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Farīd Shakrganj, may the mercy of the great God be on him! [1] Mulla'Ishqi who had been among the old servants of the threshold had been sent to Kashmir, [2] with Qāzī Sadr-ud-din. 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Kashmīr, carried out the ceremonies of entertainment and the rites of service, and displayed signs of his devotion and loyalty, and sent suitable offerings, and the elegant products of that country, such as saffron, and musk, and [3] embroideries, and shawls, and other beautiful things which were elegantly arranged, by the hand of his own *vakīl*, Muhammad Qāsim, who came with Mullah'Ishqi and Qāzī Sadr-ud-din. They returned at this time to the threshold, which was the asylum of all world, and impressed on His Majesty, the facts about the loyalty and devotion of 'Ali Khān as they had seen and known it, and placed the tribute and offerings of Kashmīr before the world-conquering monarch.

At this time (the emperor) pardoned the delinquencies of Mazaffar Husain Mīrza, whom Maqsūd Jauharī had brought from Rājā 'Ali Khān, [4] in spite of the fact that they were many, and distinguished him with royal favours, and ordered his release from prison.

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[1] In the translation of Badāonī II, page 276, "Mullah 'Ashqi" is said to have gone "as *vakil* of Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn of Lahore to Kashmir," instead of his having been sent by the emperor. The Persian text is correct.

[2] Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn has the affix of Kashmiri to his name in the lith. ed., but not in the MSS. The word Kashmiri is probably a mistake for بکشمیر to Kashmir. He is called Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn Lāhorī by Badāonī.

[3] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have قطاس, which is translated as paper in Elliot V, page 411. Badaoni Persian text. 268 has قطاس which Mr. Lowe has translated as *Costus arabicus*.

[4] The MSS. insert با وجود اینهمه تقصرات between اوردهٔ بود and بخشیدهٔ, These words do not occur in the lith. ed. One MS. inserts after از قید بر آوردند. بهمین رای بملک سر فرازی دهٔ جان بخشی است دلنوازی, These words do not occur in the other MSS. or in the lith. ed., and I have not inserted them. Their meaning also is not clear to me

[1] It was at this time, one day, at the time of eating and drinking, when various viands were placed on the table of plenty, it occurred to the emperor's mind, which was the seat of inspiration, that in all probability the eyes of a hungry man should have fallen on the viands. How then could it be right, that he should partake of them, and the hungry should have nothing. He accordingly ordered that every day a certain number of hungry persons should be fed out of the food prepared for him, and then it should be served for him.

At this time Hakim 'Ali, the asylum of philosophy, was sent to Bījāpūr with the ambassadors of 'Ādil Khān Dakhīnī. [2] The particulars of this brief statement are these, that every one of the rulers and governors of the Dakhin, used every year to send tribute and presents with their *vakīls* and other trustworthy persons to the threshold which was the asylum of Sultāns; and as Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah had brought valuable presents and renowned elephants (as tribute) from 'Ādil Khān, (the emperor) casting the shadow of his favour on 'Adil Khān, conferred robes that were fit to be conferred by *Bādshāhs*, on Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah and his son Shāhī Beg, and rewarded them with a gift of one hundred Akbar Shāhī *Asharfīs* and one thousand

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[1] The incident of the feeding of the hungry is not mentioned in one of the MSS. but is mentioned in the other, and in the lith. ed. It is also mentioned in Elliot V.

[2] What follows is also omitted from the MS. in which the custom of feeding the hungry was not mentioned; but it is in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed. and in the translation in Elliot V. In the lith. ed. the number of rupees is one thousand and five hundred, but I have made it one thousand five hundred and one, as that is the number in the MSS., and also in Elliot V. In the latter, however, the last item of the gift is said to be twenty four *tankas*; but both in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. it is twenty four thousand Murāwī *tankas*. Badāonī says, Persian text Vol. II, page 250, that it was Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk Shirāzī, who brought the renowned elephants and the valuable presents (as in the text). Later on however in page 268 it is stated that Hakīm 'Ali, a relation of Hakīm-ul-mulk (evidently a mistake for 'Ain-ul-mulk), was sent to Bijānagar (in the Eng. trans. Bijagarh, both apparently mistakes for Bijāpur). It appears from note I, page 441 of the 3rd Volume of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma that according to Ferishtah Hakīm 'Ali Gilānī and Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk were both at Bijāpur; but the former had left and the latter was there when 'Ādil Shāh was killed by a eunuch.

five hundred and one rupees and twenty four thousand *Murāwī tankas*, and gave them permission to return.

At this auspicious time, Mīr Nizām, the husband of the sister of Mīrza Shāhrukh, the ruler of Badakhshān, came as an ambassador from the latter to the threshold, which was the asylum of Sultāns; and brought Turki horses of Badakhshī pedigree and brilliant rubies, and strings of camels, both bulls and cows, as tribute, and was distinguished by royal favours.

His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī convened every year an assembly of festival (*majlis-i-'urs*) in the month of the birth of his Holiness the last of the Prophets, may the blessing of God be on him and His peace! [1] On the 12th Rabī-ul-āwwal of this year also an assembly was called together. Saiyyads and learned men, and Shaikhs, and *Amīrs* attended, and made general acclamation, and partook of the feast. Not a single citizen was there that day, that did not have a share in it. It had been brought to the emperor's notice that His Holiness the last of the Prophets, may the blessing and peace of God be on him! and the noble Caliphs, may God be pleased with them all, used themselves always to read the prayers on Fridays, and on the days of the two 'Īds, and each one of the Abbaside Caliphs also, keeping alive (*i.e.*, adopting) this correct practice read the public prayers in their own proper persons. After the Abbaside Caliphs, many enthroned Sultāns, such as the *Sāhib-Qirānī*, Amīr Taimūr Gurgān and Mīrza Ulugh Beg following His Holiness the Khair-ul-Bashar (literally the good of man or the Prophet) and the four Caliphs read the public prayer themselves, so the opinion, which pointed to the right course, (of the emperor) came to this decision, that he should on a Friday act in accordance with the practice of the Caliphs and of the guiding *Imāms*. [2] Accordingly on Friday, the first of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, in the

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[1] Badāonī's account of this is similar, but he makes it clear that Akbar wanted to be the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the empire, and considered his subordination to anyone else to be a تکلیف مالایطاق which Mr. Lowe has translated, as an insufferable burden, but which I would translate as an intolerable hardship.

[2] Badāonī mentions the same facts but puts quite a different complexion on them. He says Akbar was ostensibly only following the example of the Prophet and the Caliphs, etc., but he really wanted to appear in public as the Mujtahid

25th year of the Ilāhī era he placed his foot of honour on the top of the pulpit in the Jāma' Masjid in the capital city of Fathpur, and uttered these words, in the way of the public prayer with his miracle-speaking tongue;

Verse:

The Almighty God, that on me the empire conferred;
A mind of wisdom, and an arm of strength conferred!
To justice and to equity, He did me guide;
Expelled all but justice, from my thought;
His attributes beyond all comprehension soar!
Exalted His greatness, Almighty God!

Finishing with these eloquent couplets, which comprised praise and prayer and thanks for all the favours he had received, and his guidance to justice and equity he read the *Fātīha*, (*i.e.* the words *alhamd ullah*, etc.) and descending from the pulpit he performed the Friday *Namāz*.

[1] As Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek the *bādshāh* of Māwara-un-nahr was

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of the age. He began to read the Khutba, but immediately began to stammer and to tremble, and with great confusion only half read with the help of others three couplets composed by Shaikh Faizi and came down from the pulpit.

[1] The sentences of which this paragraph is the translation appear in one MS. and in the translation in Elliot V, and also in Badāonī, Persian Text, II, 270 after the sentences about the appointment of Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atka to be the guardian and tutor of Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm; but in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed. they occur in the place where they have been inserted in the text. Badāonī calls Mīrza Fūlād Birlās.

The following passage occurs in one MS. here, but not in the other MSS. or in the lith. ed. از ان تاریخ که مظفر خان بحکومت بنگاله رفته بود، از وجوهات ان ولایت و حاصل خالصات چیزی بخزانهٔ عامرا نفرستاده بود، درین ولا مبلغ پنج لکهه روپیه نقد و دیگر اسباب امتعه ان ولایت و فیلان و تحفها گرامی فرستاده بنظر اشرف گذاشت و پسندیده نموده. و محمد معصوم کابلی نیز سی و نه زنجیر فیل پیشکش ارسال داشته بود، از نظر انور گذشت.

و در جمعه دیگر انماه، حکم شد، که فقرا و مستحقین در میدان چوگان جمع شدند؛ و سلطان خواجه و قلیچ خان یکیک را زر خیرات رسانند. قریب یک لکهه ادمی دران میدان جمع شده انقدر هجوم و ازدحام کردند که هشتاد آدمي از عورات

always moving the chain of friendship and alliance, and sent ambassadors to the threshold, which was the asylum of Sultāns, His Majesty

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صغیر و اطفال و پیرمردان در تہ دست و پای هلاک شدند . این معنی در خاطر اقدس گران آمدہ ، من بعدہ فرمودند کہ اندک اندک مردم بیایند و ازدهام نکند *

و همدرین ایام قطب الدین خان اتکہ را ، کہ از امراء ذی شان بود ، با تالیقی شاهزادہ کامگار سلطان سلیم شرف امتیاز بخشیدند ، و مشارالیہ بجهت تفویض این منصب عظیم‌الشان طوی بزرگ ترتیب داد ؛ و انحضرت با پادشاهزادهای جوان بخت بمنزل او تشریف بردہ ، اورا سرفراز ساختند ؛ و صحبت بزرگانہ منعقد شد ؛ و قطب الدین خان پیشکش بسیار از فیلان کوہ پیکر و اسپان عربی نژاد و جواهر و اقمشہ بنظر اقدس گذارانید ، و شاهزادہ کامگار را ، همچنانکہ رسم و قاعدہ است ، قطب الدین خان بر کتف خود برداشتہ سر مفاخرت بر اوج عزت رسایند ؛ و دران وقت طبقهای زر و جواهر بر سر شاهزادہ نثار کردند ؛ و غلغلہ مبارکباد بساکنان سبع السموات رسید *

Which may be translated; as from the date on which Muzaffar Khan went to govern Bengal, he had not sent anything to the imperial treasury from the revenues of that country, and the products of the Khālsa lands; at this time he sent a sum of five *lakhs* of rupees in cash, and other articles of food of that country, and elephants and valuable articles, and placed them before the noble eyes and they received his approbation. And Muhammad Māsūm Kabūli also had sent thirty-nine elephants as tribute. These were also placed before the resplendent eyes.

And on another Friday in that month, an order was passed that *faqīrs* and deserving men should collect in the *chaugān*-field; and Sultān Khwāja and Qulij Khān should give to each the amount of the alms. About a *lakh* of persons having collected in that field, there was such a crowd that eighty persons including young women and boys and old men were trampled to death. This caused pain to the sacred heart, and he ordered, that after this the people should come in small bodies, and should not crowd together.

And it was also at this time that Qutb-ud-dīn Khān Atka, who was one of the grand *amīrs*, had the great honour conferred on him, of being appointed to be the *ātālīq* of the fortunate Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm. The latter on account of this great office being entrusted to him arranged a grand entertainment. His Majesty with the fortunate princes graced his mansion with their presence; and thus exalted him. There was a splendid assembly; and Qutb-ud-dīn Khān placed much tribute, in the shape of elephants of mountain-like size and Arab horses, and gems and rich fabrics before the sacred eyes. Qutb-ud-dīn Khān then carried the fortunate prince on his shoulder, as is the custom and rule, and thus exalted his proud head to the height of honour. At that time trays of gold and gems were scattered over the Shāzāda's head; and the shouts of congratulations reached the residents of the seventh heaven.

the ruler of the world appointed Mīrza Fūlād, and a youngman of the name of Khwāja Khatīb, who was a native of Bukhāra to be ambassadors, and sent a letter, which laid stress on the friendship, and emphasis on the relation of alliance and co-operation, and finished with this couplet.

Couplet:

While we each with the other are in amity,
Both land and sea from tumult and disturbance are free.

[1] And one day in this auspicious time, there were discussions on a variety of subjects, and prolonged conversations and much arguments in the presence of learned and erudite men. Finally the discussion centred on this question, namely, to whom can the words *ijtihād* and *mujtahid* be applied? And who can be called a *mujtahid*? Maulāna 'Abd-ul-lah Makhdūm-ul-mulk Sultānpūri, who was the most learned among the learned men of the age, and Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabi, who was the *sadr-us-sadur* (chief judge), of the country of Hindustan, and Qāzī Khān Badakhshī, who was distinguished in the sciences of rhetoric and philosophy, and Shaikh Mubārak the asylum of all truths, who was the chief of the learned men of the time in all ratiocinative and traditional sciences, and [2] Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn Multānī, and [3] Sadr-i-Jahān *Mufti* wrote a *precis* of the discussion, and all affixed their seals to it, and brought it before the sacred eyes of the (emperor). The form of the *precis* was this; that the purpose of the emphasis on this matter and the stress on this fact is that as Hindustan, may it be protected from all calamity! had by the benefit of the imperial justice, become the centre of peace and safety, and the circle of justice and beneficence, and fit for all classes of men, high and low, and specially for men learned in the knowledge of God, and wise in the consideration of subtleties, who are the guides in the plains of salvation and the travellers in the path of those who have been given learning and who turning their faces to this country from 'Arab and

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[1] The sentences of which this paragraph is the translation have not been translated in Elliot V, but have been left out with a brief reference as a legal discussion.

[2] He is called the قاضی القضاۃ or the chief Qāzī by Badāonī.

[3] Badāonī calls him صفتی کل *i.e.*, the Mufti of the empire.

'Ajam have taken up their residence here, and all the eminent learned men, who are endowed with all principal and subsidiary learning, and are the guides of ratiocination and tradition, and possess the attributes of religion and honesty, and of truth, and of protection (of religion) have after much consideration and sufficient interpretation in the subtleties of the beneficent text "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who are in command among you," and the correct traditions, "The most beloved man to God on the day of resurrection is the *Imām*, just and kind," and "Who obeyed the king, verily he obeyed me, and one who opposes the king verily he disobeys me," and "The justice of one hour is better than the saying of prayers all night, and of fasting all days for sixty years," and other commands, and from rational and religious evidences and proofs, concluded and ordered that the rank of a just Sultān is, in the eyes of God, higher than that of the *mujtahid*; and His Majesty the Sultān-ul-Islām, and the asylum of the people, the *amīr-ul-maumīnīn*, the shadow of God over all men, Abul Fath Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī, may God for ever perpetuate his rule! who is the justest, wisest, and most learned about God. Therefore if in religious questions in which among the *mujtahids* there may be differences, he with an intelligent mind and careful thought accept the opinion of one side, for the happiness of mankind and proper regulation of the world, and give his order accordingly, that order should be accepted by both sides, and the obedience of such order is obligatory and binding on people generally and on all mankind; and in the same way if in accordance with his judgment which points to the right, he issues an order which might not be contrary to the Qurān, and might be for the amelioration of mankind, it is binding and obligatory on every one to act in accordance with it; and opposition to it would be the cause of Divine displeasure after death, and religious and worldly loss. This writing of perfect truth and this expression of the fulfilment of the rights of Islām has been written in the presence of the learned in religion, and the truly guided jurists, and this was in the month of Rajab 987 A.H.

As the duty of an annual pilgrimage to the tomb, which is the recipient of illumination, of Khwāja Mu'in-ūd-din, may his soul be sanctified! was in the fore front of the mind of the world-conquering

emperor, he started on the 16th of the month of Rajab from the capital city of Fathpūr towards Ajmīr. He proceeded stage by stage, hunting along the way, and on the 19th of the month of Sha'bān, he halted in the neighbourhood of the *hauz* (reservoir) of Khawās Khān, which is at a distance of five *karohs* from Ajmīr. [1] As there were many tigers between Rantambhor and Ajmīr, a man, who during this time was going from the former place to the latter, came face to face to one of these animals. The poor man was in the greatest confusion, and drew a line round himself, and as the tiger was about to spring on him, he gave an oath to him in the name of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and said "Oh God! by right of the truth and sincerity which His Majesty has in the path of seeking thy wishes, protect me from this ravenous tiger." The man who told this story swore that he had seen the man and had heard the story from his own mouth. His Majesty offered thanks to the great God on this occurrence; and said that he would never again kill a tiger with his own hand.

In short on Friday the 24th of Sha'bān, the emperor dismounted at a place five *karohs* from Ajmīr, and [2] went on foot to the tomb which is the recipient of light, and performed the duty of circumambulation. At this time Tarsūn Muhammad, governor of Pattan Gujrat, arrived and rendered homage. The sublime standards then came into motion, the emperor hunted along the road in *pargana* Sāmbhar, which contains salt mines, and returning to the seat of the throne of the Khilāfat gave orders, and a spacious pavilion having arched openings was erected on one side of the palace, and was named the *Masjid*, where there should be *Namāz* (prayers) by the people, five times during the day and night. On the 21st of the month of

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[1] This wonderful story occurs in some of the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but it is not translated in Elliot V. It is to be found given somewhat more briefly in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 403-404 where it is said that when Akbar encamped at the tank of Khawās Khān, the land owners of the neighbourhood related the story. Akbar however set no store by it, but said, "If the tale be true, I shall never hunt this animal again, nor seek to take its life." Badāonī does not mention it.

[2] Badāonī says that wise men smiled to see that Akbar had such faith in the Khwāja of Ajmir, when he had none in the Prophet himself.

Shawwāl, the pavilions of grandeur were pitched in Fathpūr, the city of happiness. Mehtar Sa'ādat, who had the title of Peshrau Khān, and had gone to Nizām-ul-mulk Dakhini, returned with the ambassadors of that ruler of the Dakhin, and brought beautiful offerings, and was honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold; and he produced the elephants of mountain-like size, which he had brought with him, before the noble eyes.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 26TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [1] Saturday the 5th of Safar, 989 A.H. During this year in accordance with his [2] natural kindness and inherent generosity, (the emperor) issued an order for the abolition in the whole of his dominions of the [3] *tamagha* and the *zakāt*; and

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[1] The MSS. agree as to the day, date, and month, but differ as to the year. One has ثمان و ثمانين و تسعمائة, 988, while the other has تسع و ثمانين و تسعمائة, 989, while the lith. ed. has 988 also. The translation in Elliot V, simply says corresponding to 988 A.H., and adds in a note, see table page 246. According to this table, however, the 25th year begins on the 24th Muharram 988 while the 26th year begins with the 5th safar 988. The dates agree with those in the Akbarnāma. The correct year is therefore 989 and not 988.

[2] One MS. has ذاتی, personal, while the other and the lith. ed. have فطری natural.

[3] The taxes which are called *tamagha* and *zakāt* in the text are called *Bāj u tamagha* in the Akbarnāma, and *tamagha* and *jazia* by Badāonī. *Tamagha* originally means a seal or any document bearing a seal, e.g. a grant of rent free land, is a *tamagha*. It has been translated as tolls in Elliot V, and as inland tolls by Mr. Lowe; *Bāj u tamagha* has been translated as taxes by Mr. Beveridge and no attempt has been made to specify them. *Zakāt* is a certain percentage of a man's income, which by the *shara'* every Musalman has to pay for charitable purposes. It may be noted here that in 901 A.H. when there was a scarcity of grain Sultān Sikandar Lūdi abolished the Zakāt-i-ghalla in the whole of his kingdon. (See page 320 Vol. I, Persian Text and page 365 of the English translation Vol. I, and note I), where I held that the Zakāt-i-ghalla was a poor-rate of some kind which the Sultān levied for the relief of the poor; though Col. Rankin had translated it as customary tribute in grain, and Col. Briggs as transit custom in grain. *Jazia* is, of course, the well known poll tax on non-moslems. It appears from the Akbarnāma that Akbar had intended from the beginning of his reign to abolish these taxes but had hitherto not been able to do so. (See page 437 of Beveridge's translation, Vol. III); and that the abolition took place in the 25th year and not in the 26th year of the reign, as in

farmāns founded on justice were issued to emphasise this act. Let it not be concealed that no other *Bādshāh* had remitted all these taxes, which might be equal to the yield of the country of [1]Iran; and had not had this kind of grace of (God).

It was during this year that Muhammad [2]Mās'um Khān, son of Mu'in-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān Farankhūdī, who was the governor of Jaunpūr, and had come to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world, obtained leave to go back to Jaunpūr; and Mulla Muhammad Yezdī was appointed to be *Qāzi-ul-quzzāt* (chief *qāzī*) of that place. The government of the city of Dehli was entrusted to Muhibb 'Ali Khān son of Mir Khalīfa.

An account of the unfortunate event (hādisa) occurring in Bengal.

[3]Muzaffar Khān had gone to Bengal and had commenced to

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the text. Whatever might have been the nature of the taxes, Akbar's *farmāns* do not appear to have been very effective, for Jahāngīr takes the credit to himself, Price, V, for remitting these taxes, one of which was the *tamaghā*, and which yielded his father a large revenue. (See note I, page 437 cited above.)

[1] One MS. inserts the words, تورران, between ملک and ایران.

[2] It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 410, that Jaunpur was, soon afterwards, taken away from him, and granted to Tarsūn Muhammad Khān, while the *sarkār* of Ghazipur was granted to him.

[3] He was appointed at the end of 981 A.H. after the death of Khān Jahān What led to his downfall is not quite clear. According to the text it was, one, سختگیری در معاملات two, رنجانیدن بزبان, three, تغیر جایگهر four, طلب داغ, five, باز یافت محاسبات کهنه My translation of these appears in the text. In Elliot V, it is said that he was harsh in his measures, offended men with his words, deprived many *amirs* of their *jāgīrs*, demanded the *dāgh* (brand tax) and brought old practices up again. There is not much difference between this and my translation as regards the first three items. As regards No. 4, I cannot find any mention anywhere of a brand tax. And it appears from Bābā Khān Qāqshāl's complaint, as quoted in page 428 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, that it was not a tax, but bribes demanded by the officers, which was the cause of the disturbance. He is quoted as having said "up to now, I've spent rupees seventy thousand in presents, *i.e.*, in plain words bribes; and not one hundred horsemen have had the branding effected; and the condition of the other fief-holders of this province is still worse." The translation of No. 5 in Elliot V, does not appear to me to be correct. Abul Fazl's account of Muzaffar Khān's delinquencies is, as usual, hazy and metaphorical, but it

[1] decide affairs and cases; but as his destiny had become adverse, and his turn had come to an end, he began to act harshly in various matters, and to vex people with harsh words. He changed the *jāgīrs* of most of the *amīrs* of the country; demanded (the examination) of the branding of horses; and commenced to enquire afresh into [2] old accounts.

Couplets;

[3] In the affairs of the world do not be harsh,
For those who are harsh, die a death as harsh.
While living in peace, leave others in peace,
For living in peace, thou'lt die a peaceful death.

Bābā Khān acted with gentleness, and prayed that his *jagīr* might be left to him; and no [4] demand might be made from him on account of *dāgh*, but it was of no avail. *Pargana* Jālesar was taken away from [5] Khāldī Khān from the beginning of the *Kharīf*

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appears that he "did not exert himself to manage the country and the army. He gave up finance which was his strong point"....."withdrew his head from business, and assumed grand airs.....withdrew himself from conciliating his soldiers and the peasantry.....He did not return thanks for favours received, but made complaint..... and inward cupidity carried him to the house of trouble." Badāonī's diagnosis of the cause of the trouble is similar to that in the text. He has, one, سخت‌گیری و متضرر ساختن امرای الحدود و باز یافت کردن جاگیر, two, در معاملات نظر دربار, three, ایشان ستم داغ و محلی, and four محاسبات برسم کهنه. Mr. Lowe has not attempted to give any explanation of the last two items.

[1] One MS. has قبض instead of فیصل.

[2] The MSS. have محاسبات but the lith. ed. has معاملات.

[3] Only the first and last lines are printed in the lith. ed. but the MSS. have all four lines with slight variations. Badāonī also has the same four lines.

[4] It would be seen from his complaint quoted in note 3, p. 527, what he had suffered in the matter of *dāgh*; and had spent a large sum of money, but had only succeeded in getting one hundred horses branded.

[5] He is called Khāldī Khān in the MSS. and in Badāonī, but in the lith. ed. and in the translation of the Akbarnāma he is called Khāldīn Khān. One MS. calls him Khāldī Khān Tuqbāi. Jālessar or Jāleswar was a *sarkār* which comprised Midnapore (I.G. XIV, page 27). Jāleswar now called Jellasore is a *thāna* in the northern part of the Balasore district in Orissa. As to Khāldī Khān, Badāonī agrees with our author, in saying that Muzaffar Khān ordered

(autumn or rainy) season, by the *dargā* or *darksāna* (*i.e.*, apparently by order of Muzaffar Khān), and added as *tankswa* to the *jāgīr* of Shāh Jamāl-ud-dīn Husain Anju. Khāldi *Khān* had taken (*i.e.*, realised from the raiyyats) a sum from the *Kharīf* demand. Muzaffar Khān, in order to recover that amount from him, ordered him to be imprisoned and to be flagellated and bastinadoed. It so happened however that at this time, an order came to Muzaffar Khān from the sublime [1] threshold, that a servant of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm of the name of [2] Raushan Beg, who had come from Kābul to Bengal, should be seized and put to death; and his head should be sent to the threshold Raushan Beg was among the Qāqshāls; and Muzaffar Khān having produced the *farmān* ordered him to be beheaded. He also uttered harsh words to Bābā Khān. The soldiers who were present in the assembly, and specially Bābā Khān and the other Qāqshāls [3] trembled and decided to act falsely to their salt. Things

him to be bastinoed, (کف پای فرمود). The Akbarnāma says he was dishonoured, and note 1, in page 430 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, says that "the Iqbālnāma says that M. Najāt, a son-in-law of Muzaffar, insulted and ill-treated him. The note goes on to say that Stewart in his history of Bengal remarks with justice that the historians of Akbar's reign have endeavoured to throw the blame of the rebellion upon the governor who, in fact, appears merely to have obeyed the orders of the court. I have not been able to find out exactly what these orders were. It would appear from Elphinstone's History, page 499, that the governor was required to remit revenue to the treasury; while all *jāgīrs* were to be strictly enquired into, and musters of troops, for which each was held, were to be rigorously exacted. So far as this goes there was nothing wrong in the orders; and the rebellion appears to me to have been due to (1) the laxity of the previous governors, (2) to the rigorous but perfectly correct orders now issued, and (3) to the high-handed and also corrupt way in which the new orders were carried out.

[1] I do not understand the meaning of the expression از درگاه. or از در خانه which occurs in the MSS.

[2] I do not understand why Raushan Beg is said in the text and by Badāonī to have been a servant of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm. According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 431, he is said to have been "One of the collectors of the exchequer lands." He embezzled and fled to Kabul. At the instigation of strife-mongers, he came from there to Bengal, and engaged in increasing the disturbance and in giving evil counsel."

[3] The actual words are بر خود لرزید, both in the text and in Badāonī. I do not exactly understand the meaning of the words بر خود. The translation

came to such a pass, that they all united together and [1] shaved off their heads and putting on their [2] turbans proclaimed their rebellion. They crossed the river, and took up their quarters in the city of Gaur, which in ancient time was celebrated as Lakhnauti, and commenced to collect their forces. They plundered the property belonging to Muzaffar Khān, which they could lay their hands upon in various places.

Muzaffar Khān collected boats and sent Hakīm Abul Fath and Patar Dās with a body of [3] troops; and sent them against the rebels, to the bank of the river. [4] When the news of the turning

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in Elliot V, is "trembled together," while Mr. Lowe has translated the passage in the words "trembled for their own safety." This is probably correct. I suppose the suddenness and the severity of the punishment caused the people who were present to tremble and to break out in open rebellion. In this case Muzaffar Khān simply carried out Akbar's order. Abul Fazl of course finds fault with him, and says that "he did not understand the times, and thought that by putting him to death at the beginning of the rebellion he would induce men to be submissive." As Mr. Beveridge says in note 2, page 231, "perhaps A.F. means that he should have had Roshan secretly assassinated after the manner that M'asūm Farankhūdi was got rid of."

[1] The words in the text and in Badāonī's history are سرها تراشیده. Mr. Lowe has translated this as "scratching their heads." This does not appear to be correct. They apparently shaved off their heads as a sign of mourning.

[2] The word is طاقیه in one MS. and in the lith. ed. and طاقی in another MS. It is called a high cap in the translation in Elliot V. Badāonī has طاقهای مغول, and Mr. Lowe has translated this as Mughal helmets. The word was used once before by Nizām-ud-din (see Vol. I, page 338 and note) and I noted there that it meant a fillet, specially one worn round a head dress. I have accordingly translated it as a turban.

[3] One MS. omits از افواج لشکر. Badāonī says that Hakīm Abul Fath and Patar Dās were sent with their own troops; he goes on to say that که از حکیم ابوالفتح، که از بزم بود نه رزم، و پتر داس هندوی نویسنده برین قیاس چه آثار جلادت بظهور رسیده باشد *i.e.*, it can be easily guessed what signs of bravery would be shown by Hakīm Abul Fath, who was more a boon companion than a warrior, and Patar Dās, who was a Hindu writer.

[4] The account given below agrees with that in Badāonī, but it is different from that in the Akbarnāma in some particulars. According to the latter a great many more were sent against the rebels than the two named in the text. The rebels became repentant and wanted to send an intermediary to ask for forgiveness, but before they could do so, a *farmān* arrived censuring Muza-

astray of the Qāqshāls from the path of fealty reached the notice of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, a world-obeyed *farmān* was issued to Muzaffar Khān, that the Qāqshāls were old servants of the emperor. It was not right that they should have been pained. It is right that they should be made hopeful by royal favours and encouragement; and arrangements should be made about their *jāgīrs*. This *farman* arrived when Muzaffar Khān was fighting against the Qaqshāls. On its arrival, Bābā Khān and all the rebels returned outwardly to their allegiance; and sent a message to Muzaffar Khān asking him to send Rizavi Khān and Patar Dās to them, so that they might re-assure their minds by engagements and conditions. Muzaffar Khān sent Rizavi Khān and Mīr Abul Is'hāq, son of Mīr Rafī'-ud-dīn, and Patar Dās; and Bābā Khān seizing and imprisoning all three went on with the warfare with greater vigor.

In accordance with the decrees of destiny, at this very time, [1] Mulla Taiyib and Purkhotam Bakhshi, the *Mutsaddis* (men in charge) of the affairs of the country of Bihar, also acting in a high-handed way, transferred and changed the *jāgīrs* of Muhammad Ma'sūm Kabuli, 'Arab Bahādur, and all the *amīrs* of Bihar and be-

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ffar Khān, and promising forgiveness to the rebels. The latter then asked that some officers might be sent to them to confirm the promise of their case receiving favourable consideration. Accordingly Razavi Khān, Rāi Patar Dās, Saiyad Abu Isahāq and Mir Ahmad Munshi were sent. Then one Narāin Dās Ghelot and some Rajputs belonging to Patar Dās thought, that it was possible to put the rebels to death. Patar Dās communicated this to Razavi Khan, and the latter wickedly gave hints to the rebels. Upon this Razavi Khān and Saiyyad Abu Isahāq were admitted to quarter, and that ignorant renderer (apparently a misprint for render) of the veil (Razavi Khān) was imprisoned—I have quoted this passage as it is in the translation; but apparently there is some mistake, for Razavi Khān could not both be admitted to quarter and imprisoned.

[1] The account of what happened in Bihar, as given in the text, agrees with that given by Badāonī; only he is more emphatic in denouncing the Bihar officers. According to him Ma'sūm Khān and the others were forced into rebellion by them. Abul Fazl also blames them; but he also says that those who revolted had "no glory of loyalty," "no distinction between loss and gain," "no right-thinking reason," "no clearness of intellect" and "no noble courage." According to him see Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 418, Ma'sūm Khān held Patna in fief, and 'Arab was the *jāgīrdār* of Sasseram. It is not stated where Sa'īd Badakhshī's fief was situated.

haved wrongfully towards them. Ma'sūm Kābulī, who after his revolt got the title of 'Āsī, in conjunction with 'Arab Bahādur and Sa'īd Badakhshī determined to be faithless to their salt, and resolved to attempt the death of Mulla Taiyib and Purkhotam. The latter fled and escaped, but their families and dwellings were plundered. After a few days Purkhotam collected a body of the servants of the threshold, and crossed the [1] river at Chausa, and wanted to attack the ungrateful wretches (*Harām Khūrān*), but the ungrateful 'Arab, forestalled him, and attacked him by surprise and [2] slew him.

When the news of the hostility of 'Āsī Kābulī reached the Qāqshāls, there was an interchange of communications; and at the time, when the Qāqshāls were opposing Muzaffar Khān, 'Āsi started to reinforce them, and arrived at Garhī. Muzaffar Khān sent Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad [3] Khawāfi with a force to the defile of Garhī, that he might prevent 'Āsī's passing through it. As the latter had a large following, he passed by force through Garhī, and fighting with Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad defeated him. He then joined the Qāqshāls, and the rebellion became stronger.

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[1] It is called اب جوسا in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and in Badāonī. In the translation in Elliot V, it is called the river Jausa and in the English translation of Badāonī the river Josa. In the Akbarnāma the name of the river is not given, but it is said that Purkhotam went off to Ghazipur to bring Ma'sum Khān to engage in a battle; and later on, Causa ferry is mentioned by name. There can be no doubt that the river referred to is the Ganges at Chausa.

[2] For a circumstantial account of the manner in which he was killed while "engaged in his ablutions and Divine worship on the bank of the Ganges," see pp. 421-422 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III. It also appears from the Akbarnāma, that no battle took place between Purkhotam and Ma'sūm Khān, but the latter "came forward with craft and deceit, and got rid of him" by promising to join him "near the Causa ferry."

[3] The word is خوافی and خافی in the MS. and خانی in the lith. ed. It is Khwāfi in the translation in Elliot V. Badāonī has خوافی and says that he حالا دیوان کل است. Mr. Lowe transliterates the word as Khawafi, and says in a note "Khwaf is the name of a district and town in Khorasan, Blochmann page 400." In the Akbarnāma the man is called Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn. In the translation in Elliot V, he is said to have been sent "with a detachment and some guns to the passes of Garhi." I do not find any guns mentioned in the MSS. or in the lith. ed.

They crossed the river and advanced to attack Muzaffar Khān. [1] Vazīr Jamīl, who was one of the old *amīrs* in the service of the threshold, in concert with Khān Muhammad Bihbūdī and other men, separated from Muzaffar Khān and joined the enemy. Muzaffar Khān shut himself up in the fort of Tānda, which was nothing more than an enclosure of four walls. The rebels took possession of the city of Tānda, and seized Hakīm Abul Fath and Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn and most of the other chief men, and plundered and ravaged the city. Hakīm Abul Fath and Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn and Rāy Patar Dās however escaped by artifice from the imprisonment by the rebels, and fled on foot, and by the help of the *zamīndārs* reached Hājīpūr. Then when the rebels got possession of the fort of Tānda, they brought Muzaffar Khān out of his house under a promise, and put him to death. All his property and effects fell into their hands, and became the source of their strength; and the [2] whole of the countries of Bengal and Behar came into their possession; and about [3] thirty thousand horsemen collected round those ungrateful wretches. As [4] His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had, before this

[1] The account agrees with that given by Badāonī, though according to the latter, Vazīr Jamīl (called Vazir Khān Jamīl Beg by Badāonī) and Jān Muhammad Khān Bihbudi went over to the rebels, after Muzaffar Khān had shut himself up in the fort of Tānda.

[2] One MS. has ولایت بنگاله و بهار چهار حصه. The چهار is apparently a mistake for چهار. The other MS. omits the words چهار حصه. The lith. ed. has حصه, without any qualifying word. I suppose چهار حصه, if these words are correct, means the whole country.

[3] One MS. has سی چهل *i.e.* thirty (or) forty thousand horsemen, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. and the translation in Elliot V, have thirty thousand. Badāonī has جمعیت سوار و پیاده بسیار, *i.e.*, "a large force of horsemen and foot soldiers."

[4] This agrees on the whole with what is mentioned by Badāonī. The Akbarnāma however says, that the rebels intended to read, or read the *Khutba* in the name of M. Hakīm (*i.e.*, Mirza. Muhammad Hakīm); and gave high sounding titles (Khān Daurān, Khān Khānān, Khān Jahān, Khān Zamān, etc.) to one another; but a storm and heavy rain scattered the grand tent, the canopies and the carpets of the *bārgāh* in which they wanted to recite the *Khutba*, and cast them into the mire. It also says that in appearance M. Sharf-ud-din Husain was the leader, but in reality the leaders were Ma'sūm and Bābā Khān (Beveridge's translation III, pp. 449–451).

released Sharf-ud-dīn Husain Mīrza from imprisonment, and had sent him to Muzaffar Khān in Bengal, the rebels brought him out of prison, and made him their chief, and there was a great rebellion.

When the news of these events reached His Majesty, Rāja Todar Mal and Muhammad Sādiq Khān and Tarsūn Muhammad Khān and Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī and [1]Ulugh Khān Habshī and Bāqir and Taiyib sons of Tāhir Khān and Taimūr Badakhshi and other amīrs were sent off to put down the rebellion in Behar and Bengal. *Farmāns* were also issued to Muhibb Ali Khān and Ma'sum Khān Farankhūdī, the governor of Jaunpūr, and Samānjī Khān and other *jāgīrdārs* of that neighbourhood, that they should use their best endeavours, in conjunction with Rajā Todar Mal, for the destruction of that body of the perverted destiny. The victorious army was still on the road when Shāham Khān Jalāir fought with Sa'īd Badakhshī, and slew him. When Rājā Todar Mal and the renowned *amīrs* arrived at Jaunpūr, Mahammad Ma'sūm came out, and saw them and joined them; and produced three thousand well-armed and well-equipped horsemen before the well-wishers of the throne. But as owing to the meanness of his spirit, his brain had been affected on account of the increase of his pomp and power, he did acts in which there was an odour of disloyalty, and words involuntarily came on his tongue, from which the signs of his faithlessness to his salt could be gathered.

Verse:—

What'er there is in the mind of pure or unclean,
In one's words, the signs of it do e'er appear.
When a corpse enters a narrow channel's mouth,
The flowing water doth from it a shade of colour get.

Rājā Todar Mal, being a man of experience and having a clear grasp of all affairs, passed the matter off with gentleness and endeavoured to give assurance and encouragement to him. When the victorious army arrived at the town of Munghir, 'Āsi Kabūlī, and the Qāqshāls, and Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain came forward to oppose them, with thirty thousand horsemen, and five hundred elephants, and many

[1] He is called الغ Ulugh Khān in both MSS. But the lith. ed. calls him الف خان Alaf Khān. One MS. has Khān after Baqir and also after Taiyib, but the other and the lith. ed. do not have it.

boats equipped for fighting and a well arranged park of artillery. As [1] Rājā Todar Mal had no faith in his soldiers, he did not think it proper to engage in a drawn battle, and shut himself up in the fort of Munghīr. He erected a new fort round the old one, and sat down in it. Every day brave warriors from each side engaged in [2] combat. When this news was reported to [3] His Majesty he first sent Zain-uddīn Kambu by *dākchauki* (relays of horses) with one lakh of rupees for help towards the charges of the army, and after a few days a similar amount by the hand of Dariyā Khān Abdār, and a second time by the hand of Sarmadī, and another time by the hand of Suhail, and so repeatedly he sent much money.

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[1] Both MSS. have راجه تودرمل بسبب نا اعتمادي كه بر سپاهيان داشت but the lith. ed. has راجه تودرمل برسپاهيان بلكه كه واقعه طلبي ايشان است. This is not quite intelligible, but I have thought it necessary to quote it, because Badāonī whose account generally agrees with that of Nizām-ud-dīn has راجه از ممر نا اعتمادی لشکر که همه واقعه طلب بودند which is somewhat similar. The Translation of the passage in Elliot V, page 417, which is "Raja Todar Mal had no confidence in the (cohesion of the) adventurers composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight", appears to me to be incorrect and illogical. It is not clear why the Rāja would deem it inexpedient to fight, if he had no confidence in the cohesion of the enemy. Rāja Todar Mal had very good reason to have no faith in Ma'sūm Khān, for according to the Akbarnāma, the latter meditated the killing of the Rāja, when he should come to inspect a number of vagabonds, whom he had equipped; but the Rāja was apprised of the plot, and made excuses for not going.

[2] One MS. inserts here قریب بدو ماه این معامله برداشت، و از جانبین مردم بقتل رسیدند. which means "and this went on for about two months, and men belonging to both sides were slain"; but as this is not found in the other MSS., or in the lith. ed., or in the translation in Elliot V, I have not thought it proper to insert it in the text.

[3] Badāonī says درین لشکر عسرت بسیار روی نمود, *i.e.*, "there was great scarcity in the army," as a reason of the money being sent by the emperor. Abul Fazl mentions these remittances only incidentally, and only at a much later stage of the narrative, see Beveridge's translation III, page 467. Badāonī mentions them, but he does not mention the last one sent with Suhail; but he mentions one sent by the hand of پسر سیڈیه بهگوان داس خزانچي, *i.e.*, "the son of Seth Bhagwān Dās, the Treasurer." Mr. Lowe in a note explains Set'h as derived from Sanskrit "Creshta" exalted, banker. Sreshtha means "excellent or exalted" but it does not mean a banker. The Sanskrit word for a banker is *sreshthi*.

In the time of the seige [1] Humāyūn Quli Farmūlī and Tarkhan Diwāna separated from the victorious army, and joined the base (rebels). For a period of four months, the imperialists fought with the rebels. Some of the *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood, on account of their loyalty to His Majesty, blocked the road for bringing (*Amad wa shud*) grain to the hostile army. There was (then) great scarcity among them. And Bābā Qāqshāl, who was in Tānda, became ill and was on the point of death. Jabbārī, the son of Majnūn Qāqshāl, who was the strongest prop of the perverse ones wanted to go to Tānda on hearing the news of the severe illness of Bābā Qāqshāl. 'Āsī not being able to withstand (the imperialists) [2] withdrew towards Behar.

[3] 'Arab Bahādur turned by forced marches towards Patna, in order to seize that city, and the treasure that was there.

[4] Bahār Khān, *Khāsa-khail* of the emperor, shut himself up in Patna, and endeavouring to crush the enemy stood firm. Rājā Todar Mal and the other loyal leaders sent Ma'sūm Khān Farankhudī and other soldiers, to reinforce (the garrison of) Patna. On their arrival 'Arab raised the seige, and went towards Gajpati, one of the chief Zamīndārs of that country. The Rājā and Sādiq Khān and Muhibb 'Ali Khān and Tarsūn Muhammad Khān and other *amīrs* now turned towards Behar to attack 'Āsī. The latter made a surprise attack by night upon Sādiq Khān's camp, and it was owing

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[1] Abul Fazl adds the name of Shāh Diwāna to the other two.

[2] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 460, however says that "as the food for the besieged" (in the fort of Mungir) "came by land and water, M. Sharfu-dīn Husain and Ma'sum Khan went by way of Patna, and seized the land route."

[3] This passage has been wrongly translated in Elliot V, as "'Arab Bahadur made a rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasures."

[4] The MSS. call him بهار خان, Bahār Khān. He is called Behár Khán in the translation in Elliot V. Badāonī Persian text II, page 283 has بهار خان, but the translation has Pahār Khān. The lith. ed. has Bahādur Khān, and this is supported by the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation III, page 470). It appears also from the Akbarnāma, at the place cited, that 'Arab Bahādur had taken to brigandage, and he came to Patna in pursuit of Chaudhri Kishna, who was conveying treasure; and he then invested the fort.

to the skill of Sādiq Khān that on that night, [1] Māh Beg and Ulugh Khān Habshī had been appointed to be the *qerāwal*, (vanguard or picket). The enemy took them by surprise and attacked them. Māh Beg was killed and Ulugh Khān escaped. Then there was a severe battle with Sādiq Khān, and the high fortune of the emperor strengthened his loyal soldiers, and 'Āsī's force was routed. He went back to Bengal in great distress and the [2] country as far as Garhī fell into the hands of the servants of His Majesty.

And one of the strange events of this time was this, that a *farmān* summoning Shujā'at Khan, the governor of Malwa, was sent by the hand of [3] Jai *Tawāchī-bāshī*; and Shujā'at Khān with his son Qāim Khān started from Sārangpūr, with the object of coming to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. A [4] desire for rebellion entered the heads of his servants, and they slew him and

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[1] He is called خان بيگ, Khān Beg in one MS. and ماة بيگ Māh Beg in the other and جان بيگ, Jān Beg in the lith. ed., and he is also called Jān Beg in Elliot V. Badāonī has تار ماة بيگ, Mr. Lowe has Tārmā Beg. The Akbarnāma has Māh Beg. See Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, page 473. I have adopted Māh Beg.

[2] There are different readings. One MS. has با گرهی بدست اولياء دولت خليفه الهي در آمد. The other has the same except that it omits the word با; the lith. ed. has درانطرف گدهی بدست آمد. The translation in Elliot V, is "now Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops." Badāonī Persian text has و الصوبه تا گرهی بتصرف افواج پادشاهی در آمد *i.e.* that *suba* (*i.e.*, Bihar) up to Garhi came in to the possession of the imperial troops. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 475, says "the evil doers * * hastened off in failure to Bengal, though, owing to the evil thoughts of some, they were not pursued, nor was an expedition sent to Bengal * *. But proper steps were taken for reducing Bihar in to order."

[3] There is some difference as to the name of the messenger. The MSS. have چي تواچي باشي and جهی تواچي باشي; and the Akbarnāma has Wajahi Yasawal, but a note says that a M.S.T.A. has Jai Tawāchi-bāshī, and this is probably correct; and I have kept it. There is also much difference in the name of Shujā'at Khan's son. The MSS. and Badāonī, Persian text have قايم خان, Qāim Khān, but Mr. Lowe has Qayiam Khān, the lith. ed. has قيوم خان, and the translation in Elliot V has Kaiyyam Khan. The translation of the Akbarnāma has Quwim Khan.

[4] The cause of the rebellion is not at all clear. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, pages 458–59, gives the names of the conspirators and some details of what happened. It says, the chief cause of the disturbance was the

his son. But in the end owing to disunion among themselves, they dispersed, and each one fled in a different direction. When the news was reported to His Majesty, he sent Sharīf Khān Atka to be the governor of Malwa, and sent for the young son and others left behind by Shujā'at Khān.

As the disturbances in Bengal, (*Muhim-i-Bangāla*) had been going on for a long time, Khān Ā'azam, who had for a long time been living in retirement in Agra, and [1] who was being looked after and guarded, became the recipient of royal favours, and was sent with five thousand horsemen to be the governor of Behar. For greater caution, Shahbāz Khān Kambu, who was engaged in putting down Rānā Kīkā, and had arrived at that stage that he would be able soon to expel the Rānā from that country, was sent for, and he was sent with a well equipped army to help and reinforce the army of Bengal. When Shahbāz Khān arrived near the boundary of Hājīpūr, he heard that 'Arab Bahādur had taken shelter with Rājā Gajpati. He immediately attacked him, and went on fighting with him for a month, and cutting down the jungle, with a good blow (*bazarab-i-rāst*) drove 'Arab out, and worsted Rājā Gajpati.

[2] At this time, [3] by chance His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī paid a

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evil conduct of the servants and the harshness or unworthiness of the master; thus apportioning the blame to both sides. Badāonī, who was angry with the spirit of the times, says "their attendants, on account of bad conduct and evil goings on and faithlessness and worthlessness, which are inseparable qualities of a leader of our day, (بجهت بدسلوكي و بد عملگي و بد عهدي و رزالت كه لازمهٔ سردار عهد شكن) killed both him and his son." Persian text II, page 284 and English Translation II, 292; so that according to him the blame lay on Shujā' at Khān.

[1] The words which I have translated "and who was being looked after and guarded" occur in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but not in the other MSS. They are و بنظر محافظت او مينمودند. I am not quite clear about their meaning, but I think I am correct, as Badāonī also says ازمدتی باز نظر بند بود, *i.e.*, who had been for a long time under surveillance. Abul Fazl says nothing about surveillance, but he throws a curious light on Akbar's methods, when he says that—"when H. M. heard from his confidants in the *haram* that the *Kokaltash* was ashamed and repentant", etc.

[2] The text of which this and the next three paragraphs are a translation is omitted from one of the two reliable MSS. on which I have been chiefly depending.

[3] The account of the emperor's visit to the house of Sharīf Khān Atka is

visit to the house of Sharīf Khān Atka, and (thus) conferred much honour on him. Sharīf Khān arranged a royal entertainment, and decorated his mansion with many beautiful offerings, which were to be placed at the emperor's feet, as a goodly tribute. The emperor stayed there till the end of the day, and passed the time in listening to vocal and instrumental music, and various sorts of other enjoyments and pleasures. Sharīf Khān Atka presented him with nine elephants, and twenty seven 'Irāqī and 'Arab horses, and various fabrics, as tribute.

As every year, a trustworthy man was sent to the Hijāz as Mīr Hājī, this year the appointment was made of [1] Hakīm-ul-mulk Gilānī, and a noble gesture was made that a sum of five *lakhs* of rupees might be entrusted to him, as had been done each year, from the public treasury, that he might, with the knowledge of Qāzī Hasan Mālkī, Shaikh-ul-Islām of the sacred place convey it to the poor of Mecca the venerable; and he also sent the fabrics of Hindustan and beautiful cloths, with the Hakīm-ul-mulk, for the respected residents of Mecca.

[2] At this time a petition arrived from Rājā Todar Mal, (to the effect), that Khwāja Shāh Mansūr had written harsh letters, in which he had pointed out to Muhammad Ma'sūm Farankhūdī that there were

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omitted from one MS. but is given in the other and in the lith. ed. In both these, the words اتفاق بحسب *i.e.*, by chance are used. I do not understand the purport of these words. It appears from Badāonī, that the visit was paid on Sharīf Khān Atka's appointment to the government of Malwa.

[1] Badāonī says he was selected as one of the جمله نا موافقان در مذهب و مشرب Persian text II, page 285, *i.e.*, as among these who did not agree with the emperor in matters of religion and faith. He also says that a sum of five *lākhs* of rupees was given to him to be given as presents to the worthy among the Sharīfs and poor of Mecca; and that he remained at Mecca to the end of his life. According to the Akbarnāma, he was, in a way banished. He had at first signed the documents acknowledging Akbar's religious supremacy, but had afterwards opposed it.

[2] The accounts, of the temporary fall of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, the *Diwān* as given in the text, agrees on the whole with those given by Badāonī, Persian Text, II, 287 and English Translation, II, 295 and Abul Fazl, Beveridge's translation, III, 461-62. He appears to have been too rigorous in exacting government demands.

large sums due from him. The Rāja pointed out that he had kept this man by various expedients and conciliatory measures. He also mentioned in the petition that Khwāja Shāh Mansūr had also written letters to Tarsūn Muhammad Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs*, and in whose name the command of the army was; and had at a time, when assurance and encouragement should have been held out, used threats. As his harshness, had, in various matters been repeatedly brought to the notice of His Majesty, the latter deprived him of his office for a few days, and made him over to Shāh Qulī Khān; and also passed an order, that in his place Vazīr Khān should be the *Diwān* of the empire, (*Diwān-i-kul*); and in conjunction with Qāzī 'Ali, son of Qutb-ud-dīn Baghdādi should decide all cases.

And [1] it was at this time that a man was brought, who was one of the wonders of created beings. He had been born without any ears, or any aural orifices, and it was all the more wonderful, that he heard every word that was spoken just like men possessing ears. When he was brought into the presence of His Majesty, the latter on seeing him was very much astonished, and fixed a daily allowance for him.

His Majesty owing to his devotion, went every year on a pilgrimage to the tomb, which is the recipient of illumination, of His Holiness Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn, may his soul be sanctified! and in consequence of this beneficent determination and pious action of his much advantage accrued to the servants of God. This year, owing to various obstacles, it was not possible for the sublime standards to march in that direction. Shāhzāda Dāniāl was (therefore) sent with a [2] num-

[1] Badāonī, after mentioning the case of the man who had no ears, but could hear, mentions a curious and cruel experiment, which was carried out, apparently under the orders of the emperor, of taking about twenty sucklings from their mothers, for a consideration in money, and placing them in an empty house, which got the name of "dumb house," in charge of well-disciplined nurses, who were not to give them any instruction in speaking. After three or four years, all the children turned out dumb, and many of them became the nurselings of mother earth. This gives an opportunity to Mr. Lowe to write a most learned note in which he quotes Chaucer and Cowley and Job I, 21, Eccles. XI, 1, and Ṛg-veda X, 18.

[2] The words سایر مردم همراه occur in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but not

ber of his intimates, such as [1]Shaikh Jamāl and Shaikh Faizī who was his tutor, and a number of companions, and a sum of 25,000 rupees was granted for the purpose of helping towards the subsistence of the *faqīrs* of that country. The fortunate Shāhzāda returned after performing the pilgrimage.

At this time Rājā Todar Mal and Tarsūn Muhammad Khān and Muhammad Sādiq Khān and other *Badshāhi amīrs* stayed at Hājīpūr, on account of the rains. Ma'sūm Farankhūdī went to Jaunpur which was his *jagīr*, [2] without the permission of the *amīrs*, and there began to show signs of revolt and faithlessness to the salt. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī sent [3]Peshrau Khān, who was the superintendent of the *farāsh khāna* (*i.e.*, the store-house of tents, etc.,) to give him assurances (of continued favour), and granted him the territory of Audh; and conferred Jaunpur on Tarsūn Muhammad Khān. Mas'ūm Khān [4]spoke words like those of a mad man to Peshrau Khān, and revealed signs of hostility; and knowing that Audh was an out of the way place (kināra) went there.

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in the other MSS. Badāonī mentions the facts of the Shāhzāda being sent to Ajmir without any comment, but Abul Fazl enters in to an elaborate dissertation to explain the failure of Akbar's going in person. This has been condensed by Mr. Beveridge in the following sentences. "There are two kinds of religious worship. One is good deeds (works), and the other is ceremonial, the visiting of shrines and the like. As Akbar was a sovereign he practiced both, but as at this time spiritual religion was on the increase, and also he had many weighty matters to attend to, he desisted from going to Ajmir in person."

[1] His full name was Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār.

[2] One MS. has بی رخصت امراء, the other omits the matter of the رخصت. The lith. ed. has برخست امراء, and the translation in Elliot V has "with their permission"; but Badāonī has بی رخصت. The Akbarnāma does not appear to be explicit on the point, but it says that "he forcibly took Jaunpur from the servants of Tarsun K."

[3] عرف مہتر سعادت, "alias Mihtar Sa'dat." Mr. Lowe translates *Dārogha-i-Farash Khāna* as "head of the chamberlain department." The Akbarnāma does not mention Peshrau Khān or any one else as having been sent to Ma'sūm Khān Farankhudi but only says that "His Majesty decided that some prudent men should be sent, to bring him to the station of bliss."

[4] Both the MSS. and Badāonī say that he spoke سخنان مخبطانه, but the lith. ed. has سخنان مخلصانه, and the translator in Elliot V, says "He spoke

At this time, Niyābat Khān, son of Hāshim Khān Nishāpūrī, who had been nurtured at the threshold, rebelled in [1] Jusi Piyāk (Prayāg) which was his *jāgīr*. He advanced and attacked the fort of [2] Kara, which was the *jāgīr* of Isma'el Quli Khān. Iliyās Khān the servant of the latter, who was in charge of the fort, fought with him, and was killed. Niyābat then besieged the fort, and began to plunder and ravage the country. When the news of this reached His Majesty Isma'el Qulī Khān and Vazir Khān and Matlab Khān and Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār, and a number of other renewned *amīrs* were appointed to put him down. [3] Shāh Quli Khān Mahram was sent with them, that he might give hope (of favour) to Ma'sum Khān Farankhūdī, and bring him to the threshold. After Vazīr Khān had been sent, Khwāja Shāh Mansūr was released from imprisonment, and was again honoured with (his former) office. When Niyābat Khān heard the news of the coming of the army, he raised the siege and went towards [4] Kantit, one of the dependencies of Patna (or Panna). The *amīrs* hastened forward, crossed the river, and came up with him. Niyābat Khān gave battle, and there was a

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dutiful words"; the MSS. from which he made the translation apparently had مخلصانه; but the translation of the next sentence. "and did not show his disaffection; but as Oudh was near, he went there": does not agree with any text that I have seen.

[1] One MS. has جوساو پیاک and the other and the lith. ed. have جوسي پیاک without the intervening و. The translation in Elliot V, has Jusa and Payag. Badāonī has جوسي و پیاک. About Jūsi Piyāk see note 4 page 359 of Vol. II *ante*. The Akbarnāma mentions the rebellion of Niyābat Khān, Beveridge's translation III, page 480, but apparently does not mention the name of his *jāgīr*. The cause of this rebellion is stated in the Akbarnāma to have been that "the accountants brought a charge of arrears against him, and the slave of gold prefers disobedience to service."

[2] For Kara see I.G. XIV, 415. It is 42 miles N.W. Allahabad

[3] According to Abul Fazl and Badāonī, Rāja Bīr Bal, or as Badāonī calls him Bīr Bar Bādfarosh, was associated with him in this mission

[4] The name is written as کنت and کشت in the MS., and as کنتت in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Kantal. Badāonī has گشت and Mr. Lowe Gasht. The Akbarnāmā has اب کنتت, or river of Kantit. Patna is a mistake for Panna. Kantit is in sarkār Allahabad, it is entered under *sarkār* Ilahabas in J. II, 161 and the river must be the Ganges.

severe engagement. In the end [1]Niyābat Khān was defeated, and went to Ma'sūm Khān. At this time 'Arab Bahādur also, who was flying before Shahbāz Khān took shelter with the latter. Shahbāz Khān pursuing him arrived at Jaunpūr, and from there he advanced to Audh to attack Ma'sūm. The latter hastened forward to meet him, and was [2]victorious. Shāhbāz Khān fled, and in one day he traversed a distance of forty *karohs* and arrived at Jaunpur. It so happened however that Tarsūn Muhammad Khān who was on the right wing of Shahbāz Khān's army remained concealed in a jungle and when Ma'sūm's army was scattered, (after booty, *Dar pai ghārat*, Badāonī), he came forward ; and

couplet ;

Like a whirl wind, he suddenly struck them ;
All that army like grass was blown away ;

and defeated Ma'sūm. When this news reached Shahbāz Khān, he returned with great speed, and on the following day joined the right wing ; and rallying his forces again advanced against Ma'sūm. There was again a battle [3]with Ma'sūm, in the neighbourhood of the Awadh, and Ma'sūm was defeated, and his mother and sister and wife and son and all his property and forces fell into the hands (of the imperial commanders). He fled, and escaped in the direction of

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[1] According to Badāonī Niyabat Khān fought with extraordinary valour, threw the imperial army into utter confusion, and unhorsed Shaikh Jamāl, but spared his life. Abul Fazl also says that " the victorious army was nearly suffering loss."

[2] Badāonī says Ma'sūm Khān had an immense quantity of war *material* and defeated Shahbāz Khān in the twinkling of an eye. The Akbarnāma describes the battle in some detail. It says it took place on the 22nd January 1581 near Sultānpur Bilahri, 25 *kos* from Awadh (the city of Ayodhya or Faizābād) ; Beveridge's translation Vol. III, page 486.

[3] This second battle is mentioned by Badāonī. According to the Akbarnāma there was no regular battle. There was a skirmish between some men under 'Arab and some of the imperial troops. After that Ma'sūm attempted to strengthen the walls of the city of Awadh, but was not successful. Then 'Arab and Niyābat separated from him, and he fled leaving his household and his accumulations of many years. His wanderings are also described at some length. See Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, pages 497-99.

the Siwalik hills. This [1] happened in the month of zi-hijja in the year 988. A.H.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF THE 27TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHI ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Sunday, the 15th Safar in the year [2] 989 A.H. (11th March, 1582). In the beginning of this year, news came that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, relying on letters which 'Āsī Kābuli and Ma'sūm Farankhūdī had written to him in succession, persuading him to come to Hindustan, and at the instigation of Farīdūn, who was his maternal uncle, considering [3] the conquest of Hindustan practicable, advanced from Kabul to effect such conquest. He sent a servant of his, of the name Shādmān across the river Nīlāb. Kunar Mān Singh, son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, attacked him; and he fought a battle and was killed. After hearing this news Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm crossed the river Nīlāb, and halted in *pargana* Saiyyadpūr. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī issued an order, having the currency of fate, for the attendance of the troops, and made a grant of eight months' pay to the soldiers and advanced towards the Punjab. Shāhzāda Dāniāl remained in the capital city of Fathpur; and [4] Sultān Khwāja and Shaikh Ibrāhīm were left there for the management of affairs. When the emperor

[1] One MS. has در سنه ثمانین و تسعمایة موافق سال ۲۶ بوقوع پیوست, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. have it as I have got it in the text. The year is given as 988 by Badāonī also. The translator in Elliot V, says in a note (page 421) that the year should be 989. There is of course considerable confusion in the chronology. Abul Fazl places the rebellion of Ma'sūm Khān Farankhudi in the 25th year of the reign. His 26th year begins on the 5th Safar 989; so that the month and year of Ma'sūm Khān's defeat was zi-hijja 988, as stated in the text, and not zi-hijja 989.

[2] The translator in Elliot says this should be 990 A.H., 11th March 1582; but see the preceding note, see also note 4 (below) from which it would appear that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm's invasion happened in the beginning of 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.)

[3] I suppose that this is the meaning of the words قابو خیال کردہ, which are to be found in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.

[4] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, p. 495, Akbar at first intended to leave Shāhzāda Salīm at Fathpur, but the latter "begged through H.H. Mariam Makānī, that he might accompany H.M." Then it was arranged that Shāhzāda Dāniāl should remain at Fathpur. It appears also that Shāh Quli Mahram was associated with the two named in the text, for the

arrived at Sarai Bād, which is fifteen *karohs* from Fathpur, the news of the victory of Shahbāz Khān, and of the defeat of Ma'sūm Farankhūdī arrived, and was taken to be an auspicious omen; and the army advanced.

At the time when Mān Singh defeated Shādmān, three [1] *farmāns* of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, one of which was addressed to the Hakīm-ul-mulk, and one to Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, and one to Muhammad Qāsim Khān the Mir-i-bahr (admiral), were found in the portfolio of Shādmān. These *farmāns*, the Mīrza had written to them in reply to their petitions giving them all encouragement and assurances of favour. Kunar Mān Singh sent the *farmāns* to the threshold. His Majesty became acquainted with their purport, but kept the matter in concealment. When the grand standards had passed through Dehli, and Mīrza Hakīm had arrived in Lahore, and had taken up his quarters in the garden of Mahdi Qāsīm Khān, Mān Singh and Sa'īd Khān and Rājā Bhagwān Dās shut themselves up in the fort of Lahore. When the sublime standards arrived at the town of Panipat, Malik Sānī Kābūlī, who was the *Diwān* of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, and had the title of Vazīr Khān, separated from the Mīrza, and came to the threshold, and took up his quarters in the house of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, and made the latter the means of his rendering his homage (to the emperor). When Khwāja Shāh Mansūr reported the news of his arrival to His Majesty, it occurred to the sacred mind, that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm's separating his *Diwān* from himself, and his sending of the latter, at this time when he had come to conquer Hindustan, could not but be a matter of policy. When there was (already) a suspicion in respect of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, this idea became transformed into a firm conviction. Khwāja Shāh Mansūr was then [2] put into prison, and

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management of affairs at the capital. The march commenced on the 2nd Muhrram 989, 6th February, 1581.

[1] Badāoni also calls them *farmāns*, but they are called *parwānas*, in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. It is also stated there, that Akbar "regarded those papers as the work of forgery."

[2] One MS. has مقيد, imprisoned. The other MS. is very imperfect, a considerable number of lines having been left out. The lith. ed. has تغير, instead of مقيد, and the translation in Elliot V, has "dismissed"; but as Badāonī has

the *farmān* of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm which had been addressed to him was shown to him. Although he took oaths, it was of no avail.

When the world conquering standards arrived in the neighbourhood of Shāhābād,[1] Malik ' Ali brought a letter[2] and produced it before the sacred eyes; and said "My messengers were coming from the ferry of Ludīana, which is in my charge When they arrived at the *Sarāi* of Sarhind, they saw a *piādi* (runner) in the *sarāi*, whose feet were swollen. That man told them ' I am a servant (*kas*) of Sharf Beg who is a servant of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, and is the man in charge (Shiqdār) of Firūzpur, which is the *jāgīr* of the Khwāja, and is at a distance of thirty *kiroh*s from Lahore; he has sent these letters to the Khwāja. As my feet are painful, do you convey them quickly to the Khwāja?' My runners have brought these letters to me." When the seals of the letters or of the packets containing the letters were broken and they were opened, two letters appeared. One was a report (*'arz dāsht*) of Sharf Beg, who had written an account of the state of *pargana* Firuzpūr to Shīh Mansūr; and the other was a letter, which was written by a man to a [3]man (apparently unspecified), to the effect that he (the writer) had had an interview with Farīdūn Khān, and the latter had taken him to offer his services to

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مقيد also, I have adopted this. In the translation of the Akbarnāma it is said that "He was not allowed to communicate with others, and circumspection was exercised."

[1] He is called *kotwīl-i-urdu*, (the chief constable of the camp or the provost marshal) in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, p. 502. Badāonī describes him as برادر قاضي علي كه حال كوتوال لاهور است *i.e.*, brother of Qāzī 'Ali, who is now the *kotwāl* of Lahore.

[2] Badāonī says "two letters," and the translation of the Akbarnāma has "several letters." Further on in the text we have خطها, letters; but apparently the word is here used to mean "a packet containing several letters."

[3] The MSS. have بشخصی to (an unspecified) person, and the lith. ed. has شخصی بشخصی (an unspecified) person to an (unspecified) person. The translation in Elliot V, is "from one person to another person." Badāonī has in the corresponding passage از موهومي, from an imaginary person, or as Mr. Lowe translates this "from a person whose identity was suspected." The Akbarnāma does not say by whom or to whom the letters were addressed, but it appeared from them, "that the soldiers (sipah) of the Khwāja * *

Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm *Bādshāh*, and although (the Mīrza) had sent his officers (revenue-collectors) to the neighbouring *parganas*, he had sent none to his *pargana*, and had excused him. When the purport of this letter was reported to His Majesty, it appeared that Sharf Beg had written this letter also, *balibās i.e.*, in disguise or anonymously to Khwāja Shāh Mansūr. Besides this, the intimacy (*rābita*) of Malik Sānī, *diwān* of Muhammad Hakīm Mīrza, and the coming of the *farmān* of the latter to Khwāja Shāh Mansūr being considered, that suspicion amounted to a certainty. As most of the *amīrs* and the great officers of the state were annoyed with Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, they all united together, and tried to have him put to death, and at last His Majesty gave the order of his execution; and early in the morning of the following day he was hanged.

Quatrain;

Never did'st thou a favour on people confer;
How wilt thou comfort from thy wealth behold?
If evil thou dost, never for good do thou hope;
For ne'er doth the tamarisk bear the grape.

After three days, intelligence came, that when Mīrza Muhammad

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* had opened negotiations with the Mīrza (Hakīm), and would soon join him. It appears also from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's trans., Vol. III, page 503, that Akbar ordered that "if the Khwāja would engage to produce the man (the writer, apparently of the anonymous letter), and give proper security for this, he should remain, as before, in prison, otherwise he was to be put to death * * * . It appears also from the Akbarnāma that, Khwāja Shāh Mansūr was hanged on a tree near the *sarāi* of Kot Kachwāha which according to Blochmann, 431, number 2, is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiana. Finally, with reference to Shāh Mansūr's execution, see the note on the subject in pp. 504-05. The story according to Mr. Beveridge, "throws a lurid light on the morals of Akbar's officers." The note does not appear to me to be very convincing, although I have no doubt that the morals of Akbar's officers were bad enough. It also appears that later on, see page 516, Akbar was convinced that the *farmāns* and letters, on the evidence of which Khwāja Shāh Mansūr was executed, were forged by Karam-ul-lah, brother of Shahbāz Khān, (Nizām-ud-dīn says, *Ba-dastiyari wa kankāsh ba'ze*). He does not however say who had advised him. The Ma'asir I, 157, says Karam-ul-lah was the tool of Todar Mal, but the Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh denies that Todar Mal had any hand in the intrigues against the Khwāja.

Hakīm heard of the arrival of the sublime standards in the Punjab, he crossed the river of Lahore, and went away towards Kabul.

His Majesty then marched from [1] Sarhind to Kalānūr, and from the latter place to Rhotās; and had a *qamargha* hunt. From there, having looked for a good omen and received good news, he advanced towards the Nīlāb. He laid the foundation, in the month of Rabī'-us-sānī of that year, of a great fort on the bank of the Nīlāb river, which is famous as the Sind sāgar; and named it Atak (Attock) Banāras. As there was a paucity of boats, he ordered that the amīrs and the troops (*sipāhiān*) should provide boats, and distributed *chaukīs* (sections) among the *amīrs*. He ordered Kunar Mān Singh and Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār, and his (apparently Mān Singh's and not Shaikh Jamāl's) brother Mādho Singh, and Makhsūs Khān and Naurang Khān and other active warriors to cross the Nilāb river, and to advance towards [2]Purshūr. They took possession of that place. Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, with Qulīj Khān and Mīrza Yusuf Khān and Rāi Singh and many other renowned *amīrs* were then sent across the river, in order to conquer Kabul.

At this time, [3]Khwāja Abul Fazl, a relation of Khwāja Hasan

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[1] It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, p. 509, that when he was encamped at Sarhina, Akbar issued an order "that the *jāgīrdārs*, *Shiqdārs*, and *dāroghās* of the empire should reduce to writing the numbers and the occupations of the inhabitants, village by village, and should classify them. They were not to allow any one to live without some trade or occupation, and they were to look narrowly into the income and expenditure of men,—who are composed of the good and the bad—so that in a short space of time the outwardly good, but inwardly bad, might be discovered; and false gold-incrusted coin might be brought to the place of weighment." Abul Fazl says that "By this enlightened order there was a market day of graciousness, and the wide territory of India received the great calm." One would have thought that the inquisitorial proceedings would give a great opportunity, to the *Jāgīrdārs*, *shiqdārs*, *dāroghās* and their underlings, for oppression and corruption, and produce a great deal of hardship, and tumult, and outcry.

[2] So called in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Parshore (Peshawar). Badāonī has پشاور, Peshāwar. According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, III, 519, Mān Singh and the others were to command the van of Prince Murād's army and were to proceed to Digran; and return from there if the Mīrza made his submission.

[3] That is how he is called in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., Badāonī calls him

Naqshbandī and Muhammad 'Ali the *diwān* of the Khwāja came on a mission from Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm; and brought a petition for the pardon of his offences. His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī, sent Hājī Habīb-ul-lah with them to Kabul, and intimated that if the Mīrza showed his shame for his past actions, and repented, and took oaths and sent his sister to the court, he would forgive him. Shāhzāda Shāh Murād passed the Khaibar *Kotal* (pass) by successive marches. On the 15th Jamādī-us-sānī of the afore-mentioned year, His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī in his own elegant person crossed the Sind sāgar river and halted. (From that place) he sent the meanest of his slaves, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad. who is the author of this history [1] to Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, by rapid marches; with the order that he should go, and [2]enquire of the *amīrs* who had gone forward, whether they would be able to go to Kabul, if His Majesty did not go there; and if so they should go on. Otherwise, if it was necessary for his Majesty to come, in what way would it be proper for him to do so, whether with all his retinue and household (*bahashm wa ahl-i-mahal*), or alone or with a small retinue (*jarīda*). This *faqīr* went in one day and night seventy and five *karohs*, and coming up with the Shāhzāda in Jalālābād gave him the message. [3]His Highness advanced towards Kabul, and thought it advisable that His Majesty should also march rapidly to Kabul. Hāji Habīb-ul-lah also came from Kabul to Jalālābād; and in company with this *faqīr*, he hastened

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Muhammad 'Ali Diwāna. The coming of Khwāja Abul Fazl and Muhammad 'Ali does not appear to be mentioned in the Akbarnāma, but it appears that Akbar suggested that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm should send Khwāja Husain Naqshbandī with some others, to execute oaths and treaties, and the rescript of advice was sent with Hājī Habīb-ul-lah Kāshī.

[1] The word is پیش which has, I think, been incorrectly translated in Elliot V, page 424, as "in advance of." In the corresponding passage in Badāonī, the word is "near," "to."

[2] The word appears to be استمراج and استخراج in the MS. and استخبار in the lith. ed. استخراج appears to be the correct reading.

[3] This passage has been translated in Elliot V, as "he was determined upon proceeding to Kabul, and thought it advisable to send me back speedily to the emperor." This appears to me to be incorrect. According to it, poor Nizam-ud-dīn got no reply at all to the question, for a reply to which, he had made the journey of one hundred and fifty *karohs*.

to the threshold, which is the asylum of *Sultāns*. He told (the emperor) that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm was extremely repentant for his past actions, and had taken oaths, and had also wanted to send his sister. But Khwāja Hasan, her husband, had taken her away and had fled towards Badakhshān. After the *faqīr* and Hājī Habīb-ul-lah had arrived in the presence of His Majesty, the next day he commenced his march and advanced towards Purshūr. Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm remained in the camp, and Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Sa'īd Khān and Qāzī 'Ali Bakhshi were left there in attendance on him. [1]The emperor himself advanced *Jarīda* (with a small retinue) and travelled twenty *karohs* every day.

When Shāhzāda Shāh Murād arrived within seven *karohs* of Kabul, Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm came to a place called Khurd Kabul with the intention of giving battle, and the fire of conflict blazed up. He was defeated and fled; and the Shāhzāda with victory and triumph entered Kabul. On the day proceeding the morning on which the battle was to take place, Farīdūn Khān, the maternal uncle of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, had made an onset on the rear of the Shāhzāda's army, and had carried away much booty, and slain many men. On that day His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had halted at a place called Surkhāb, fifteen *karohs* from the Shāhzāda's army. It so happened that at the time when the men of the rear guard of the army were attacked and plundered, [2]Hāji Muhammad Khān Ahadī, who had gone to the Shāhzāda by relays of horses (*dāk chaukī*) arrived at that place, and seeing the plunder, carried back the dreadful news, which became the cause of anxiety in many hearts. In spite of this sort of news the march was continued for one stage on the next

[1] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 529, mentions the different stages of the march, Jamrud, Khaibar Pass, Dākā, Lājīpur, Jalālābād, Bāgh Safa, and Gandāmak. Here Hājī Muhammad Ahadī brought the (incorrect) news that "the victorious army had met with loss." He then went on to Surkhāb and Jagdalak. News of the victory came at Surkhab, but was not at first believed.

[2] He is called حاجي محمد نام احدي in the Persian Text, and Hājī Muhammad and Ahadī in the English translation of Badāonī. The Akbarnāma has Hāji Muhammad Ahadi. The translation in Elliot V has, "a messenger" (dak chowki). Ahadi according to the dictionary is a kind of Indian Military Cords. I find Ahadi described as a gentleman trooper.

day; and there the news of the victory arrived; and after performing the duty of offering thanks, His Majesty the emperor entered the [1] fort of Kābul with grandeur and good fortune, on Friday the 10th of the month of Rajab. He spent [2] seven days in visiting the gardens of Kabul and enjoying their beauty, and remained there for a time.

As it was reported to His Majesty, that Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm intended that he should leave the country, and go to the Uzbeks, he did not allow such a shameful proceeding, and sent [3] Latif Khwāja to the Mīrza, who was at Ghūrband, and conveyed to him the good news of the pardon of all his offences. Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, again in the presence of Latīf Khwāja, made promises and engagements for loyalty and devotion, and sent 'Ali Muhammad Asp with him to attend on the emperor. His Majesty then turned back, and bestowed Kabul on the Mīrza. He left the camp behind, and marched rapidly to Jalālābād, where the great camp was. Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm and the *amīrs* who were there hastened to render homage, and offered congratulations and felicitations for the victories. Khwājagī Muhammad Husain, who was the uterine brother of Qāsīm Khān *Mir-i-Bahr*, and was one of the great *amīrs* of the Mīrza joined the service of the emperor, and was included in the band of his loyal subjects. A detachment was sent from Jalālābād to ravage the skirts of the hilly country inhabited by the kāfirs of [4] Kanūr. The emperor then made the return journey stage by stage, and arrived on the 12th Sha'bān, on the bank of the Sind Sāgar. Muhammad Qāsim Khān, who in accordance with orders, had remained on the bank of the river

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[1] The MSS. have بدولت و اقبال بقلعهٔ کابل and بدولت و اقبال بکابل. The lith. ed. omits بدولت و اقبال, and says simply بکابل در آمدند.

[2] The MSS. and lith. ed. have هفت روز, seven days, and Badāonī has هفته, a week, but the translation in Elliot V, has twenty days.

[3] Badāonī calls him Latīf Khwāja Mīr Shikār.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. have کنور, Kanūr. The other MS. has کتور which appears to be Katūr. The translation in Elliot V, has Kator. Badāonī Persian text has کنور and the English translation Kator, and a note says the Lak'hnau lith. has Gantur. Abul Fazl does not seem to mention the despatch of this force.

to construct a bridge, had made a bridge of boats; and the [1] royal standards (*i.e.*, the army), which at the time of going to Kabul had crossed the river in the course of one month, crossed it now in the course of one day. From there the emperor marched by stages and at the end of Ramzān he arrived in Lahore. He entrusted the government of the Punjab to Sa'īd Khān, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, and Kunar Mān Singh; and then raising the standard of determination towards the capital city of Fathpūr, marched along, hunting by the way. Shahbāz Khān came and waited on him at Pānipat. When he arrived, on the 25th Shawwāl, at Dehlī, Shāhzāda Dāniāl and the *umīrs*, who had been left at Fathpūr, and Her Highness Mariam Makānī, who had come from Fathpūr to welcome His Majesty, were made fortunate by being allowed to render their services to him. On the 5th day of Zi-qa'da, Fathpur became the seat of the throne of the *Khalifat* and [2] the rites of thanks offering (*Nisār wa Īsar*) were performed, and much was given away in charity.

During the time when the sublime standards were marching to Kabul, [3] Bahādur son of Sa'īd Badakhshī, who had risen in the country of Tirhut, and had assumed the name of Bahādur Shāh and [4] had made attempts on his own life, was seized by the servants of Ā'azam Khān and was put to death.

[1] This passage has been translated in Elliot V, as "the journey to Kabul had been performed in one month. In one day he (and his escort) crossed the river, and went on to Lahore," the first part of this, and the last part also are incorrect.

[2] There is some difference in the readings. The lith. ed. has لوازم نثار و اثیار بتقدیم رسانیدند، و خیرات بسیار کردند. The MSS. have لوازم نثار و اثیا بتقدیم رسیدة and لوازم نثار و اثیار بقدیم رسید خیر بسیار کردند. I have adopted the reading of the lith. ed. In the translation in Elliot V, the whole sentence is omitted.

[3] He is called Bahādur 'Ali, son of Saiyid Badakhshi in Elliot V, but the name and the father's name are as I have them in the text, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. and also in Badāonī and the Akbarnāma.

[4] The MSS. and the lith ed. have قصد جان خود داشت. It is not clear what this means, unless it means that he was endangering his life by his rebellious acts. One reading is قصد حاجي پور داشت, which would of course mean, that he attempted to seize Hājīpūr, but as it is not supported by the MSS. or the lith. ed. or by Badāonī or Abul Fazl, I cannot adopt it. It may be that قصد جان خود داشته is a mistake for خطبه بنام خود ساخته. According to the

Couplet;

With thy wings don't go astray, for like a far-flying arrow
The wind will hold thee for a time, but on the dust will cast thee soon.

As Ma'sūm Khān Farankhūdi wandered about in perplexity and distress in the hilly country of the Siwālik, he sent a prayer for the pardon of his offences to Ā'azam Khān, and by means of the petitions of the latter, his sins were forgiven, and a *farmān* assuring him of favour was issued. He then left Ā'azam Khān, and determined on a pilgrimage of service, and [1] was honoured on arrival at Fathpur, by being permitted to make the *kūrnish*. As [2] Niyābat Khān had also sought the protection of Her Highness Mariam Makānī, he was also on the same day made fortunate by being allowed to kiss the ground.

At the time when His Majesty was in Kabul, and the chief servants of Mirza Muhammad Hakīm came to render their services, he made much inquiry into the matter of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr. It then became known, that Karam-ul-lah the brother of Shahbāz

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Akbarnama, Beveridge's translation III, page 549-50, he was arrested by Ghāzī Khān Bādakhshi, the jāgīrdār of Tirhut, and sent by him to the Khān Ā'azam at Hajipur. "The latter sent him to court, at the time of His Majesty's arrival. He was brought in with chains on his neck, and stocks (*kunda*) on his feet, and met with his deserts."

[1] It appears from the Akbarnama, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 576-77, that after H.M. had "in his abundant kindness" forgiven him, he was murdered at midnight one day in July 1582, when he was going from the palace to his house, and "in spite of much investigation and close inquiry the affair was not cleared up." A note in page 577 says "it was generally supposed that Akbar had brought about his murder. The fact that he was living outside the wall made the assassination easier." The Iqbālnāma says that he deserved death, but that in deference to Mariam Makānī, who had interceded for him, Akbar could not openly order him to be killed. As, however, he did not show signs of repentance, Akbar ordered Sikandar Qalmāq, who was a trusted *Cela*, to put an end to him privately, and accordingly this was done.

[2] As to Niyābat Khān, Badāonī, Persian text, page 299, says his life was spared for some time to please his uncle Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, governor of Malwa, but he was sent to the fortress of Rantambhor * * *. In conjunction with his fellow prisoners he attempted a great outbreak, and eventually in 997 the emperor ordered him to be beheaded.

Khān had, with the help and advice of certain persons, fabricated the *farmāns*; and the last letter which became the cause of his execution was also a forgery. His Majesty on many occasions expressed his regrets at having ordered the execution of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr.

In short, when Fathpūr became the halting place of the victorious standards, His Majesty occupied himself in munificent charity and the giving of alms; and the whole of his noble and exalted spirit was engaged in regulating the affairs of the people. At this time the news of the death of the exalted cradle Hājī Begam, who was included in the band of the chaste consorts of his Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī arrived, and became the cause of the grief of the sacred heart.

On the [1]9th of the month of Muharram 990, 'Āazam Khān, who was the governor of the territory of Hājīpur and Patna, was honoured by being allowed to kiss the royal feet at Fathpur; and reported the condition of Bengal in detail; and after some days most of the great *amīrs*, and the renowned soldiers, who had accompanied the emperor in the expedition to Kabul were sent with him to Bengal.[2]

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 28TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Tuesday the 27th of the month of Safar 991 A.H. (11th March 1583 A.D.). On the day of the *Nauruz*, [3] the walls and pillars of the halls of the public

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[1] The MSS., the lith. ed., and Badāonī, Persian text II, 300, all concur in giving the 9th Muharram, as the date, but the translation in Elliot V has 19th.

[2] Only one M. S. adds after this شهر كه معصوم كابلي را نابود سازند و پانزدهم صفر سال مذكور كه روز نو روز و تحويل نير اعظم از حوت بحمل بود, which may be translated as "that they might utterly destroy Ma'sūm Kabuli; and on the 15th of the month of Safar of the above mentioned year it was the day of the *Naurūz*, and the progress of the great luminary from *pisces* to *aries* took place."

[3] One MS. inserts here حسب الحكم, "in accordance with orders." In the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 557-558, there is some account of the palaces, etc., being decorated, on the *Naurūz* of the 27th year of the Ilāhī era, which began according to Abul Fazl on the 13th Safar 990, 11th March, 1582, which somewhat resembles the account in the text. There is no mention or any decorations on the *Naurūz* of the 28th year, which was on the 26th Safar

and private palaces were distributed among the *amīrs*, and being draped in rich fabrics, and painted curtains, were beautifully adorned; and were decorated in such a way that the spectators on seeing them were filled with wonder and admiration. The courtyards of the palaces were adorned with pavilions, and awnings of fabrics of gold embroidery and gold tissue; and a golden throne inlaid with emeralds and rubies was placed under them; and they became the object of the envy of the higher paradise.

Verse;

They decorated a plain of stages nine,
The curtains of gold tissue became the sky;
They placed the throne, and the curtains hung;
They made another heaven on the earth.

These beautiful mansions remained decorated for a period of eighteen days; and they were adorned during the nights by many coloured shades. His Majesty went there once or twice every day and night, and enjoyed social pleasures; and musicians of Persia and India were in attendance. Every one of the *amīrs* and the imperial servants was the recipient of royal favours. The markets of the city of Fathpūr and Agra were also decorated, and the people of the surrounding places came to amuse themselves by the sight of this great festival, the like of which they had never seen or heard of before.

One day in the week, the common people were allowed to come; and another day the *amīrs*, and those who were near the throne, and the great men used to come and go. On the day of the *Naurūz* his Majesty sat on the imperial throne; and the *amīrs* and the great men stood in lines in the order of their rank and condition. On the day of *Sharf* which was the last day of the period of the *Naurūz* also, there

991, 10th March, 1583, Beveridge's translation III, 589. It should be noted also that many of the events which according to the Tabaqāt happened in the 27th year, happened, according to the Akbarnāma, in the 26th year. The whole of the passage about the *Naurūz* festivity has not been translated in Elliot V. Badāonī says در شروع نوروز و تحویل سال صفر این شهر پانزدهم و, and then after writing a couplet gives سال بست و هشتم از جلوس روی داد a description of the decorations of the palaces and the bazars of Fathpur and of Agra, and of the entertainments lasting for 18 days.

was a similar grand assembly. All the *amīrs* were exalted by imperial favours; some by the gift of horses and robes of honour; and some by increase of stipends; and some by an increase in the number of their retainers; and most by the grant of *jāgīrs*. There was no one, who in these eighteen days, did not become the recipient of some imperial favours The *amīrs* and the great Khāns presented suitable tributes. During each of these eighteen days, also his Majesty went to the mansions of one of the great *amīrs*, and enjoyed his society; and on that day, the duties of entertainment devolved on that *amīr*, and he presented much tribute consisting of fabrics of Hindustan, and Khurāsān and Irāq, and pearls and rubies and emeralds and gold,[1] and Arab horses, and elephants of mountain-like size, and strings of camels, male and female, and load-carrying and roadster dromedaries. For these *Naurūz* days, Shāham Khān Jalāir came from the *Sūba* of Bengal, and Raja Bhagwān Dās from Lahore and were honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold. [2] It was settled that every year during the time of the *Naurūz*, a *Naurūz* assembly should be held in the manner which has been described.

It has been mentioned in preceding pages, that the Khān-i-Ā'azam and all the *jāgīrdārs* came to the threshold from Hājīpūr, and that *Sūba* remained empty. The wretches who were faithless to their salt, taking advantage of the opportunity, raised their heads for creating disturbances and trouble in every corner. A servant of Ma'sūm Kābuli of the name of [3] Khabisa, in conjunction with Tarkhān Diwāna and Surkh Bada'khshī created disturbances in the country of Behar. Muhammad Sīdiq Khān, in concert with Muhibb' 'Ali Khān, attacked and defeated them, and Khabisa was slain.

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1 Only one MS. inserts here الات, vessels or utensils

2 This sentence does not occur in the lith. ed., but I have inserted it, as it is in both the MSS.

3 The name appears to be جنته, Jantah and خسته, which may be Khasta in the MSS. It looks like خبسته, Khabista in the lith. ed., Elliot V, has Khabita. Badāonī Persian Text, II 310 has خبسه, and English translation II, 320 Khabisah. In Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, 574, he is called Khabita. According to the Akbarnāma skirmishes went on for forty days, and then there was a pitched battle, in which the imperial army was very nearly defeated, when the vanguard displayed bravery, and the rebels were routed.

At this time, the news came of the return of their Highnesses the Begams, the sublime cradle, Gulbadan Begam and Salīma Sultān Begam, by the way of the sea to Gujrat. They had remained in the sacred lands for [1] some years and had occupied their time in worship and adoration, and several separate [2] pilgrimages and *'Umrahs* had, by the grace of God, been accorded to them. Now they had returned and arrived in the country of Ajmir. The fortunate and successful Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm was sent to receive and welcome their Highnesses, so that he might go to Ajmir, and after meeting them, make a pilgrimage to the tomb, which was the recipient of illumination, of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn, may his soul be sanctified! and after performing the rites of pilgrimage and the duty of circumambulation, and making the hearts of the *faqīrs* happy, return in attendance on their Highnesses. On the day on which they arrived at Fathpur, his August Majesty went to meet them and brought their Highnesses the Begams, with great respect into the city.

And at the same time Muhammad Sādiq Khān arrived from the country of Bihar, and became the recipient of royal favours. He received permission very quickly to return, and was ordered to destroy 'Āsi Kabuli, in concert with Ā'azam Khān. Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishti and other *amīrs*, who had gone with the Kabul army, were directed to accompany him.

And at this time Mir Abu Turāb and I'tmād Khān who had gone together to the auspicious house (*i.e.*, to Ka'aba) arrived at the threshold of firmament like splendour, and were honoured by being allowed to kiss the ground.

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[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 569, they had spent three years and six months in the Hijāz. Near Aden, in the course of the return voyage, most of the boats were wrecked, and they were in trouble there for seven months. The governor did not behave properly towards them, for which he was punished by Sultān Murād, the ruler of Turkey.

[2] The words are عمرہ و حج. چند حج means the pilgrimage to Mecca, on the 9th day of the month of Zilhijjah; and عمرہ is a part of the حج function, viz., that in which the pilgrims abstain from all worldly pleasures, and go to a place called Tan'im about three *kos* from Mecca, and after offering non obligatory prayer there, again return to Mecca, and then walk round the house of Ka'aba.'

Mīrza Abu Turāh had brought [1] a stone, and he said that the print of the auspicious feet of his Holiness the asylum of prophetship, may the blessings of God be on him, and His peace! was on it. His Majesty went four *karohs* to receive the foot print, and showed every honour and respect to the stone An order was passed, that all the *amīrs* should carry that foot print on his shoulder, and each one should carry it a few steps, and in this way each one in turn held it, till they brought it into the city.

In short on Thursday the 19th of the month of Sha'bān, His Majesty the King of august destiny, went to the palace of Her Highness Mariam Makānī, in order to carry out the auspicious weighing ceremony of the world-Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm. The Shāhzāda was according to the usual custom, weighed against gold, silver, etc., and the whole of those things were offered to *faqīrs* and deserving people.

At this time a son of that ungrateful wretch Tarkhān Diwāna, of the name of Nūr Muhammad, who had been seized in the country of Tirhut, was brought (before His Majesty). He was executed in the market place of Fathpur. [2]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF THE 29TH YEAR.

[3] The beginning of this year was on Wednesday, the 9th Rabī'-ul-

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[1] The story of the stone is mentioned by Badāonī also, Vol. II, page 320 of the English translation. He however says that the stone was of very great weight, which required a very strong-bodied elephant to lift it. He also says that a foot print was clearly to be seen on it, and Shāh Abu Turāb declared it (on what evidence, it does not appear) to be the impression of the foot of the Prophet. He goes on to say that the emperor commanded the *amirs* to carry this by turn a few steps, but he does not explain how they carried such a heavy stone.

[2] The lith. ed. has a couplet here

کسی کو مملکت را بدسگالست ، بکش ، کان خون بیحرمت حلالست

which may be translated as

Him who to the kingdom is a wisher of ill,
Slay thou! for lawful is the shedding of his blood.

This couplet is not to be found in the MSS., and I have therefore not inserted it in the text.

[3] There is much difference in the readings in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. I have adopted the readings which appeared to me to be the most correct.

āwwal of the year 991 [1] A.H. When the 28th year came to an end and the 29th year commenced, at the beginning of the auspicious year, the sovereign of august destiny opened the doors of [2]pleasure and attendance (on the emperor) before the faces of the whole of the people, and issued an order, that the doors and walls of the various buildings in the palaces, both private and public should be adorned and decorated in the manner of the preceeding year. [3] Courts were arranged, and festive assemblies were held, and the days and nights were passed in enjoyment and pleasure and festivities and music After this, people were forbidden to come in to the palace; and their Highnesses, the royal consorts ([4]*hazrāt-i-sarāpardah-i-saltanat*), and the other veiled ones of the company of the Caliphate were asked to attend, and the hand was opened for a lavish gift of riches. One *lakh* of rupees in cash and some elephants and valuable stuffs and golden and jewelled utensils were placed before the eyes of Her Highness the great Queen-mother Mariam Makānī, by way of tribute.

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[1] In the translation in Elliot V, the year is 991 A.H. in the text, but a footnote says should be 992 (1584 A.D.). According to the Akbarnāma, the 29th year began on the night of Wednesday 8th Rabī'-ul-āwwal 992 (10th or 11th March 1584), see Beveridge's translation III, page 644, but the events, which are narrated in the Tabaqāt in any particular year, are always mentioned in the Akbarnāma as having happened in the preceding year, for instance, the return of the Begams from Mecca, and the execution of Nūr Muhammad, which according to the Tabaqāt happened towards the end of the 28th year took place according to the Akbarnāma at the close of the 27th year.

[2] Both the authoritative MSS. and the lith. ed. have عیش و حضور. Another MS. has عیش و سرور, which would perhaps be better.

[3] One MS. has صحبت ها and the lith. ed. has صحبت, while the other MS. has صفها.

[4] The word حضرت is in the singular in the lith. ed. but in the plural in the MSS. On the other hand the word حضرت as applied to the queen-mother, is incorrectly in the plural in the lith. ed., and correctly in the singular in the MSS. The New Year's festivities are mentioned briefly in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 644, but there is no special mention of the gifts to the imperial ladies. On the other hand, Badāonī does not mention the festivities, but he mentions the gifts to the ladies, Persian text II, page 322, English translation II, page 332; and he adds, not very approvingly as I think, that he (the emperor) also issued a general order, that every person from the highest to the lowest should bring him a present (*pishkash guzārand*).

In the same way the emperor honoured and made presents to his aunt Gulbadan Begam and the other begams. These *Naurūz* festivities were continued for eighteen days.

After the *Naurūz* entertainment had been finished, [1] news came from Bengal that the Khān-i-Ā'azam and the imperial troops had entered Tānda, and Khāldī Khān and Jabbar Bardī and Mīrza Beg Qāqshāl had separated from 'Āsi Kabuli, and had come to Ā'azam Khān. 'Āsi fled, and took shelter with 'Isa [2] a zamindar; and every part of the country of Bengal, which had been seized by the rebels, again came in to the possession of the servants of the daily increasing grandeur.

At this time it occurred to the noble mind, that as I'tmād Khān had for years held the government of Gujrat he would be likely to know the way of ameliorating the condition of that country better than others. If Gujrat should be conferred on him, [3] it might be the

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[1] This agrees generally with the Persian text of Badāonī II, page 322. The English translation II, page 332, appears to me to be inaccurate. The Persian text is درین سال، اعظم خان و سایر امرای کبار، نامزد تانڈہ، متصرف شدند. The English translation is "in this year Ā'azam Khān and other great *amīrs* were appointed and went and took possession of Tānda." The meaning really is that Ā'azam Khan and the other great *amīrs*, who had been appointed, took possession of Tānda this year. It will appear from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 589–592, that the operations took a considerable time from the date of the appointment of Ā'azam Khān to the capture of Tānda and the coming in of the rebels.

[2] In Orissa.

[3] The meaning of the sentence is not quite clear. The translation in Elliot V, page 428, is "it might be the means of exciting the emulation of rulers in other countries." Badāonī is more precise; he says that Gujrat was conferred on I'tamād Khān, بتقریب تالیف قلوب حکام دکن, or as Mr. Lowe has translated it, "to gratify the feeling of the rulers of the Dakhin." The Akbarnāma does not say, that Akbar had any special object in making the appointment. It says (Beveridge's translation III, 596,) that I'tamād Khān had "from wickedness and perversity indulged in evil thoughts, when he was first sent to govern Gujrat, and had to be sent to the school of the prison. He afterwards again asked for the appointment, and Mīr Abu Turāb, for his own advantage, egged him on. The emperor thought, that there was now some appearance of goodness in him, and granted him the appointment, but "right-thinking and far-seeing persons," among whom Abul Fazl undoubtedly included himself, "had very little hope of his doing well." It appears to me, and the appoint-

cause of the increased hope of the rulers of the country which were not (yet) in the imperial possession. For this reason the government of Gujrat was conferred on him.

Mīr Abu Turāb was nominated as *amīn* (judge) and Khwāja Abul Qāsim, brother of Mulla 'Abd-ul-Qādir Akhund, got the post of diwān (revenue officer), and the meanest of his slaves, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the author of this history was appointed to be Bakhshi, (pay master), and Muhammad Husain Shaikh, and Mīr Abul Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khān, and Mīr Habīb-ul-lah Abu-l-Is'hāq and Mīr Sāleh and Hāshim Da'i, and Buniyād Beg, and Saiyyad Jalāl Bukhārī, and Beg Muhammad Tuqbāi, and Mīr Habīb-ul-lah, and Mīr Sharf-ud-dīn, nephews of Mīr Abul Turāb were ordered to be made *jāgīrdārs* of Gujrat.

At this time, the asylum of Saiyyadship, Amīr Fath-ul-lah, a most learned man of the age and the leader of the wise men of the time, who was one of the Saiyyads of Shiraz, and was distinguished by the possession of various ratiocinative and traditional learning, and who had gone from the country of Shiraz to the Dakin, and been in charge of the affairs of 'Ādil Khān, was honoured, on Sunday the 22nd of Rabī'-us-sānī, by being allowed to render homage in the capital city of Fathpur. In accordance with orders, the Khān Khānān and Hakīm Abul Fath went forward to meet him, and brought him into the presence. Amīr Fath-ul-lah was honoured with the exalted appointment of the Sadr (chief judge).

When the news of the confusion and dispersion of the rebels of Bengal was reported to His Majesty, and it became known that 'Āsi Kabuli had retired to the[1] country held by 'Isa, and A'azam Khān had expressed a desire to come to the threshold (dar-i-khāna), [2]Shahbāz Khān was appointed, that he might proceed to Bengal, and

ment of a large number of men to be *jāgīrdārs* seems to lend some support to the view, that Akbar's object was to bring parts of Gujrat which were still uncultivated under cultivation; though the words would scarcely bear this interpretation.

[1] *i.e.*, Orissa.

[2] Shahbāz Khān had been imprisoned for some insolence, but he was released through the intervention and patronage of Abul Fazl, and was sent off to Bengal, with instructions to make over the whole of that country to *Jāgīrdārs*, see Badāonī Persian text II, p. 323.

make over the whole of that sarkār as jāigīr to the soldiers; and endeavour to extirpate 'Āsi Kabuli. Permission was granted to him on the 17th of the month of Jamādī-us-sānī (to proceed to Bengal).

Among the events of this auspicious year one was this, that an order was passed that the book (called) the Mahābhārat, which is a great collection of stories of the Brahmans, be translated into Persian, and in accordance with the order, it was translated and called the *Razm-nāma* (the Book of War).

At this time, news came that the Khān Ā'azam had sent Shaikh Farīd to Qatlu Khān Afghān, in order to negotiate about a peace. When Shaikh Farīd went to the house of Qatlu Khān and met him, the latter offered to serve him, (or perhaps the emperor); but Bahadur[1] Kurfarah, who was one of the *zamīndārs* of Bengal, and one of the leaders of Qatlu's army met Shaikh Farīd like a friend on a footing of equality. The[2] Shaikh behaved towards him like a *zamīndār* (*i.e.*, feudal lord) and a servant (of the emperor). Bahadur owing to his enmity blocked Shaikh Farīd's way, when he was returning, and had an engagement with him, and a number of the men accompanying the latter were slain. [3]Shaikh Farīd however, received no injury, and escaped.

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[1] The second name is كوريه, *Koria* or كوردة *Korda* in the MSS.; and كودة Kūda in the lith. ed. It is printed as Gauriya in Elliot V. Badāonī Persian Text II, p. 320 has كورفرة, with a variant كوردة in a foot-note, and the English translation II, page 333 has Kur Farrah. The man is called Bahādur Kuruh in the Akbarnāma. Abul Fazl's account of the incident differs in various particulars from those given by Nizām-ud-din and Badāonī. In a note in Vol. III, page 601 of the translation, in which however, he is called Bahadur Kur Farah. Mr. Beveridge is rather puzzled about the attitude of Qatlu towards Shaikh Farīd, namely, that of being his servant or at least the servant of Akbar; but according to Badāonī, Qatlu's humility towards Shaikh Farīd was بجهت اعتماد پيرزادگي, *i.e.*, on account of his belief in the latter's being a *pīrzāda* (or the descendant of a holy man or a religious teacher).

[2] The sentence شيخ بنظر زمين داري و نوكري باو پيش آمد, has, it appears to me, been quite incorrectly translated in Elliot V, p. 429, in the word "(the Shaikh), who then travelled on under the eyes of the *zamīndārs* and servants of Qatlu". It should be mentioned however, that the word *zamīndārī*, in the sentence quoted is *zamīndārān* in the lith. ed.; and might have been so written in the MSS. from which the translation in Elliot V, was made.

[3] Badāonī says that Shaikh Farīd's quarrel with Bahādur Kur Farah was

THE COMING OF BURHÂN-UL-MULK DAKINÎ.

Burhân-ul-mulk was the brother of Murtaza Nizâm-ul-mulk, the ruler of the country of the Dakin. At this time, he [1] fled from his brother, and came to Qutb-ud-dîn Khân. From the latter's place, in accordance with orders, (he came), and in the month of Rajab in the 29th year, he attained to the good fortune of kissing the ground (in front of) the Bâdshâh, the protector of the world. Before this, another man, giving himself the name of Burhân-ul-mulk, had come to render homage to the emperor. The latter had granted a *Jâgîr* to him in Audh. When the right Burhân-ul-mulk arrived, and the falsehood of the other became known, he fled and concealed himself. After a week, he was recognised among some *jogîś*, and was brought up, and in accordance with orders, cast into prison.

In short, I'tamâd Khân had an order that he should take away the country of Sirohi from [2] Sarnâl Deora, and make it over to Jakmal (Jagmal) the brother of the Rânâ, who was one of the well-wishers of the emperor, and a sum of one thousand (gold) mohars had been sent with the author of this history, Nizâm-ud-dîn, towards his expenses. When I'tamâd Khân arrived at Bijâpur, this *faqîr* and Mîr Muhammad Ma'sûm Bakari and Qambar Beg Ishak Âqâ and Zain-ud-dîn Kambu and Pahalwan 'Ali Sîstânî, who had been appointed to be the Kotwâl of Ahmadpur joined him; and Muhammad

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caused principally on account of the ill-temper of Shâhu, son of Shaikh Râjû Bukhârî of Sarhind, and in the fight which ensued Shâhu and a number of men were killed. Abul Fazl gives a rather romantic account of Shaikh Farîd's hair-breadth escapes.

[1] Abul Fazl gives some account of the quarrel between the two brothers, Beveridge's translation III, page 603. Qutb-ud-dîn Khân was governor of Malwa.

[2] The name is written as سرتاب دیودہ, Sartâb Deoda and as سرنال دیودہ Sarnâl Deoda in the MSS., and as سرتان دیورہ Sartan Deorah in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Sarmân Deori. Badâonî Persian text II, page 327, has سرنال and the English translation, II, page 337, has Sarnâl. In the Akbarnâma Beveridge's translation III, 614, he is called Sultan Deorah. As to the men who were left to help Jakmal the Akbarnâma mentions "Rai Singh and Beca, Deora." The comma between Beca and Deora is evidently a misprint.

Husain Shaikh [1] and most other Jāgīrdārs of Gujrat,[2] (who) had remained behind. On arrival at Jālor we advanced to Sirohi and having removed Sarnāl Deora, and leaving Jakmal there with [3]Ghārib Khān and Mahmūd Khān Jālorī and Bija Deora and Rai Singh son of Chandra Sen, son of Mal Deo, we started for Ahmadābād.

When we arrived near Ahmadābād, [4]Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān came out of the city, and took up his quarters at 'Usmānpūr which was one of the *muhallas* (apparently an outlying part of the city). I'tamād Khān entered the city on the 12th of the month of Sha'bān. After two days, it became known that 'Ābid Badakhshi, Mirak Balāq, dafadar, and Mughal Beg and Mīram Beg, and a large body of the servants of Shahāb Khān had separated from him, and

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[1] One MS. inserts after the name of Muhammad Husain Shaikh, و ابوالمظفر و ابو القاسم دیوان,- "and Abul Muzaffar and Abul Qāsim Diwān."

[2] I have thought it necessary to insert a که after جاگیر داران گجرات, but even after that the meaning is not quite clear unless it is, that the *jāgīrdārs*, who had remained behind, also joined 'Itamād Khān. The translation in Elliot V, is that the *jāgīrdārs* remained behind; but in this case the verb should have been ماندند, and not بودند ماندهٔ.

[3] The name is writen Gharīb Khān in the MSS., and as Ghāznīn Khān in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Aghzan Khān. Badāonī does not give the name of any person who was left at Sirohi with Jakmal; and I cannot find any reference to the events which happened at Sirohi in the Akbarnāma.

[4] The proceedings of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and his servants are not very intelligible. The account given in the Tabaqāt is more or less matter of fact, and the writer does not give the motives of the different persons; but the variations and mistakes in the texts make it somewhat difficult even to get at his meaning. According to the Akbarnāma, Muzaffar, or as Mr. Beveridge prefers to call him Mozaffar Gujrati, had been a fugitive, but at this time, by the help of the servants of Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad K. he emerged from "the corner from where he had hid himself and became a trouble." "Shahābu-d-dīn's servants had indulged in evil thoughts," and when I'tamād Khān took up his position as governor "they became actively disloyal and went off to Dulqa." According to Badāonī, Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān که حاکم مستقل انجا و دافع افات و فتن بود, *i.e.*, "who had been the permanent governor, and who had saved it from all calamities and disturbances" came out of the town, with the intention of proceeding to the court, so that although he might be dissatisfied, he was still loyal; but his chief servants were evidently displeased at his supercession, and went with other strife-mongers to summon Muzaffar.

had gone away towards Kāthiwāra to summon Muzaffar Gujrātī, who passed his days into nights in that corner, (to protect himself) from the assaults of the imperial forces; and had intentions of creating disturbances and rebellion.

[1] I'tamād Khān thought it advisable, that this *faqīr* should go to Shahāb-ūd-din Ahmad Khān, and have a consultation with him about this matter. When the *faqīr* went to Shahāb-ūd-din Ahmad Khān, he said in reply, that these men had a design on his life, and they had for a long time been planning it, and now that the veil had fallen down from before their plots, they would not be assuaged by his words; and no help in the matter could be obtained from him. When this *faqīr* explained the state of things to I'tamād Khān, the latter thought it advisable, that that body should be conciliated. He sent one or two persons to re-assure them. They were not appeased and marched away. Shahāb-ūd-dīn Ahmad Khān also started, and went as far as the town of Kari, which was twenty *karohs* from Ahmadābād. Communications were made several times to Shahāb-ūd-dīn Ahmad Khān, and endeavours were made to persuade him to remain there for a few days. He did not wait [2]but started.

On the 27th of Sha'ban, news came that the rebels had come to [3]Dulqa, bringing Muzaffar and a number of Kāthīs (i.e., natives of Kāthīwāra). On the same day, Qambar Ishak Āqā came from Shahāb Khān, and brought the news that the latter had decided that he would remain in the town of Kari,[4] and I'tamād Khān and Mīr Abu

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[1] I think Badāonī says something very like this, though his language is not quite clear. He says Persian text II, 327 اعتماد خان هر چند شهاب الدين احمد خان را باعث برتسلي انجماعت شد قبول نكرد. I think that this means that I'tamād Khān considered Shahāb-ūd-dīn Ahmad Khān to be the means of re-assuring that body, but he (Shahāb-ūd-dīn Ahmad Khān) did not agree. What follows, giving Shahāb-ūd-dīn's reply, supports this view. Mr. Lowe has, however, translated the passage in II, page 267, in the words, "Itimād Khān * * would not accept his (Shahāb-ūd-dīn's) assistance."

[2] This is explicit, but is inconsistent with what follows.

[3] Twelve *karohs* from Ahmadābād.

[4] This passage has been translated, incorrectly, I think, in Elliot V, page 431, in the words, "'Itimād Khān, Mir Abu Torab and I therefore went forth to see Shahāb-ūd-dīn to mollify him, and bring him back with us." It appears to me that this was part of the message from Kari, as I have translated it.

Turāb, and this *faqīr* should go to him, and after giving him assurances, should bring him back. I'tamād Khān mounted towards the close of the day and started towards Kari. Although it was pointed out to him, that the enemy had come within twelve *karohs*, and it was not right that the governor of the city should go away to a place twenty *karohs* off, it was of no avail. [1] He left his own son with Amīr Muhammad Ma'sūm Bakari and Zain-ud-dīn Kambu, and Qambar Ishak Āqā and Mujāhid Gujrātī, and Pahalwān 'Ali and Khwājagi Muhammad Sāleh, and the son of this *faqir* to guard the city. I'tamād Khān and the *faqīr*, on arrival at Kari, had some conversation with Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān; and mollified him in the following way, that the *parganas* which had formerly been his *jāgīr* should be left with him; and two *lakhs* of rupees should be paid to him as a subsidy. In short, he was reconciled in every way that he had intended. Towards the end of the day, he and I'tamād Khān turned back from the town of Kari, and started for Ahmadābād.

[2] It so happened that on the very day on which I'tamād Khān went to Kari, Muzaffar Gujrātī came and entered the city of Ahmadābād. The inhabitants surrendered the fort to him; and he immediately entered it, at a place where a part of the wall of the fort was broken. In the night, when Shahāb Khān and I'tamād Khān had arrived within ten *karohs* of Ahmadābād, Mīr Ma'sūm Bakarī and Zain-ud-dīn Kambu came from the city and brought this news to them.

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[1] There are some variations in the reading. One MS. has پسر خود را شیر خان & پسر فقیر محمد شریف, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. do not have the names شیر خان and شریف; and they have the word را twice, once after پسر خود, and again after پسر فقیر. One of these appears to be redundant, and I have omitted the second.

[2] The account of these events, as given in the text, agrees generally with that given by Badāonī and in the Akbarnāma. Badāonī is very outspoken about the weakness and inbecility of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, and I'tamād Khān. He describes them as two امرای کهنه فعله "*Amirs* imbecile in their actions," and as "two poor old men who stood very much in need of a tutor". The Akbarnāma also says that they were utterly incapable, and would not take the right course even when it was pointed out to them. According to the Mirāti-Sikandari, Muzaffar entered Ahmadābād on Wednesday, 22nd Sha'bān 991. 5th September, 1583. On the 7th Zi-l-Qada, 22nd November, he left it for Baroda.

Shahāb Khān and I'tamād Khān halted on the road, and having conferred together, decided that as up to that time more than a day had not passed, and the enemy had not yet settled themselves firmly, they should enter the city by the same road. They accordingly started again for the city. In the morning they halted at 'Usmānpūr, which is close to the city and on the bank of the river (Sābarmatī).

Muzaffar Gujrātī came out of the city, and arrayed his troops on the sandy bank of the river. Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān lost the use of his hands and feet owing to his having no faith in his servants, and had no opportunity of arraying his troops; and some of his soldiers who had remained with him, made a dying struggle and fled. Although this *faqīr* with a few men struck out his hands and feet, he did not succeed in doing anything: and the troops of this *faqīr's* son, whom I'tamād Khān had left in the city, in order to guard the fort, were plundered and lost everything they had. Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and I'tamād Khān fled to the town of Nahrwāla, which is known as Pattan, and is situated at a distance of forty-five *karohs* from Ahmadābād. The writer of this history wrote an account of all that had happened and sent it to the foot of the [1] throne of Solomon-like grandeur.

The servants of His Majesty sent Mīrza Khān, son of Bairām Khān, with a well equipped army, and the *jāgīrdārs* of the *Sūba* of Ajmir to Gujrat. They also sent Qulīj Khān with the army of Malwa from that *Sūba*. Three days after the arrival of Shahāb Khān at Pattan, Muhammad Husain Shaikh and Khwāja Abul Qāsim Diwān, and Abul Muzaffar, and Muhibb-ul-lah and Mir Sharf-ud-dīn, and Beg Muhammad Toqbāi, and other *jāgīrdārs* of Gujrat arrived at Pattan. The fort of Pattan was repaired, and they settled there. Muzaffar Gujrātī [2] granted titles and jāgīrs to the rebels and the disturbers of peace, and tried to gather forces and strength. Shir [3] Khān Fūlādī

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[1] One MS. has بہ پایہ سریر سلطنت سلیمانی, to the foot of the throne of the Solomon-like empire; another has بہ پایہ سریر سلیمانی, to the foot of the Solomon-like throne; while the lith. ed. has بہ پایہ سریر اعلی, to the foot of the sublime throne.

[2] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 612, gives the high sounding titles of Khān Khānān, Khān Jahān, Khān Zamān, etc., which he granted.

[3] Badāonī says, Persian text II, 329, Muzaffar sent for Shīr Khān Fūlādī.

who had, for years been Governor of Pattan, and had now for some years passed his time in the district of Surat, came to Muzaffar Gujrātī. The latter sent him with four thousand horsemen towards Pattan. Shīr Khān on arrival at Kari sent his men to Jutana, [1] which is twenty *karohs* from Ahmadābād. This *faqīr* attacked his men and defeated them; and left Mīr Muhibb-ul-lah and Mīr Sharf-ud-dīn and Beg Muhammad Toqbāi and a body of troops at that place. He also sent Zain-ud-dīn Kambu to Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, who was the governor of Bahroj and Baroda, that he might bring him from that side to attack Ahmadābād, so that the enemy might be attacked from both sides with great spirit and enthusiasm, and routed. Zain-ud-dīn went to Qutb-ud-dīn and brought him to Baroda.

When the news of the arrival of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān at Baroda reached Muzaffar Gujrātī, the latter came with a large army to attack him. [2] Qutb-ud dīn Khān fought with him in an unsoldier-like manner, and was defeated, and took shelter in the fort of Baroda; and most of his retainers and the chief men of his army went over to Muzaffar Gujrātī. At this time, Shīr Khān Fūlādī advanced and took up his station at [3] Masāna, which is fifteen *karohs* from Pattan. [4] There was great vacillation among the men who were in the fort of Pattan; and it was almost decided, that they should abandon Pattan, and retire to Jalor. This *faqīr*, *nolens volens*, decided on a battle and advanced to meet Shīr Khān. Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and

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and sent him to Pattan; but the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 612, only says that Shīr Khān arrived.

[1] The name of the place is written as جوتانه and جومانه in the MSS. These can be read as anything. It is جهوتانه Jhūtāna in the lith. ed. and Jútána in Elliot V.

[2] For a full account of what happened see note I, page 627 of Beveridge's translation Vol. III, in which references are made to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, the Mirāt-i-Ahmadī, and the Tabaqāt, as well as to Badāonī.

[3] The name of the place is مسانه, Masāna in both MSS.. The lith. ed. has جهانه, Jhāna. Elliot V, has Masāna. Badāonī, Persian text II, 229, has میانه, and English translation, II, 340, has Miyānah. The Akbarnāma has Maisāna.

[4] That Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad acted with great courage, and exerted himself manfully, to overcome the hesitation and cowardice of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and I'tamād Khān is clear from what Badāonī writes, see Persian text II, 229-30, and English translation II, 340.

I'tamād Khān remained in the city of Pattan; and the other *amīrs* accompanied the *faqīr*.

When we arrived at Masāna, Shīr Khān Fūlādī put his troops in battle array, and met us with five thousand horsemen. With the loyalists there were not more than two thousand. There was a severe battle, and Shīr Khān was routed and went to Ahmadābād. A large number of the enemy were slain, and much booty fell to the lot of the loyalists. The *faqīr* insisted, that they should all march to Ahmadābād, but the *amīrs* who were with him did not agree. When we arrived in the town of Kari, we were compelled to wait for twelve days, for the arrival of the troops, who after the victory, had gone away, with the great booty which they had seized, to Pattan, at the instance of their *sardārs*. [1] During this time messengers were sent to Pattan, several times, to collect troops. While this was going on, news came that Muzaffar Gujrātī had bombarded the fort at Baroda. Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, having obtained a safe conduct, first sent Zain-ud-dīn Kambu. Muzaffar breaking his engagement had him put to death.

Although the treachery and faithlessness of Muzaffar were patent to Qutb-ud-dīn, yet as death had made his clear-seeing eyes blind, he put his faith in his engagements and promises, and

[1] What follows agrees in the main with the narrative of Badāonī. The latter, however, gives some particulars which have been omitted by Nizām-ud-dīn. For instance he says, that the walls of the fort of Baroda were old, that Zain-ud-dīn Kambu was sent to obtain a safe conduct from Muzaffar, but he was at once put to death, but Khwājgi Muhammad Sāleh, who had accompanied him, had his life spared, but was compelled to go on a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, and that Muzaffar at first received Qutb-ud-dīn with great respect and gave him a seat beside himself, and did not appear as if he was going to put him to death, but at last at the instigation of the *zamīndār* of Rājpipla and other soldiers, had him put to death. The account in the Akbarnāma is different in some particulars. According to, it Qutb-ud-dīn "from worship of wealth and love of life had not the courage to sacrifice himself". * * "He sent Zain-ud-dīn and Saiyyad Jalāl to express his wishes, and asked to be allowed to proceed to the Hijāz, with his accumulations." Muzaffar had Zain-ud-dīn trodden under the feet of an elephant. To Saiyyad Jalāl, life was granted at the intercession of relatives. This apparently did not open Qutb-ud-dīn's eyes, and he went himself. Muzaffar made "some enquiries after his health, and then made him over to the executioners".

went to him; and at the instigation of [1]Tarwāri, the *zamīndār* of Rājpipla, he was put to death.

Couplet;

As Death on his life did lay his hand,
Fate closed his eyes, that had seen so clear.

On hearing this news, the *faqīr* and the renowned warriors, who were in the town of Kari, returned to Pattan. Muzaffar marched from Baroda to Bahroj; and took that fort from the wife and dependants of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān by capitulation; and fourteen *lakhs* of rupees belonging to the *bādshāhī* treasury, which had been in the fort of Kambāyet, and which Khwāja 'Imād-ud-dīn Husain had brought to Bahroj fell into Muzaffar's hand, together with the whole of the wealth and property of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān which exceeded ten *krors*; and from all sides and directions soldiers and Rajputs turned to him, so that about thirty thousand horsemen collected round him.

[2]THE SENDING OF MIRZA KHĀN SON OF BAIRĀM KHĀN FOR THE WAR WITH MUZAFFAR GUJRĀTĪ.

[3]When this news was reported to the sacred hearing (of His Majesty), he ordered Mīrza Khān, son of Bairām Khān, with the

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[1] The name is so written in the MSS., as well as in the lith. ed. and in Elliot V, but Badāonī has نواري in the Persian text; and Nawārī in the English translation. As will be seen from the preceding note there was no reason for the mention of his name in the Akbarnāma.

[2] The heading is not given in the MSS., but I have inserted it from the lith. ed. after slightly transposing it.

[3] There is a difference in the readings. Both MSS. have the reading in the text but the lith. ed. has چون خبر حادثه گجرات بعرض بندگان حضرت رسید Further on one of the MSS. and the lith. ed. have, with some variations in the names, the reading I have adopted; while the other MSS. omits the names of the *jāgīrdārs*, and has میرزا خان ولد بیرام خان و جاگیرداران صوبه اجمیر را براه جالور و قلیچ خان و نورنگ خان را بلشکر مالوه از راه ندربار و سلطان پور تعین فرموده ، لشکر مالوه چون کشته شدن قطب الدین خان شنیدند در ساطنانپور توقف کردند. then as in the text from القصه مولف تاریخ. It appears from Elliot V, page 434, that the translator also used a MS. which had the reading which I have adopted; but he has omitted most of the names of the *jāgīrdārs*. Most

jāgīrdārs of *sūba* Ajmir, such as Pāinda Muhammad Khān Maghūl and Saiyyad Qāsim and Hāshim, sons of Saiyyad Mahmūd Khān and other Saiyyads of Bārha, and Rāi Durga and Rāi Lonkaran, and Shīroda and Sartān Rāthor and Chandra Sen and the Mota Rāja, and Khwāja Muhammad Rafī' Badakhshi, and Rām Chand, and Ūday Singh, sons of Rupsī and Sangu Rajput and Tulsidās and Rāi Singh and Sarmadi Turkman and Mukammal Beg and other men a list of whom would be too long, to go to Pattan by way of Jalor; and he sent Qulīj Khān, who was the *jāgīrdār* of Surat, with Naurang Khān, son of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Sharīf Khān, the brother of the latter, and Tulak Khān with all the *jāgīrdārs* of Malwa from that direction. This body when they heard of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān's being put to death, during the time that Muzaffar Gujrātī was at Bahroj, halted at Sultānpūr, and did not put a step forward from (excessive) caution.

In short, the writer of this history sent letters every day to Mīrza Khān from Pattan, and laid great stress (on the advisability) of hastening them forward in their advance. When they arrived at Sirohi, he went forward to meet them, and brought them with great speed. [1] They halted one day at Pattan, and went forward. When the news of the arrival of Mīrza Khān reached Muzaffar, he returned to Ahmadabād from Baroj, making the latter fort over to [2] Nasīr, who

of the names of the *jāgīrdārs* are also to be found in the list of the *amīrs* given in Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, III, page 632. There are differences; Pāinda Muhammad Khān Maghul is called Payianda K. Moghal, Shiroda, Shiroya K. Muhammad Husain, and Sartān Rāthor, Sultān Rāthor. The name Chandra Sen which I took from the MSS. in the place of Khān Darwish which is in the lith. ed. is not given in the Akbarnāma; but there is Jān Darwesh Khān which may be identical with Khān Darwesh. Khwāja Muhammad Rafī' Badakhshi is called Khwāja Raf'i. Tulsi Dās is called Tulsi Das Jadun, and Sarmadi Turkmān and Mukammal Beg are made into one man, Mukammal Beg Sarmadi. There are other names in the Akbarnāma which are not to be found in the text.

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 631, the halt at Pattan took place about the 31st December 1583.

[2] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all say that he was Muzaffar's برادر زن, or wife's brother, and Badāonī calls him his خسر پسر, father-in-law's son, which is of course the same thing; but he is called Muzaffar's brother's son in page 434

was his wife's brother; and [1]Charkas Rūmī, who had been one of the *bādshāhī* servants, but who had fled to Muzaffar, and made it stronger. Mīrza Khān and the victorious troops halted at [2]Sarkhej which is three *karohs* from the city of Ahmadābād. Muzaffar pitched his tents and made a camp for his army in the neighbourhood of the tomb of [3]Shāh Bhikan, may God sanctify his soul! opposite to the victorious army, and at a distance of two *karohs* from it. The armies faced each other for two days, and during those two days brave warriors from both sides fought with each other, and the advantage was on the side of the officers of daily increasing grandeur. But on [4]Friday the 13th of the sacred month of Muharram in 992 A.H.

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of Elliot V. In the Akbarnāma, he is called Nasīrā in page 641 and Nasīra in page 657, of Vol. III of Beveridge's translation, but his relationship with Muzaffar is not mentioned in either place; but it is said in a note in page 641, that the relationship mentioned in Elliot V, is probably wrong as Muzaffar had no brother.

[1] The name is جرکس in Badāonī, Persian text; and Mr. Lowe has Jarkas and says in a note probably a Greek name (George). In the Akbarnāma he is called Carkas K. in page 628, and Carkis in page 657 of Beveridge's translation Vol. III, and the name is given as Carkas (Circasian) K. in the Index. He deserted from Qutb-ud-dīn Khān's army, when Muzaffar attacked it with a large force near Baroda, on the 2nd November, 1583.

[2] The name of the place is written as سرکیج Sarkaj in one MS. and as سرکنج Sarkanj, in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. The place is however, also called Sarkaj or Sarkej. It is called Sarkes in page 633, Vol. III of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma; and according to a note in that page, that is also apparently the name of the place in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī. The correct name is Sarkhej.

[3] Mr. Lowe puts a ? after the name of Shah B'hekan (as he spells it), but according to a note in page 633 of Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, Shāh Bhikan, with his hybrid Hindustani name, was the son of Shāh 'Ālam, and grandson of Qutb Ā'lam, both with good Arabic names.

[4] The day and date are correctly given in the MSS.; but the lith. ed. has 991 as the year, and Elliot V, page 434, has erroneously got 16th Muharram 991. The mistake has been noted in the note in the translation of the Akbarnāma mentioned in the preceding note. Badāonī gives the date in the Persian text as سیزدهم شهر محرم الحرام سنه احدی و تسعین و تسعمایه. So that the year according to him is 991, but the date is the 13th Muharram, but Mr. Lowe in his translation makes the date the 16th, like the translator in the extract in Elliot V, both apparently thinking that سیزدهم, and not شانزدهم meant 16th.

Muzaffar Gujrātī arrayed his troops and gave battle. [1] Mīrza Khān also arrayed his troops in front of the enemy; and directed the writer of this history and Mīrza Abul Muzaffar and Mir Muhammad Ma'sūm Bakari and Mīr Habīb-ul-lah and Beg Muhammad Tuqbāi, that we should come from behind the enemy, keeping the city of Sarkhej on our right hand. The two armies now joined in battle. Saiyyad Hāshim Bārha and Khizr Aqa who was the *vakīl* of Mīrza Khān attained to martyrdom; and many on the two sides were wounded.

Verse:

Under the blows of the heavy maces, the warriors' heads,
Were like the anvils under the hammers of the smith,
Under the hoofs of the horses, in that broad battle field,
The earth was rent into six, and the sky sundered to eight.

Muzaffar was still opposing Mīrza Khān, when the author of this history, in concert with his companions arrived from the rear, and swept the enemy away, Rāi Durga also coming from the left wing, in accordance with orders, came following us, and Muzaffar took the road of flight; and a large number of men were slain. [2] Mīrza Khān submitted a report to the threshold, containing the facts of the victory. The report reached His Majesty, when he was returning to the capital from Ilahābās (Allahabad). The services of Mīrza Khān received His Majesty's praise and he was honoured with the title of Khān Khānān; and every one of the servants of the threshold was honoured with an increase in his stipend. On the following morning Mirza Khan entered the city and made a proclamation of safety and protection; and each one took up his quarters there.

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[1] The Akbarnāma gives a detailed account of the battle, which agrees in many particulars with that in the text, but there is no mention of the attack by Nizām-ud-dīn and his companions from the rear of the enemy. The victory, according to Abul Fazl, appears to have been chiefly due to the attack of the rank-breaking elephants. He gives the numbers of the imperial army as ten thousand troopers, while those of the enemy as about forty thousand troopers and one hundred thousand infantry.

Badāonī's account is very short. "The next day, a fierce battle took place, and Muzaffar was defeated, and retired to M'amurābād."

[2] In one of the MSS. the whole of the passage from, here to an increase in his stipend is omitted.

Muzaffar fled towards Ma'mūrābād, and the bank of the Mahindri river, and from that place, he betook himself to Kambāyat. The men who had fled again collected round him, and about [1] ten thousand horsemen gathered together. [2] Three days after the victory Qulīj Khān and the *amīrs* of Malwa arrived at Ahmadābād. When Mīrza Khān and all the amirs marched towards Kambayat, [3] and arrived within ten *karohs* of it, Muzaffar left it for Baroda. When he arrived at a place called [4] Bāsad, which is near Patlād, and the river Mahindri, Mīrza Khān sent Qulīj Khān, Naurang Khān and Sharīf Khān forward, that they might come up with the enemy, and attack them. They however, delayed to advance on account of the broken condition and the narrowness of the road, but at last started. Muzaffar, in the mean time, left the place where he was, and went towards [5] Rāj-

[1] Both the MSS. have ten thousand, but the lith. ed. and Badāonī have two thousand.

[2] Mr. Beveridge following the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī says (see note 3, page 638 of Vol. III, of his translation of the Akbarnāma), that the Malwa army did not come to Ahmadābād at all; and so Abul Fazl who says it came to Ahmadābād one day after the victory, and Nizām-ud-dīn, who says it arrived three days after the victory are both wrong. Mr. Beveridge does not mention Badāonī, but the latter agrees with Nizām-ud-dīn. Mr. Beveridge's principal argument is that the author of the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī was with the Malwa army, but he forgets that Nizām-ud-dīn was with Mīrza Khān's army at Ahmadābād, and Mīrza Khān could not have sent Qulīj Khān, etc., forward, if they had not joined his army at Ahmadābād. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, the Malwa army reached Baroda on the morning after the victory.

[3] One MS. inserts here و مظفر در کوہ در آمد *i.e.*, "and Muzaffar retired into the hills". If this is accepted, the translation of the text would be "Muzaffar retired into the hills" instead of "Muzaffar left it for Baroda".

[4] Mr. Beveridge in note 1, page 460 of Vol. III, of his translation of the Akbarnāma argues that "Vaso is the real name of the place, see I.G., XXIV, 300. It is the Basoo of Tiefen thaler, who describes it as twenty miles from Patlad." On the other hand, the translator in Elliot V, says, that the river Mahindri is another name for the Mahi or Mhye, for there is no other river near Patlad, and the maps give a Wassad on its northern bank. I think Wassad is more likely than Basso which is not near Patlad, but twenty miles from it.

[5] "Rājpipla is to the south of the Narbadda, almost in a line with Broach. Nadot is, no doubt, Nandod between the Narbada and Rājpipla." Note quoted from page 435 of Elliot V. Nadot or Nandod according to the I.G. is the capital of Rājpipla.

pipla and Nādot. Mīrza Khān and the whole of the army delayed at Baroda for 16 days. When the news arrived that a servant of Muzaffar of the name of Saiyyad Daulat had come to Kambāyat. and had driven out the men on the side of the well-wishers of the emperor, who were there [1] Naurang Khān was sent to put down the disturbance created by him. Naurang Khān drove him out, and came back, but he returned after Naurang Khān had left the place, and again took possession of Kambāyat. [2] Khojam Bardi, a servant of Mīrza Khān then went from Patlād to Saiyyad Daulat, and fought with him and defeated him.

Mīrza Khān and the whole army then went to Nādot. Muzaffar retired into the hills, and [3] Atāliq Bahādur fled from the imperial army, and went over to him; and the rebels were again in motion. Mīrza Khān imprisoned Sān Bahādur Uzbek, about whom a certain suspicion had arisen; and determining on a battle, advanced forward placing Sharīf Khān and Naurang Khān at the head of the right wing, and Qulīj Khān and Daulat Taulak Khān at that of the left wing, and Pāinda Muhammad Khān and some other amirs in the vanguard. He sent this *faqīr* in advance, so that, after reconnoitring the position of the hostile forces, he might arrange the engagement in the way that might appear to be fittest. When the *faqīr* arrived at the foot of the hill, he fought with the hostile infantry, and drove them to the higher hill, where their army was arranged in a long line; and there was such a sharp fight, and such a shower of arrows and musket shots, that eyes were dazzled, and blinded and many horses and men were wounded. The *faqīr* dismounted his best men, and made them run

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[1] One MS. and the lith. ed. say Naurang Khān, but another MS. has Paulaki Rai (evidently a mistake) and Tulak Khān. The translation in Elliot V, also has Naurang Khān, but says in a foot-note, "One MS. has Tolak Khan". The Akbarnāma has Tulak Khān. Badāonī says Mīrza Khān sent an army, but does not give the name of the commander.

[2] The name is written as خوجم بردی in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and as Khojam Burdi in the translation in Elliot V.

[3] There is some difference in the sequence of the events in the two MSS. One MS. and the lith. ed. and the translation in Elliot V, place the sentence from قرار جنگ داده to روان شدند just after the sentence about the imprisonment of Sān Bahādur Uzbek; while the other MS. has that sentence before the desertion of 'Atālīq Bahādur and the imprisonment of Sān Bahādur.

up the hills; and at the same time sent men to summon Qulīj Khān. At this time, Khwāja Muhammad Rafī', who was one of the imperial servants, and well known for his bravery came up. The *faqīr* sent him also to summon Qulīj Khān. The latter then came up from the left, and there was an engagement between his men and the enemy, and the latter making a vigorous effort turned Qulīj Khān back, and drove him about a bow-shot. At this time, the men whom the *faqīr* had dismounted, finding that the enemy had, from different sides run in pursuit of Qulīj Khān, and had left the road in front open, climbed up the hill. When the enemy returned and attacked, many people were killed. Qulīj Khān, maintained his position in the low ground where he was comparatively in shelter. [1] The *faqīr* fired some shots at the place, where Muzaffar himself was stationed, from the *Hathnāls* (elephant guns), which he had asked for from Mīrza Khān, and which he had brought with him on some elephants. At this time Naurang Khān's and Sharīf Khān's men also reached the top of a hill, which was on the left of the enemy, and commanded it. By chance, at this time a cannon ball struck the centre of Muzaffar's army, and many of his soldiers were killed. He could not retain his position any longer,

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[1] One MS. has instead of و فقیر متنالها که از میرزا خان طلبیده بود، و بر بالای فیل همراه داشت، و بجای که مظفر خود استاده بود چند توپ انداخت; which is in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed., و فقیر از زنبورکها که همراه داشت چند توپ انداخت The translation in Elliot V, agrees with the first mentioned reading, but the translation there, is "I sent to Mīrza Khān for the elephant guns (Hathnāl). They were brought up on the elephants", etc., which is not quite correct. There are some other mistakes, one of which is pointed out in note 1, page 642, Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. These actions are not described in such detail by Badāonī, but he gives full credit to Nizām-ud-dīn, for his gallantry and indefatigable exertions, which he says were تردهای مردانه خارج از اندازهٔ منصب محقر خود بلکه از فوق بشری Persian text II, page 333. The Akbarnāma also does not give full details, and according to it, Nizām-ud-dīn was in the reserve. The place, where the battle was fought, does not appear to be mentioned, except that it was in the hilly countries near Nādot. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, it was in the hilly country of Jhampa in the district of Rājpipla. According to the Akbarnāma, two thousand persons were killed in a short time, apparently after the battle, and five hundred were made prisoners, and they also "went to their last sleep". Beveridge's translation III, 642-43.

and deciding on flight started. An immense host of his men were seized and slain; and the servants of the imperial state were signalised by victory and triumph.

Mīrza Khān after sending a body of men in pursuit of the enemy, returned to Ahmadābād, and occupied himself with arranging the affairs of the soldiery and the *raiyyats*. Qulīj Khān and Naurang Khān and Sharīf Khān and the *amīrs* of Malwa were left to seize the fort of Bahroj. Mīrza Khān remained in Ahmadābād for seven months. At the end of that time, the fort of Bahroj was captured and [1] Jarkas Rūmī, who had revolted from Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, and had joined Muzaffar, and had been appointed by the latter to be the commandant of the fort was put to death; and [2] Nasīra, who was also one of the *sardārs* of the fort, escaped with half of his life.

[3] A NARRATIVE OF CERTAIN INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE KHALIFA-I-ILĀHĪ.

At the time when the news of the disasters in Gujrat was reported and (His Majesty) deputed Mīrza Khān and the Malwa army, he founded a city at Jūsī Pyāk, at the place where the rivers Jumna and Ganges united with each other, and planned a fort round it. He named the city Ilahābās. He came there by boat from Agra and spent a period of four months there in pleasure and happiness. Ā'āzam Khān came from Hājīpūr to Ilahābās, and rendered homage, and was sent back, that he might come back quickly bringing his army with him. When the news of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān being slain, and of the violence of the disturbances in Gujrat came, His Majesty returned to Agra and Fathpur, so that he might march from there to Gujrat. In the neighbourhood of Itāwah the news of the victory in Gujrat arrived; and His Majesty arriving at Fathpur halted there,

[1] See note 1 p. 572. [2] See note 2 p. 571.

[3] The whole of this paragraph is omitted from one of the MSS., but occurs in the others and in the lith. ed. and in the translation in Elliot V. There is also a somewhat similar passage in Badāonī, Persian text II, 334 and English translation II, 344. But according to the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation III, 644) the Khān Ā'azim M. Koka is said to have come from Hājīpūr to Fathpur during the *Naurūz* ceremony of the 29th year, March 1584, and not at Ilahābās, as in the text.

and issued gracious *farmāns* to the *amīrs* of Gujrat. Mīrzā Khān was honoured with the title of Khān Khānān, and a robe of honour, and a jewelled belt and dagger; and the emperor also conferred on him the [1] *Tūman Tūgh*. The writer of this history, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad also was honoured with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Imperial favours were also conferred on each one of the servants of the threshold.

[2] After his second defeat, Muzaffar Gujrātī, having retired by way of Champānīr and Bīrpur and Jhālawār towards the district of Surath, took up his quarters in the town of Gondal, which is twelve *karohs* from Junāgarh. The men, who had been scattered about, collected round him to the number of about three thousand horsemen. He then sent one *lakh* of *Mahmudīs* and a jewelled belt and dagger to [3] Amīn Khān Ghūrī, the ruler of Surat, and induced the latter to join

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[1] The words are written as تو من توق in the MSS. and as تومن توغ in the lith. ed. Elliot V, page 437, has "the banner of five thousand (Tuman Tugh) and in a note the translator says" Badāonī (Vol. II, page 336) makes this clear by using the words *Panj Hazārī*. Badāonī's words are و تو من توغ و منصب پنج هزاری from which it is not clear whether the تو من توغ and the banner or rather rank of *Panj Hazārī* are identical. In the translation, Mr. Low has transliterated the words as Tuman Toq and says in a note "A standard of the highest dignity, Blochman Page 50". The Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation III, 643 says M. Khān was raised to the rank of Panj Hazārī, but says nothing about the تو من توغ. Tuman Tugh according to the Turkish Dictionary is a banner of the highest dignity.

[2] There are slight variations in the readings; both MSS. have براه, but one of them has پیش گرفته, while the other has رفته. The lith. ed. has راه instead of براه and پیش گرفته. Either راه and پیش گرفته, or براه and رفته is correct. I have adopted راه and پیش گرفته. Bīrpūr or Vīrpūr, according to a note in page 437 of Elliot V, is 50 miles North-east of Ahmadābād; and Jhālawār according to another note in the same page is one of the ten *prants* or districts of Kāthiwār. The accounts of this campaign are scattered about in different places in Badāonī and the Akbarnāma. The former says, Muzaffar after his second defeat took up his quarters at Kundal which was fifteen *karohs* from the fort of Chunāgarh. The Akbarnāma has the name Gondal correctly, and says it is fifteen *kos* from Junāgarh.

[3] Amīn Khān, according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, was the son of Tātār Khān, and consequently grandson of Sultan'Ala-ud-dīn.

him. He sent a similar amount to [1] Jām Saṭarsāl who was the Rāja of Jhālawār, and had a large force and many tribesmen. He, then, moved forward, with the determination of again marching to Ahmadābād.

As Amīn Khān looked forward to the probable result of his act, he said to Muzaffar, "You go to the house of the Jām, and take him along with you. I shall make preparations and come up with you from behind". [2] When Muzaffar arrived at [3] Morvi, which is sixty *karohs* from Ahmadābād, and began to make preparations there, and the news of this reached the Khān Khānān, the latter came out from the city with great promptitude and advanced towards Morvi. When he arrived at [4] Biramgan, and Morvi was forty *karohs* off, and the Jām and Amīn Khān did not come, Muzaffar perplexed, bewildered, and distressed turned back; and retired to the [5] hilly country of Barda

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[1] The name is مرسل or مترمل or مرسل in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Marsal. It is ستر سال in Badāonī, and this, as the translator in Elliot V, says, looks more correct. The name is also given as Satarsāl in note 2 page 681 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III. Probably the correct form of the name was Chhatra-sālī.

[2] The translation in Elliot V, page 438 inserts here, "When Muzaffar went to the Jām, he drew back, and said 'You march and advance against Ahmadābād; I will follow.'" This makes good sense, but I do not find the corresponding sentence in either the MSS. or in the lith. ed. The Akbarnāma says (Beveridge's translation III, 683) that Muzaffar appears to have gone to the Jām, and left his son there.

[3] The Morvi or Morbi of the maps, in the north of Kāthiwār, on the route which crosses the Ran. Badāonī does not name the place, but says that مظفر در موضعي شصت كروهي احمد اباد رسيدة. Mr. Lowe incorrectly translates this as "Muzaffar arrived at a place *six cosses* from Ahmadābād".

[4] The name appears to be بيرم گام, Bīramgām in the MSS. and the lith. ed.; but it is Paranga in Elliot V. The Akbarnāma has Biramgaon, and in a note the translator says, "It is Biramgaon of Bailey, and Veeram Gaon in his map. It is N.N.W. Ahmadabad".

[5] One MS. has كوهستان برده, the other has براة instead of Barda; while the lith. ed. omits the word altogether. According to a note in III, page 652 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, these hills are near Porbandar and 12–18 miles from the coast. The highest point is Venu which is said in I.G. VI, 431 to be 1,730 feet, but in an account of Nawānagar, *Id.*, XVIII, 419, it is said to be 2,057 feet above sea-level.

near Jagat, which is at the boundary of the countr y of Surat, and is known as [1]Dwārka.

The [2]Jam sent his *vakīls* to the Khān Khānān, and informed him that he had thought it to be loyalty to the emperor to take Muzaffar's money and not to accompany him; and that he was now prepared to lead the Khān Khānān's army to the place where Muzaffar was. Amīn Khān Ghūri also, by the intervention of Mīr Abu Turāb, sent his son to attend on the Khān Khānān, and gave expression to his sincerity and loyalty. The Jām's men led the Khān Khānān rapidly into the hilly country, [3] where there was much plunder, and the country was devastated, and immense quantities of booty fell into the hands of the troops, and large numbers of men were taken prisoner and slain. Muzaffar with five hundred Mughal and five hundred [4]Kāthī horsemen retired towards Gujrat, and came to a place called [5] Uthniya, which is situated between the river Sābarmati, and the great mountain gorges, and where there was a [6] *Koli* rebel of the name Bhāi. The Khān Khānān had, at the time of going (in pursuit of Muzaffar) left with [7]this army, by way of care and

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[1] Dwārka according to the text of the Akbarnāma is twenty *kos* to the north of the Barda hills, but according to a note it is really W.N.W. of them.

[2] According to the Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation III, 683, "the Khān Khānān * * addressed himself to the chastisement of the Jām. * * He (the Jām) collected daring men and advanced. After proceeding four *kos*, he awoke from his heavy slumber of self-conceit, and came forward with protestations and fawnings."

[3] The words در این کوہ غارت و تاراج بسیار کردہ occur in the lith. ed. but not in either of the MSS. I have retained them as the words, "which were plundered and ravaged" occur in the translation in Elliot V.

[4] According to Badāonī they were او خویشان مادری, or were of the clan of his mother.

[5] The name of the place appears to be اویتهنیه Uethinia, and اوتهنه, Uthna in the MSS. and اوتهنیه Uthhniya in the lith. ed. It is called Othaniya in Elliot V. Badāonī Persian text has اثنیه, and Mr. Lowe has Asniyah. The place is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma.

[6] See note 3, p. 581.

[7] It is not clear what army is meant, but it appears from the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation III, 683) that the Khān Khānān had, at the time of setting out, divided his army into four bands, though only three of them are mentioned as being respectively under Naurang Khān, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, and Daulat Khān Ludi.

precaution, Medinī Rāi and Khojam Bardī, and Saiyyad Lād and Saiyyad Bahādur and other Saiyyads of Bārha, and Beg Muhammad Tuqbāi and Kāmrān Beg Gīlānī at Hadāla, which is near Dandūqa and on the high road to Kambāyet. He had also left [1] Biyān Bahādur and Mīr Muhibb-ul-lah and Mīr Sharf-ud-dīn, nephews of Mir Abu Turāb, and a detachment at [2] Parāntī, which is four *karohs* from Uthniya for even such a day.

When Muzaffar came to Uthniya, Saiyyad Qāsim Bārha came from Pattan to Bijāpūr, which is thirty *karohs* from Uthniya. The army which was at Hadāla came to Parāntī and joined the troops there. Muzaffar combining with the [3] *Kolis* and the [4] *Grassias* and all the *zamīndārs* of that district, came forward to give battle, and fighting with the troops who were collected at Parāntī, [5] was heavily

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[1] The name is written as بیان بهادر Biyān Bahādur and بهامان بهادر which may be anything in the MSS. The lith. ed. has میان بهادر Miyān Bahādur, and Elliot V, has Bayān Bahādur. The name does not appear to be mentioned in the Akbarnāma or by Badāonī.

[2] "Paranti appears to be the Parantij of I.G., XIX, 408. It is 35 miles N.N.E. of Ahmadābād." Note 5, page 683 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, 683. The translation in Elliot V, says it is 30 miles North of Ahmadābād.

[3] I cannot find the name either in the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī's history. From Bailey's history of Gujrat it appears (see page 24) that in ancient times Gujrat was in the possession of Rajputs and Kolis, but I cannot find anything about the derivation of the name, or the exact status of the people. According to a note in page 35 their status appears to have been inferior to that of the Rajputs.

[4] The word is گراس in both MSS. but it is گراسیه in the lith. ed. and Grassias in the translation in Elliot V. The word does not occur in the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī. According to a note in page 98 of Bailey's history of Gujrat "*Gras* came to mean (1) black mail paid to powerful local chiefs for protection, and for immunity from plunder, and (2) lands or allowances made over to such chiefs by Government, or allowed to be retained by them, both as a politic provision to keep them quiet, and as a retainer for military and other services; as a matter of fact the holders of these fiefs were mostly Rajputs, and the lands they held part of their ancient hereditary possessions".

[5] The text contains the translation of the reading as it is in the MSS. The lith. ed. has a different reading, which is جنگ کرده شکست بر مظفر افتاد، و فیلان و افتابگیر او بدست در امد، و مردم او کشته شدند و نیمجانی بیک

defeated, and retired towards Kāthiāwāra. His elephants and [1]sun-umbrella were captured, and his best and most selected men were slain.

At this time, when the Khān Khānān returned from the hilly country to Dwārka, it became known that the Jām had not acted with honesty. He sent back the Jām's vakils, and marched forward to attack him. The Jām also came forward to meet him, and collected [2]twenty thousand horsemen and innumerable foot-soldiers. When the Khān Khānān arrived within seven *karohs* of him, he sent ambassadors and made excuses. He sent his son with three large elephants and [3]eighteen horses of Arabian breed to the Khān Khānān; and renewed his promises and engagements, and made (fresh) promises and engagements for loyalty and devotion. The Khān Khānān turned back and came to Ahmadābād. After five months His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī summoned him, and he went by rapid marches towards the sublime threshold.

Muzaffar Gujrātī, who was in Kāthiawāra, and had a grievance against Amīn Khān owing to the latter having taken his money, and not having accompanied him, collected men in concert with the Kāthīs, and the *zamīndārs* and went to attack him. The latter shut himself up in the fort of [4]Amreli. When this news reached Ahmadā-

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(پای بیرون برد). The translation in Elliot V, must have been made from a text resembling this, as it is "But he was signally defeated . . . and he himself escaped barefoot and half dead".

[1] The word is افتابگیر, *i.e.*, "that which catches the sun". It is "canopy" in Elliot V, and "parasol", in the translation of Badāonī.

[2] Badāonī reduces the number of his horsemen to eight thousand, and two thousand servants, who had fore sworn all food, and resolved to die.

[3] Badāonī says, هژده اسپان کچهي که مشابه عربي است با تحف دیگر, *i.e.*, eighteen *kachi* horses which are like Arabs, and other fine presents. According to the Akbarnāma he sent his son Jaisa, the elephant Sharza, and other presents, but he appears to have done so before the battle of Parāntī.

[4] The name appears to be اخبر ماني, امر یلي, and ابنر ماني in the MSS., and امرلي in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Amartali. In the text of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, III, 709, it is called Anbarili. A note in the page says "T.A. Amarun or Ambarun * * * In the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī it is called Ambarun, and is stated to be on the borders of the Kach and ten *kos* from Morvi. But the place mentioned by A.F. appears to be different, and to be the Amreli of J. II, 258. It was a large district in *sarkār* Sorath".

bād, Qulīj Khān, and this *faqīr* were there. Qulīj Khān remained in the city; and this *faqīr* with Saiyyad Qāsim Bārha and Medinī Rāi and all the Khān Khānān's men and Nūr Qulīj and Mīr Ma'sūm Bakarī and Mīr Habib-ul-lah and Beg Muhammad Tuqbāi and Kāmrān Beg started for Sorath, with all promptitude. When we arrived at Hadāla, [1]Muzaffar, being unable to meet us, raised the siege of Amīn Khān's fort, and retired towards Kach. The author sent Nūr Qulīj and Mīr Habīb-ul-lah and Beg Muhammad and Saiyyad Lād and Saiyyad Bahādur and Nasīb Turkmān to Amīn Khān; so that, in concert with him, they might raid Kāthīawāra and come behind Muzaffar; and he himself, advancing towards the latter, went towards Morvi. Muzaffar fled, and crossing the *Ran*, which having separated from the sea and ending [2]towards the sands of Jaisalmīr, was in some places ten *karohs*, and in some, twenty *karohs* in width, went towards Kach. The land which is on the other side of the water is called Kach. When the *faqīr* arrived at Morvi, the Jām and Amīn Khān sent their sons to him, and again making promises and stipulations, engaged to be loyal. The *faqīr* then returned towards Bīramgām.

At this time intelligence came, that the Khān Khānān had been permitted to leave the threshold, and had arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirohi, and intended to seize Sirohi and Jālor. This *faqīr* in concert with Saiyyad Qāsim and the men who had been mentioned, joined him in the vicinity of Sirohi. The Rāja of Sirohi came and did service, and presented a large sum as tribute. The Khān Khānān ordered [3]Ghaznī Khān of Jalor to be imprisoned, for although he

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[1] The name is written as بندالة, and هندالة in the MSS., and هدالة in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Hadala. The name is not mentioned in this place either in the Akbarnāma or by Badāonī.

[2] The text is not very intelligible here. The MSS. have باریک جنک میر منتهی شدة, and باریک حسلمیر منتمي شدة. The lith. ed. has باریک حرمنتهی شدة. Elliot V, has "and took the road to Jaisalmir" which does not appear to me to be correct, as Muzaffar went to Kach, as the next sentence, which, however, is also not correct in Elliot V goes on to say, and not to Jaisalmir. It appears to me that the correct reading is باریک حسیلمیر منتهي شدة etc., *i.e.*, ending towards the sands of Jaisalmīr, and I have adopted this.

[3] The name is Ghaznī Khān in one MS. and Gharib Khān in the other.

came, he had behaved improperly at the time when the Khān Khānān was going to the threshold, and had shown signs of rebellion. He also sent a force, and took possession of the fort of Jālor. After his arrival at Ahmadābād, the Khān Khānān remained there.

[1]We now come to some incidents connected with His Majesty.

When the Khān Khānān arrived at the threshold, the news of the death of [2]Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, who was the brother of His Majesty, came from Kabul after twenty days. A grand *farmān* was issued to Rāja Bhagwān Dās and Kunar Mān Singh, who were the governors of the Punjab, that they should go to Kabul and take possession of it. The emperor himself also started for the Punjab in his own elegant person.

An account of the sending of the Khān-i-Ā'azam for the conquest of the Deccan and of his coming to Ahmadābād to visit the Khān Khānān.

[3]As at this time, Mīr Murtaza and Khūdāwand Khān, the rulers of the country of Berar, one of the countries of the Deccan, invaded

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The lith. ed. omits some words including the name. The translation in Elliot V, has Ghazīn Khān. Badāoni does not say what the Khān Khānān did at Sirohi and Jālor, though he mentions the fact that he returned to Ahmadābād by way of those places. In the Akbarnāma the ruler of Jālor is called Ghaznī, (Beveridge's translation III, 709 and note 3).

[1] The text is in accordance with one of the MSS. and the lith. ed., but the other MS. leaves out the heading, and the mention of the news of the death of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm; and after mentioning the fact of the Khān Khānān coming to the Deccan, has a new heading about sending the Khān Ā'azam to conquer the Deccan, etc. The other MS. has this heading also, after mentioning the fact that the emperor turned towards the Punjab. The translation in Elliot V, is in accordance with the text in the lith. ed., and it omits the heading about sending the Khān Ā'azam to conquer the Deccan. I have retained this, as it occurs in both MSS. and without it the transition from one subject to the other is very abrupt.

[2] He died on the 12th Sha'bān 793, 30th July 1585, at the early age of 31, having been born in April 1554.

[3] It appears in the Akbarnāma, that Berar "was in the possession of Murtaza Nizām-ul-mulk, who on account of his wickedness became mad.

Ahmadnagar, and fought with Salābat Khān, who was the vakīl of Nizām-ul-mulk, and was defeated by him, and came as suppliants to the threshold, a *farmān* was sent to Ā'azam Khān, who was the governor of Malwa, that he should march to the Deccan; and [1]first conquer Berar. Mīr Murtaza, Khudāwand Khān, Tīrāndāz Khān, and [2]Chaghatai Khan, and other men of the Deccan were also sent. The renowned *amīrs* like 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān, Ja'far Beg Bakhshi, Rai Durga, Rāja Askaran, Burhān-ul-mulk, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, and Naurang Khān and Subhān Quli Turk, and a number of others, a detailed list of whom would be too long, with a park of artillery, and three hundred elephants and the army of Malwa were also appointed. Mīr Fath-ul-lah Shīrāzī was honoured with the title of 'Azd-ud-daula and was sent to arrange all matters connected with the Deccan. Khwājgī Fath-ul-lah, son of Hājī Habīb-ul-lah was made the *bakhshi* of the army and Mukhtār Beg, the *diwān*.

When the armies arrived at Hindia, which is the boundary of the Dakhin, and collected together, Ā'azam Khān had great enmity with Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān who at that time was the governor of Ujjain, on account of the murder of his father as he (Ā'azam Khān) knew that he had instigated it. 'Azd-ud-Daula wanted to remove

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Salabat Khān Carkas (Circasian) obtained sway over his insane disposition, * * * and set about ruining the fief holders of Berar. Mīr Murtaza Sabzawāri, who was the head of that body of men, together with Khudāwand Khān Mashhadi, etc., collected troops and hastened to Ahmadnagar. Salābat, under the leadership of Nizām-ul-mulk's son, fought with them, and at last the Berar men were defeated. * * * Then they turned the face of entreaty to the eternal dominion (Akbar's)". Beveridge's translation III, 685–86. Badāonī's account is similar, but he describes Ahmadnagar as the پای تخت نظام الملک or the capital of the Nizām-ul-mulk.

[1] According to Badāonī, Persian text II, 360, the order was that Ā'azam Khān should اولاً برار را از تصرف دکهنان برارند، بعد ازان باتفاق متوجه احمد نگر شوند *i.e.*, Ā'azam Khān should first wrest Berar from the Dakinis, and afterwards should march in concert to Ahmadnagar.

[2] This name is written as چغتان خان, and چغتای خان, in the MSS. and as جندا خان in the lith. ed. There is a Canda K. Deccani mentioned among the Berar fief holders, who attacked Ahmadnagar, (Beveridge's translation III, 685), so the correct name may be Chanda Khān.

this ill feeling, but this annoyed Ā'azam Khān, who had a very violent disposition, and he [1] insulted both Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and 'Azd-ud-daula. He remained in Hindia for a period of six months, and remained inactive; till things came to such a pass, that Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān being annoyed went away to *Rāisīn*, which at that time had been fixed upon as his *jāgīr*; and Ā'azam Khān advancing against him, some great catastrophe would have happened to the imperial work; but through the exertions of 'Azd-ud-daula, things passed off satisfactorily.

When Raja 'Ali Khán, the ruler of Asīr, and Burhānpur, saw these disturbances in the imperial army, he united the Dakhin army with his own, and came to oppose (the imperial army). 'Azd-ud-daula went to him, and although he tried to keep him loyal, he was unsuccessful; and returned and marched towards Gujrat, so that he might bring the Khān Khānān to reinforce the imperial army. When Rāja 'Ali Khān and the army of the Dakhin advanced to attack A'azam Khān, the latter went away towards Berar, and plundered and ravaged the city of Elichpur; and did not even stop there, but marched towards Nadarbār. The Dakhinis following him came stage by stage, and Ā'azam Khān, although he had strength and power, went along in front of them; till he arrived at Nadarbār. He then sent letters to Ahamadābād, and asked for help from the Khān Khānān. The latter sent the writer of this history with a number of *amīrs*, such as Khwāja Muhammad Rafī' and Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm and Bahādur Khān Tarīn, and the sons of Rāi Lonkaran and Nasīb Turkmān, and Husain Khān, brother of Qāzī Hasan, and others; and promised that he would follow later. When the *faqīr* arrived at Mahmūdābād, A'azam Khān left his army at Nadarbār, and alone with a few followers went to Ahmadābād. The Khān Khānān advanced very promptly to welcome him; and they met each other in the quarters of the *faqīr*, and remained together

[1] The word in the text is رنجانید, vexed, annoyed; but it appears from Badāonī, Persian text II, 360, that he در هر مجلسي ايذاى لساني وغيران ميكرد, or as Mr. Lowe has translated it, he heaped abuses, etc., on them in every assembly. For a detailed account of the dissensions and the movements of A'azam Khān, Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, and of Raja 'Ali Khān and the Dakin army, see the Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation III, 739–742.

that day. They then went to [1] Ahmadābād, that after making preparations, and resting for some days, he (Ā'azam Khān) would meet his sister, who was the wife of the Khān Khānān; and then they would advance together to crush the Dakhinis.

The *faqīr* with his companion advanced to attend to the object of their journey, and had arrived at Baroda, [2] when a letter came from the Khān Khānān to the effect, that we should wait at Baroda till his arrival. Ā'azam Khān then obtained leave from the Khān Khānān and left Ahamadābād and went to Nadarbār, so that he might, before the arrival of the Khān Khānān, collect his men and be ready. The Khān Khānān left Ahmadābād two days after his departure, and marched to Baroda. The *faqīr* waited upon him there, and accompanied him, and he marched towards Bahroj. When he arrived at that place, letters had already come from Ā'azam Khān, to the effect that as the rains had come they should wait that year; and the next year they would march in concert to the Deccan. Ā'azam Khān then marched from Nadarbār to Malwa, and Rāja 'Ali Khān and the Dakhinis [3] also went to their respective places. The Khān Khānān returned to Ahamadābād and he remained there for

[1] There are different readings here; one MS. has به احمد اباد رفتند، تا سامان نموده و چند روز در احمد اباد اسوده، بهمشیر خود که حلیله خان خانانست ملاقات نموده، باتفاق متوجه رفع دکهنیان شوند The other, which appears to be incorrect has تا احمد اباد رفته که حاکم ان اعظم خان همشیرهٔ خود را که اهلیه خان خانان است ملاقات نموده و چند روز در احمد اباد اسوده باتفاق متوجه رفع دکهینان شدند. The lith. ed. is much shorter. It has اعظم خان بهمشیرهٔ خودکه قبیله خان خانان ست ملاقات نموده باتفاق خان خانان متوجه دکهن شوند. The translation in Elliot V, is somewhat free, and appears to have been made from some text like that of the lith. ed. I think the first reading is best and have adopted it, but it appears to require the words و اعظم خان between اسوده and خود بهمشیرهٔ.

[2] Here again there are different readings. I have adopted that in the two MSS. which agree. The reading in the lith. ed. is به برودهٔ رفت. خان خانان و اعظم خان از عقب امدند؛ و اعظم خان سوعت نموده پیشتر رفت تا لشکر ندربار را مستعد سازد، تا خان خانان از عقب برسید، و خان خانان بفقیر نوشت که تا امدن ما در برودهٔ توقف نمایند، و از عقب رسیدهٔ با لشکر اراسته متوجه بهروج گشتند. The translation in Elliot V, is of a text similar to that in the lith. ed.

[3] One MS. has رخصت نیز گرفته instead of simply نیز as in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed.

about six months and occupied himself in arranging the affairs (of Gujrat).

At this time news came that His Majesty had started for Kabul, and at the time was at Atak Banāras, and intended to conquer Badakhshān. The Khān Khānān submitted a petition, expressing his desire to wait upon His Majesty, and of being summoned to the court. A *farmān* obeyed by all the world was issued that he should come to the threshold. (It was also ordered), that Qulīj Khān and Naurang Khān and the slave of the threshold (*i.e.*, Nizām-ud-dīn) should remain in Gujrat, and attend to the work there. The Khān Khānān and 'Azd-ud-daula, who had come to him from Ā'azam Khān, started for the threshold, which was the asylum of the world.

At the very time when the Khān Khānān started for the threshold, intelligence came that the followers of [1] Khangār, had with the help of Muzaffar Gujrātī, attacked and slain Rāi Singh, who was the *zamīndār* of Jhālawār. The story of Rāi Singh is as follows; he was the son of Rāi Mān Rāja of Jhālawār. When the time of his rule came, he fought with the *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood, such as the Jām, the Khangār, and others, and defeated them. As many signs of bravery were shown by him, the people of the country of Gujrat composed poems and stories about him, and these are very celebrated. [2] It so happened that twenty years before this, he had a great battle

[1] Khangār appears to be the title of the rulers of Kach (Cutch). It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 711, that though the Jām had more men and lands, Khangār was regarded as the chief ruler, and permission was taken from him, on the occasion of succession, etc. According to Thornton II, page 48, Khangār was the Rāo of Kach, and chief of the Jhāreja tribe.

[2] The readings are slightly different here. One MS. has اتفاقاً بیست و دو سال بیش ازین، اورا برایب و صاحب، که برادرزادها. The other has اورا تفاق اتفاقاً در برایت و صاحب، که برادر. The lith. ed. has برایب صاحب، که برادرزادها زادهای. I have adopted the first. The translation in Elliot V, is, "A feud arose between Rāyat and Sāyat, the nephews of the chief of Khangār," which follows the version in the lith. ed. The two nephews are called Rāyib and Sāhib in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. The names are Jasa (or Jaisā) and Sāhib in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 699–700, where the whole story including the cause of the quarrel between Rāi Singh and Rāyib and Sāhib is given. See also note I, page 700 of Beveridge's trans. of the Akbarnāma, Vol. III.

with Rāyib and Sāhib two nephews of the Khangār. These two were killed, and a large number of people were killed on both sides. Rāi Singh also received wounds, and lay on the battle-field. On the following day some *jogīs* passed near the slain, and they found Rāi Singh lying wounded. They treated him for the wounds and took him with them towards Bengal. After passing twenty-two years with them in the garb of a *jogī*, he came and interviewed the Khān Khānān, when the latter proceeded to attack Muzaffar Gujrāti. He told him his adventures. The Khān Khānān sent him to Jhālawār, so that the men there might recognise him, and the truth might be revealed. He gave many proofs, and people recognised him; and he again took up his residence in his original places. He attacked the Kāthīs several times, and overran and plundered several tribes, and caused much damage to the territory of the Khangār and the Jām. He again became the master of a force, and took possession of the town of [1] Halwat which was one of the dependencies of Jhālawār. The people of the neighbourhood, who were hostile to him from former times, now gathered together and attacked him. At this time he was in the *chaugān* (polo) field. When he heard the news, he immediately came to meet the men, and came up with them in a moonlight night. They sent word to him, that if he was the real Rāi Singh, he would not attack them at night. He bravely acceeded to their request; and stopping at that place went to sleep with his shield under his head. In the mean time those men availed themselves of the opportunity, gave assurances of friendship to his men and [2] drew them to their side. In the early dawn, they turned on him with their whole strength. He with the eighty men, whom he had with him, dismounted and fought and was [3] killed.

[1] The place is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma. According to a note in Elliot V, page 444, it is in the north of Kāthiwār near the Ran.

[2] My translation agrees generally with that in Elliot V, but the words و همراهان اورا دلاسا کردہ بجانب خود کشیدند, which are in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., have been translated there as "And encouraging their followers they drew near to him," which appears to me to be incorrect.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translatioin III, page 699, and the latter part of note 1, page 700, he was not killed at this time, but about two years later, after having performed the *kurnish* to Akbar.

Couplet;

Fight not with a force greater than thine own,
For thou can'st not thy fist on a lancet strike.

[1] When Muzaffar Gujrātī heard of the departure of the Khān Khānān with his [2] family and dependants, he began to collect forces at [3] Amberun, where the tomb of Malik Dāwar-ul-mulk was situated. Qulīj Khān remained at Ahmadābād for the protection of the place; and this *faqīr* in concert with Saiyyad Qāsim and Khwāja Muhammad Rafi' and Mīr Ma'sūm and Husain Khān and Beg Muhammad Tuqbāi and Mīr Sharf-ud-dīn went forward to redress the matter of Rāi Singh. When we arrived at Halwat, I sent a detachment to raid and ravage places appertaining to *pargana* [4] Mālea, which belonged to Khangār; and Medinī Rāi and another detachment against Muzaffar at Amberun. They went there, and Muzaffar retired towards Kāthīwāra, and hid himself. The Jām sent his son to the *faqīr*, and made excuses for the [5] injustice done to Rāi Singh. The Khangār also sent his *vakīl* and repeated the declaration of his loyalty (to the emperor). The *faqīr* then returned to Ahamadābād.

On the *faqīr's* arrival at Ahamadābād, Qulīj Khān started for

[1] I cannot find any account of these transactions in the Akbarnāma, but some of the later incidents are mentioned in Beveridge's translation III, page 808. Badāonī does not give any details, but says, to quote the translation II, 373–4. "During the time of the Khān Khānān's absence, the most praiseworthy efforts were made by Nizām-ud-dīn in Gujrāt, which are related in the Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī." Mr. Vincent Smith also describes Nizām-ud-dīn as a most energetic and efficient officer.

[2] There is a slight difference in the readings. One MS. has با بساهي و عيال which I have adopted. The other has با سپاهي و عيال which has been adopted by the translator in Elliot V, who has "With his troops and family". The lith. ed. has با يساهي و عيال which is incorrect.

[3] The name is written as انبيرون, Amberūn or انبرون Anbrūn in the MSS., and as امرون, Amrūn in the lith. ed. It is Amrūn, with a note "or Amberun" in Elliot V. It is the place which is called Amreli in p. 610. See note 4, p. 582.

[4] The place does not appear to be mentioned in the Akbarnāma, but a note in page 444, Elliot V, says "Near the edge of the Ran".

[5] The word is بی اعتدالي, immoderation, injustice. Elliot V, has "cruel treatment".

Surat, and encamped outside the city. It, then, occurred to Muzaffar that as the army had returned, and every one had gone towards his own *jāgīr*, if he marched rapidly to Dulqa and Kambāyet, he might, before the arrival of the army, collect a large force; and accordingly taking two thousand horsemen, Kathīs and [1]Jhārejas, he advanced with very great rapidity towards Dūlqa. When the letters of Medinī Rāi came, the *faqīr* at once mounted, and marched towards Dūlqa. We halted at Sarkej till the evening. Qulīj Khān also came, and among the *amīrs* and the chief men, every one who was in the city, such as Mīr Ma'sūm and Khwāja Muhammad Rafi' and Daulat Khān Lūdi came up. In the morning we arrived at Dūlqa. At that time Muzaffar had come up to within four *karohs* (of the place). When his scouts took him the news that the army of Ahamadābād had already arrived, he turned back and went towards Morvi. Qulīj Khān then returned towards Ahamadābād and the other loyalists, marching in pursuit of Muzaffar, traversed in the course of one night and one day forty-five *karohs*. When we arrived at Bīramgām, we learnt that Muzaffar had gone to the village of Ākhār, which was four *karohs* from there, and had there shut up [2]Saiyyad Mustafa, son of Saiyyad Jalāl, who had come there with his family. As it was already evening, and the horses were too exhausted to move, the writer of this history sent twenty horsemen with a couple of kettle drums, (with instructions) that they should go within one *karoh* of the village, and beat the kettle drums; so that Muzaffar thinking that the army had arrived would raise the siege, and the people who were shut up would be released. By the grace of God, my plan succeeded, and they were released; and Muzaffar went away towards Kach. This *faqīr* and his companions mounted in the morning, and hastened in pursuit of him; and on arriving on the shore of the Ran we left a *thana* (military post) at

[1] See note 1, page 588 from which it would be seen, that the Khangār was the chief of the Jhāreja tribe.

[2] The incident of Saiyyad Jalāl is given in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 800. It is said there that he was taking his family to Biramgānw (Biramgām). Muzaffar tried to seize him, and plundered the place where he had taken shelter. "He planted the foot of courage in his house, and prepared to sacrifice his life." At this time the noise of drums was heard and Muzaffar went off quickly.

the town of [1] Jhajuasa, which is close to the water and returned to Ahamadābād.

After four months, all the *zamindārs* of Kach, about seven thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, collected together under the leadership of [2] Jaisa and Bajāin who were nephews (brother's sons) of the Khangār, and attacked the town of [3] Rādhanpur, one of the dependencies of Pattan. They beseiged the fort, and remaining there for ten days levelled the outer town to the dust, and they devastated and totally destroyed all the villages in the neighbourhood to a distance of twenty *karohs*. When this news came to Ahamadābād, the *faqīr*, in concert with Saiyyad Qāsim, Daulat Khān Lūdi, Mīr Ma'sūm, Husain Khān, and other men went to relieve the place. The enemy on hearing of our approach fled, and crossing the water of the *Ran*, went back to their own country. As it was necessary to redress these injuries, and prevent their recurrence, we crossed the *Ran* at a place where the width of the water was not more than three *karohs*, and invaded the country of Kach, and devastated and plundered it. We burnt and sacked the towns of [4] Kari and Katāria, which are well known places in Kach, and much booty came into the possession of the troops. About three hundred villages in the country of Kach were ravaged and totally destroyed in the course of three days. We

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[1] The name of the place is written as جهجواسه Jhajuāsa in both MSS., and as جهجونيه in the lith. ed. The translation in Elliot V, has Jhajusa, and a note says "a town sixty miles west of Pattan".

[2] The names are Pānolanan and Jaisa in the Akbarnāma; but a note says with respect to the first, "I.O.M.S. 236 has Bajāīn, which is also the name in the T.A."

[3] The translation in Elliot V, calls it a village, and a note says "doubtful"; but it must have been a place of some importance, as it had a fort, and outer town. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 808, says "Rādhan K. Balūch and other brave men took steps to defend it."

[4] Kari is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma. Katārāh is, and a note says "Katāria" of Elliot V, page 446 and the Kāthar or Tankar, J. II, 258. Perhaps the Kirkanagar of Bailey's map. The places are in Cutch", Akbarnāma, Bev. trans. III, p. 808. Bahamara (I.O.M.S. 236 has Baharu and he was called Bahara in page 711 of Beveridge's translation Vol. III), the ruler of the country, *i.e.*, the Khangār submitted and his submission was accepted; but the country was plundered as a deterrent lesson. But according to the text he did not make such submission, till he had been written to from Morvi.

crossed the *Ran* again opposite to Mālea and Morvi. At this place the width of the water was twelve *karohs*. We commenced the crossing in the morning; and finished by sunset. The depth of the water was up to a man's navel. After crossing the *Ran* we ravaged and plundered and destroyed the *parganas* of Mālea and Morvi, which were the most populous parts of the territory of the Khangār. We halted for three days at Morvi, and letters were written to the Khangār, that we had heard that Jaisa and Bajāīn had acted without his concurrence, and we had, in a way, inflicted punishment for it; otherwise we would have raided Bhūjnagar which was his place of residence, and he would have received the reward of his actions; and if after this, he did not remain steadfast in his duty of loyalty, he would see what he would see. He sent his *vakīls*, and made apologies, and after this a barrier was raised (against further aggression).

In the year 995 A.H. [1] the younger son of Amīn Khān revolted against his father, and went to Muzaffar, and brought the latter to attack his father. When the news of this fresh disturbance came, this *faqīr*, in concert with Naurang Khān and (other loyal officers), and other men who always accompanied him, advanced to attack Muzaffar. When we arrived at Rājkot, which is eighty *karohs* from Ahmadābād, and thirty from Jūnagadh, Muzaffar fled, and [2] went towards the *Ran*. Sīdī Raihān who was the *vakīl* of Amīn Khān and a leader of the rebellion, with [3] Lokhan Kohal and other *zamīndārs*, and [4] Pīr Khān Sakna and Malik Rājan and other chief men of the locality, about five hundred horsemen separated from the enemy; and having received assurances from the imperial officers, joined the latter. Hopes were given to every one of them of royal favour, and the rites

[1] His name, according to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 809, was Fath Khān.

[2] The Akbarnāma says he retired to the hills.

[3] The name is لوكهن كوهل and يوكن كوهل in the MSS. and نودكن كوهل in the lith. ed. It is Nokam Gohil in Elliot V, and Lokhan Karhal in the Akbarnāma.

[4] The name is بر خان سكنه and بير خان سكنه in the MSS. and بير خان سكنه in the lith. ed. It is Bīr Khān Singh in Elliot V, and is not mentioned in the Akbarnāma.

of entertainment were carried out. The Jām and Amīn Khān also sent their sons, and made fresh declaration of loyalty; and [1] many of the Kāthī tribes were harried.

When we came to Ahmadābād, being determined to crush the *Garasias*, I raised a force after two months, and marched towards Uthaniya and Ahmadnagar, and ravaged and devastated about fifty villages of the *Kolis* and *Garasias*, which were of great strength; and building forts at seven stations, and leaving *thānas* or military posts there, completely exterminated them. Again after five months, I raised another force in concert with Daulat Khān, and marching towards [2] Bānkānīr and Sarnāl, put down the disturbances and rebellions of the *Garasias*, [3] by putting Chait Raut to death, and externing Karmi Koli, Krishna Koli, and Lakhna Rajput, who were the chief refractory men of those parts, and built forts, and left military posts there.

In the year [4] 996 A.H., His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī conferred

[1] This sentence, which occurs in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., is omitted from the translation in Elliot V.

[2] The name is written as بانكانير in both MSS., but in one there is no dot under the ب, and none over the second ن, In the lith. ed. it is باكا تير or باكا تير. In Elliot V, it is Wākānīrū in the text, and a note says "Wākānīrū or Wankānīr is on the Watrak river, fifty miles N.E. of Ahmadabad".

[3] There is much diversity in the readings. One MS. has خبيبت راوت را بقتل اورد، و كرمي كود و كشته كود كه عمدة متمردان ان نواحي بودند اخراج كردة چيت راوت را بقتل اورد و كرسي كولي و كشته كولي و براى راجپوت كه عمدة متمردانه ان نواحى بودند بجانب ان متمردان قلعه ساخته و تهانها گذاشته شد. The other has تا اچلبور اخراج كردة و بجاى ان متمردان قلعه ساخته و تهانها گذاشته شد. The lith. ed. has جيت راوت را بقتل اوردة كرسي كولي و كشتهٔ كولي و لكهنه راجپوت كه عمدهٔ گراسي بودند اخراج كردة و بجاى انها تهانجات گذاشته شد. The translation in Elliot V, has "having put Chait Raut to death I removed Karmi Koli, Krishna Koli, and Lakha Rajput, who were the principle Grassias of those parts, and left force and garrisons in their places".

[4] The year is written as ثمان و تسعين و تسعمايه, and تسعين و تسعمايه in the MSS., and as ستة و تسعين و تسعمايه in the lith. ed. It is 996 in Elliot V. The Akbarnāma places the appointment in the 34th year of the reign, which began on the 4th of Jamāda-ul-āwwal 997, 10th or 11th March, 1589. See

the government of Gujrat on Á'azam Khān; and summoned this slave to wait on himself. Mounted on a camel, I conveyed myself in the course of fourteen days from Gujrat to Lahore, had the honour of kissing the feet and became the recipient of royal favours. The [1] accounts of the incidents of the seven years in Gujrat, that the *faqīr* was there, have been written in one place; and now a beginning is made in the narrative of the incidents, which happened when the *faqīr* was in attendance on the emperor.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINING INCIDENTS, WHICH HAPPENED ON THE ROUTE FROM ILAHĀBĀS (ALLAHABAD).

As the news of the happenings in Gujrat reached the noble hearing (while the emperor was) on the road, His Majesty performed the duty of offering thanks to the great God, and travelled stage by stage in the greatest pleasure and enjoyment. [2] At this time, Zain Khān Koka brought Rāja Rām Chand, who was the Rāja of the country of [3] Bhatt, and had a great position among the Rājas of Hindustan, on account of his [4] high descent and great qualities, and who had never

Beveridge's translation III, 865. Badāonī gives the date as 998. See Persian Text II, 372.

[1] There are some differences in the readings. The MSS. agree with the slight difference that one of them inserts the word میان between دران and بودة. The lith. ed. differs a good deal. It has after مورد مراحم خسروانه گشت, باز امدیم بر سر وقایع احوال که در ملازمت حضرت گذشته. The translation in Elliot V, omits the whole passage from مورد مراحم خسروانه to چون در اثناء راة گشت.

[2] Both MSS. have در هین ایام; the lith. ed. has درین وقت.

[3] The name is بهنه and پهنه, in the MSS. which are not easily decipherable, but may be Pahna or Pahta. In the lith. ed. it is clearly پتنه, Patna. In the translation in Elliot it is Bittia. In Badāonī Persian text II, 335, it is بهته and in the English translation II, 345, it is B'hatta. I cannot find the corresponding passage in the Akbarnāma, but in Beveridge's translation III, 966–67 the death of Rāja Rām Chand is mentioned, and the facts of his son Balbhadhar (*sic*) or Bir Bhadr, whom he had left to wait upon H.M., being appointed to the dignity of Rājāship, and being sent off to his country are mentioned. There the country is called Bhat'h, but a note says "Text Tatah. It is Bhet'h or Bhattah, and also Panna, and is in Central India".

[4] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. has و بکمانصبت

submitted to any of the Sultāns of India, but had now expressed a desire to kiss the threshold, and at Fathpur they waited (on the emperor). He was exalted by the gift of royal favour. He [1] offered a tribute of one hundred and twenty elephants; and a ruby of the finest water, the price of which was fifty thousand rupees, was included in the tribute.

[2] A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 30TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHI ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Thursday the 19th of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the year 993. The *Naurūz* assembly was held in accordance with the custom of preceding years.

علو حسب, another omits علو حسب, while a third has بكمال حسب و نسب; the lith. ed. has بكمال سب. The translation in Elliot V, is somewhat imperfect. It is "At this time, Zain Khān Koka, Rāja Rām Chandra, Raja of etc. etc., now expressed his desire, etc." There is no verb to Zain Khān Koka.

[1] Badāonī has a circumstantial account of Zain Khān's embassy to Rāja Rām Chand at Choragarh, and the Rāja's coming to Fathpur, and doing homage. He, however, says that the tribute included 120 rubies and not 120 elephants. The Rāja's son is called Babu in the Persian text and Baba in the English translation. With characteristic bigotry and brutality, Badāonī says, in respect of the Rāja's death, و عنقريب بمستقر اصلي كه جحيم پر حميم باشد رفت see Persian text II, 335, though he describes him در اخلاق خاصه در همت چنان بود كهٔ عديل وى حالا انيست so that, although he was an incomparable man his natural abode was hell.

[2] Both MSS. have the reading I have adopted, but the lith. ed. has a different reading. I am copying it below, because it must be the reading of the MSS. from which the translation in Elliot V, was probably made, though that translation does not give the whole passage but simply says the 30th year * * now arrived; and then has the word (*rejoicing*). (in brackets as given above) ذكر وقايع سال سي ام از جلوس حضرت خليفه الهي و نوروز سلطاني رسيد. دولت خانه فتح پور را بقماشهاى اعلي بدستور هر سال اراستند. و هر روز و هر شب صحبت بادشاهانه منعقد ميشد؛ و امرا و اعيان دولت بمراحم خسروانه سرفرازى يافتند. آنحضرت در شب دوشنبه هشتم ماه ربيع الاول سنه نهصد و نود در وقت تحويل نير اعظم از حوت بحمل پاى بر تخت سلطنت نهاده جشن عالي كه چشم زمانه ياد ندارد، منعقد گشت The year cannot, however, be 990. The 30th year according to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 685 commenced on Thursday, the 19th Rabi'ul-awwal 993, 10th or 11th March, 1586. This date agrees exactly with that in the MSS.

[1] At this time of the *naurūz*, Ā'azam Khān [2] came from Patna and Hājīpur to attend on His Majesty, and was honoured with imperial favours.

At that very time also [3] representations came from Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, that 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek had taken possession of Badakhshān, and Mīrza [4] Shāhrūkh and Mīrza Sulaimān were coming to Hindustan. [5] The matter of the coming of Abd-ul-lah Khān and his son, and the matters which had passed between Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Shahrukh will be mentioned in their own place.

And in the course of this year [6] Qāzī Khān Badakhshi and Sultān Khwāja, *Sadr*, and Bāqi Muhammad Khān, son of Māham Atka, the circumstances of each of whom have been mentioned in this book, surrendered the deposits of their lives.

In the beginning of the month of Zi-q'ada in this year, a representation from Kunar Mān Singh came from the neighbourhood of the Nīlāb, to the effect that as Badakhshān had come into the possession of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, Mīrza Shāhrukh had arrived on the bank of the Nīlāb, with the intention of coming to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world; and that this slave (*i.e.*, the Kunar) had gone to receive him, had [7] offered rupees five thousand

[1] This sentence is omitted from the translation in Elliot V.

[2] The lith. ed. has the words تا يلغار before بور حاجي و بتّنه. I have omitted them as they are not to be found in the MSS. Badāonī, Persian text II, 339 has, however, got the word; so that probably Ā'azam Khān did come by forced marches.

[3] Badāonī's account agrees, but he says that Mīrza Sulaimān had after his return from Mecca, بر بدخشان استيلا يافته بود, which Mr. Lowe has translated, "Had seized Badakhshan". The Akbarnāma has a long account of the happenings in Badakhshān up to the time of the Mīrza's coming to the Nīlāb (Indus). See Beveridge's translation III, page 662–667.

[4] It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 668 that "M. Sulaimān, who was ashamed to go to Court, and whose hopes were fixed on M. Hakīm, "stayed where he was"; and so Mīrza Shāhrukh alone came to India.

[5] The whole of the passage from here to the end of the history of the 30th year has not been translated in Elliot V.

[6] Some account of these men is given by Badāonī, Persian text II, 340–41. English translation II, 351–52.

[7] Badāonī makes the money rupees six thousand, and omits the horses. The Akbarnāma does not mention the presents.

and five hundred in cash, and much cloth and eight horses and five elephants, and had arranged for his crossing the river, and had sent him to the foot of the throne of the Khilāfat. The representation of Kunar Mān Singh received the approbation of the emperor; and a grand *farmān* containing many favours was issued. On the 30th of the same month, a representation of Bhagwān Dās arrived, to the effect, that he had arrived, [1] in the company of Mīrza Shāhrukh, at the town of Sarhind; and that they would forthwith arrive, and have the honour of kissing the threshold. An auspicious order was issued that valuable royal robes be [2] sent in charge of Qāzī 'Ali Bakhshi, to meet Mīrza Shāhrukh. [3] In the end of the 30th year of the Ilāhī era, Mīrza Shāhrukh arrived at the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. A number of the great *amīrs* went forward to receive him, and brought him, so that he might be honoured with the privilege of kissing the imperial feet. A sum of one *lākh* of rupees, and furnishings for his pavilion and [4] nine 'Irāqi horses, [5] and five elephants and some camels and servants were bestowed on him.

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[1] One MS. incorrectly omits the word همراه between که and میرزا شارخ.

[2] There are slight difference of readings here. One MS. has فرستادند و در اخر سال سي ام. This appears to be correct; and I have adopted it. Another has فرستادیم او را اورده او اخر سال سي ام. The lith. ed. has the same reading as the first MS., except that it has فرستاد, instead of فرستادند.

[3] Here again there is some difference in the readings. Both the MSS. have the reading I have adopted. The lith. ed. has a different reading و در سال سنه ثلاث و تسعین تسعمائة در فتح ایذسال و او اخر سال سي ام الهي است میرزا شاه رخ. I have quoted this as it resembles the corresponding passage in Badāonī, which is و در مفتح سال ثلث و تسعین و تسعمائة (۹۹۳) که او اخر سال سي ام است که میرزا شاه رخ.

[4] The word is distinctly نه, nine, in one MS. In the other it may be سه or نه, three or nine. In the lith. ed. it is سه, three. It is سه, three, in Badāonī.

[5] It is پنج five in both MSS., but چند, some, in the lith. ed.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARRIAGE FESTIVITIES OF SHĀHZĀDA SULTĀN SALĪM.

[2] At this time, the idea of holding a feast for the wedding of His Highness Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm arose in the noble mind of His Majesty the Emperor. For this great alliance, the shadow (reflection) of the sun of royal favour shone on Rāja Bhagwān Dās. His daughter was considered to be the best and most suitable person for this great connection. In accordance with orders, a festive assembly having the grandeur of the higher paradise was adorned. For the performance of this act, His Majesty in his own elegant person graced the mansion of Rāja Bhagwān Dās by his royal presence. The marriage assembly was held there in the presence of Qāzīs and other noble persons. A sum of two *krors* of *tanqahs* was fixed as the marriage settlement of the bride, and pearls and gems were scattered all the way from the Rājā's mansion to the threshold, as a thanks' offering.

Couplet:

With the quantities of gems and gold that were scattered around,
Men's hands were aweary of gathering them up.

Rāja Bhagwān Dās passed so much of vessels of gold and fine fabrics, and rich stuffs, and stablefuls of horses, and one hundred elephants and slaves and slave-girls, Abyssinian, Circassian, and Hindustani before the noble eyes, that the accountants of imagination and thought were unable to take account of them; and grand assemblies and royal festivities were arranged.[3]

[1] This heading is in both MSS. but not in the lith. ed.

[2] This passage to سرزد is omitted from one MS. The account of the marriage is given in the Akbarnāma in pp. 677–78 of Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation. Badāonī's account is in the Persian text II, page 341. It should be noted that Badāonī says that the جميع رسومي كه در هنود معهود است از افر وختن اتش وغيران بجاي اوردة or as Mr. Lowe has translated it. "They performed all the ceremonies, which are customary among the Hindus such as lighting the fire, etc." This is not noted by either Abul Fazl or Nizām-ud-din: but is a matter of some importance, from a socio-religious point of view.

[3] One MS. adds here درين محل طليعهٔ لشكر بهار، و در امدن سال اول از قرن دويم جلوس بادشاهي شد.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 31ST YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

[1] The beginning of this year was on Friday, the 29th Rabī'-ul-āwwal 994 A.H. (10th or 11th March 1586). In the *nauruz* day the *Nauruz* assembly was held in the customary manner.

In the beginning of this auspicious year, [2] Mīr Murtaza and Khudāwand Khān *amīrs* of the Dakhin, came with the face of hope to the threshold of the *bādshāh*, who was the protector of the world. This matter has been briefly mentioned already, in connection with the events which happened in Gujrat. When the Dakhinis were defeated by Salābat Khān and came to Burhānpur, Rāja 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Burhānpur, seized their elephants. Out of these he sent one hundred and fifty elephants, with his son, to the threshold which was the asylum of the world. On the day of the imperial *nauruz*, and of the royal festivity, the *amīrs* of the Dakhin were exalted by the grace of being allowed to kiss the threshold, and having offered suitable tribute, received imperial favours.

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[1] Both the MSS. have the reading I have adopted, but the lith. ed. has after سال سي و يكم الهي اول از قرن دوم جلوس بادشاهي ظاهر شد . روز پنجشنبه نوزدهم ، ربيع الاول سنه اربع و تسعين و تسعمياته نو روز سلطاني ، حضرت خليفه الهي قدم بر تخت كامراني نهاده ، مژده انبساط و خرمي رسانيده ، بدستور هر سال تزيئن آئين هندي در صحن دولتخانه عام و خاص فرمودند ، و هر يكي امرا و خوانين نيز در ايواني كه آئين بسته اند ضيافت كرده ، و پيشكش مي گذرانيده etc., as in text. I have thought it necessary to quote this because it appears from the translation in Elliot V, page 448 that, that translation has been made from some similar text. The date of the beginning of the year is given there as Thursday, the 19th Rabī'-ul-āwwal 993 A.H. as in the lith. ed. as quoted above. The correct date is that given in the text, which agrees with that in the Akbarnāma (See Beveridge's translation III, 738).

[2] In the corresponding passage in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 687, there is no mention of Rāja 'Ali Khān's seizing the Berar elephants and of his sending one hundred and fifty of them to Akbar. It is however said there, that when the Berar *amīrs* wanted to come to the court, the officers of the borders kept them back, till Akbar sent an order that his court was open to mankind, etc. On the other hand Badāonī mentions the elephants, but he does not say that Mīr Murtaza and Khudāwand Khān came to Agra. According to him, it was Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Rāja 'Ali Khān, who came. He brought the elephants, and did homage at the time of the *Nauruz*, and offered tribute, and incited Akbar to conquer the Dakin.

At this time [1]Amīr Fath-ul-lah Shirāzī was honoured with the title of 'Azd-ud-daula and the office of *Sadr* (Judge) of the whole country of Hindustan, and a sum of five thousand rupees, a horse, and a special robe of honour were bestowed on him.

In the month of Rajab of the same year, [2]a representation came from some of the well-wishers at Kabul, and was submitted to the emperor, to the effect, that Mīrza Sulaimān had a second time acquired power over Badakhshan, and had obtained possession of it. The truth of this matter was like this, that at the time when 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek came and attacked Badakhshan, Mīrzas Sulaimān and Shāhrukh were unable to withstand him, and abandoned Badakhshān. Mīrza Hakīm had granted [3]Mauza Istālif, in

[1] It should be noted, that when Ā'azam Khān was sent to conquer Berar, *Amīr* Fath-ul-lah had the title of 'Azd-ud-daula conferred on him, and was sent with him to arrange the affairs of the Deccan. Nizām-ud-dīn does not say why he was specially honoured on the present occasion, but it appears from Badāonī that it was intended that he should manage the affairs of the Khān Ā'zam and Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khan and the other *amīrs*, and be a sort of pivot, or as Mr. Lowe says a "rallying point" for them all. Akbar seems to have had a very high opinion of his ability, but it may be that the present reference to him is merely a repetition of what was said of him before. Abul Fazl also had a very high opinion of him. According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation, III, page 701. "That wise man of the age, Fath-ul-lah Shirazi received the title of 'Azdu-daulah (arm of the empire), and was sent to guide Raja 'Ali, the ruler of Khandesh."

[2] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have the passage as follows عرضداشت از کابل آمده بعرض رسید، مضمون آنکه میرزا سلیمان نوبتی دیگر بر بدخشان دست یافته ؛ و قبل ازین که عبد الله خان اوزبک بر سر بدخشان آمده میرزا سلیمان و میرزا شاه رخ را بر آورده، امرای خود را در بدخشان جمعیت گذاشته به بخارا مراجعت نمود. میرزا سلیمان فرصت غنیمت دانسته، باتفاق او ملاقات بدخشان جمعیت کرده، به بدخشان در آمده، با امرای عبد الله خان جنگ کرده بفتح و فیروزی اختصاص یافتند. whereas the other MSS. have the passage as I have it in the text. I have adopted it, as it is a more coherent and logical narrative, and contains more facts than the other. The last few words about giving permission to the prisoners to leave after putting on robes of honour on them, is rather difficult to understand, though Badāonī says the same thing, Persian text II, 344, and English translation II, 365.

[3] The name of the village is استالف in the MSS. in which it is mentioned. It is not mentioned in the other MS. or in the lith. ed. or in Elliot V. It is

attack and victory of Mīrza Sulaimān reached 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, he sent a large army to attack the Mīrza; and the latter, being unable to meet them, retired towards Kabul; and the whole of the country of Badakhshān again came into the possession of the Uzbeks.

At this time the news of the death of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm was received. Although Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm was not the own brother of the emperor, yet the latter's affection for, and kindness to him was greater than is usually felt for and shown to such a brother. In spite of the fact, that on many occasions, he had overstepped the line or measure (of duty), His Majesty had considered his insubordination and rudeness as if they did not exist, and had always treated him with kindness, and had showered royal favours on him. He had also several times sent great *amīrs* with large armies to help and reinforce him; and had conferred the kingdom of Kabul on him, as has been already narrated.

[1] As Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm had been addicted to the drinking of intoxicating beverages, he became subject to various conflicting maladies; and falling on the bed of weakness, he passed away on Friday, the 12th Sha'bān 993, corresponding with the 31st year of the Ilāhī era, in Kabul, from this house of fear and pride to the realm of happiness and joy.

Verse:

Behold! that while the skies revolve and turn.
A nursling plant doth sprout from out the earth.
When that cypress body is with gems adorned,
A danger-blast doth cast it on the dust.

[2] In short on hearing this melancholy news His Majesty performed the rites of mourning; (and then) thought (of measures) for

lith. ed. but I have inserted it from the MSS. One MS. omits the opening word در خلال این احوال.

[1] The sentences and the verses of which this paragraph, and the following verses, are a translation are omitted from the lith. ed. but are to be found in both MSS. The date of Mīrza M. Hakīm's death is the 30th July 1585. There is a slight difference between the two MSS., in the third line of the verses. One has چو گشت ان سرو تن, while the other has چو گشت ان سرو قد.

[2] I have adopted the reading in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but the

the protection of Kabul and Ghaznī. He wanted to confirm the country of Kabul to the sons[1] of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, in accordance with previous custom. But the great *amīrs* pointed out that the Mīrza's sons were young; and would not be able to discharge the duties of sovereignty.

Verse:

Entrust not to the young, works that are hard,
For thou can'st not break an anvil with thy fist!
The tendance of the subject and the command of troops,
Are not works that thou can'st treat as play and sport.

[2]And the Uzbek army has seized Badkhshān, and is lying in ambush (for attacking Kabul). On account of this, the kingdom-adorning wisdom decided on marching to the Punjab *sarkār*: and on the 10th of Ramzān of that year, His Majesty placed his foot of state in the stirrup of good fortune, and started for the Punjab. He sent Khān Khānān, after distinguishing him by bestowing valuable robes of honour on him, to Gujrat. And as Ā'azam Khān had been appointed for the conquest of the Dakhin, he sent 'Azd-ud-daula, Amīr Fath-ul-lah, for the work of arranging the affairs of the Dakhin. As these events have already been mentioned in con-

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reading in the other MS. which is as follows این خبر مالات اثر در سوم ماه رمضان رسید. حضرت از شنیدن این خبر تنگ دل و محزون گشته، قطرات حسرات بر صفحات رخسار تابنوار فرو ریخت. بعد از مراسم فکر محافظت، appears to me somewhat better; it may be translated; "This mournful news arrived on the 3rd of the month of Ramzān. His Majesty on hearing it, became sad and sorrowful, and shed drops of tears on his bright cheeks. After performing the rites (of mourning), the thought of the protection, etc."

[1] There were two sons, Kaiqubād and Afrāsiyāb, aged respectively 15 and 14 years according to the text of the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 713; but according to a note in the same page the variant 11 for 15 in the case of Kaiqubād is supported by I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma, and Mr. Beveridge says that "Probably 15 was adopted by the copyist, because Kaiqubād was the eldest son and therefore older than Afrāsiyāb. This difficulty is got over by the apparent fact that Afrāsiyāb was not 14 but 4 as shown in the Iqbālnāma."

[2] The reading in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. is و لشکر اوزبک بدخشان را گرفته و در کمینگاه است. The و after گرفته should be omitted.

nection with the occurrences in Gujrat, I do not again venture to reiterate them.

His Majesty in state and grandeur marched by stages to Dehli, without halting anywhere. He there circumambulated the tomb of his great father, which was the resting place of rays of light; and also made pilgrimages to the tombs of the great ones; and made the *faqīrs* and the helpless, prosperous and happy by general gifts The new moon of Shawwāl having become visible, (while the emperor was) at Dehli, early on the morning of Thursday, after the celebration of the 'Īd, he started from Dehli; and on the 19th Shawwāl, the grand cavalcade arrived on the bank of the Sutlej. News came at this station, that Kunar Mān Singh had sent a body of his men across the Nīlāb to Peshāwar; and Shāh Beg, a servant of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, on hearing this, had fled to Kabul. (His Majesty) sent Sādiq Khān from the neighbourhood of Lahore, to become the governor of Bhakkar. The pavilions of the grand army were pitched on the bank of the river Chināb on Wednesday the [1] 13th of the month of Zi-qa'ada. At this station, Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahīm of Lakhnow, who was included in the band of *amīrs*, developed signs of insanity, and wounded himself with a dagger. His Majesty with his own God-worshipping hands sewed up his wound, and he was cured. On the 28th of the month of Zi-qa'ada, (the camp) arrived at the bank of the river [2] Bihat and crossed it.

At this station, a representation came from Kunar Mān Singh containing a report of the loyalty and submission of the people of Kabul, and of the conquest of the country. [3] Muhammad 'Ali

[1] The date is سیزدهم, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and also in the Persian text of Badāonī, but it is given incorrectly as 17th in Elliot V, page 449 and as 16th in the English translation of Badāonī, II, page 359. The dates given in the Akbarnāma are of the Ilāhī era. The Sutlej was reached according to the translation of the Akbarnāma on the 24th Mihr.

[2] The Bihat which is a variant of the Sanskrit Vitastā is said incorrectly to be the same as the Beyah in Elliot V, page 449. In the translation of Badāonī, it is correctly said to be the same as the Jhīlam. The date of crossing the river Bihat is mentioned in Badāonī, Persian text, and English translation as the 27th; but it is 28th in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed., and also in Elliot V. In the Akbarnāma it is the 24th Ābān.

[3] This passage is in the MSS. and in the translation in Elliot V, but not in

Khazānchī, who had before this been deputed to Kabul, came and submitted (to His Majesty), that when the death of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm happened, Kaiqubād and Afrāsiyāb, his sons, were on account of their tender age unable to take any part in the matters of government and revenue, and the authority was in the hands of the *amīrs* of the country. The latter were steadfast in their sincerity and loyalty to the sublime threshold, with the exception of Farīdūn Khān, who was the uncle (husband of mother's sister) of the Mīrza. When Kunar Mān Singh and the imperial troops galloped into Kabul, Farīdūn Khān, unable to help himself, came to attend on Kunar Mān Singh bringing with him the Mīraz's sons and all the *amīrs* (of Kabul). The Kunar gave all of them hopes of imperial favour. He left his own[1] son, with Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn Khān Khāfi in Kabul, and with the sons and *amīrs* of Mīrza Hakim, turned his face to the foot of the throne of the Caliphate. [2] On the

the lith. ed. The translation in Elliot V, page 450 of the last words الا فریدون خان که خال میرزا محمد حکیم بود is totally wrong. It is "moreover Farīdūn Khān, the uncle of the late Mīrza, when Kunar Singh entered Kabul in hot haste", etc.

[1] The name of Mān Singh's son was Jagat Singh (Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 732). In the translation in Elliot V, the preposition با, with, has been wrongly translated as "In the charge of"; but Jagat Singh was certainly not placed in the charge of Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn Khān Khāfi, according to Abul Fazl or Nizām-ud-dīn or Badāonī. Shams-ud-dīn Khān Khāfi is called Shamsu-dīn Khān Khawāfi by Badāonī.

[2] There are some differences in the readings here. One MS. has و بتاریخ ۲۰ ماه ذی الحجه در قصبه راول پندي که مابین رهتاس و اتک واقع است پسران محمد حکیم و امرای او را اورده شرف زمین بوس دریافت. The lith. ed. agrees with this, but inserts کنور مان سنگه between واقع است and پسران. Between the two, the latter appears to me to be the more correct reading. The other MS. has a different reading. It has و بتاریخ بست و پنج ماه ذی الحجه در قصبه راول پندي که مابین رهتاس واتک واقع است نزول اجلال فرمود پیشتر و همدرین روز کنور مان سنگه. This is grammatically incorrect, as there is no nominative to the verb فرمود and the word پیشتر is meaningless. The former defect may be cured by inserting the words حضرت خلیفه الهي, or some other appellation of the emperor; and it contains the additional fact that the emperor arrived at Rāwalpindi on the same day as Kunar Mān Singh, which appears to be correct, according to Badāonī, though the date is given there as the 5th Zi-hijja.

25th of the month of Zi-hijja, Kunar Mān Singh brought the sons of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm, and the latter's *amīrs* to the town of Rawalpindi, which is situated between Rohtas and Atak, and had the honour of kissing the ground. The sons and the servants of Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm became the recipients of royal favours; and [1] to each one of the chief men, (the emperor) bestowed five and six thousand rupees, and also conferred fitting *jāgīrs* and stipends.

When the sublime standards arrived in the neighbourhood of Atak Banāras, Mīrza [2]Shāhrukh and Rāja Bhagwan Dās, and Shāh Quli Mahram, and other renowned *amīrs*, who were about five thousand horsemen were sent to conquer the country of Kashmir. On the same day Isma'el Quli Khān and Rāi Rāi Singh were deputed to attack the Baluchis. On the next day Zain Khān Koka was sent with a well-equipped army against the Afghāns of Sawād (Swat) and Bajaur, for the extirpation of those turbulent tribes. His Majesty arrived in the fort of Atak Banāras, which was one of the forts erected by him, on Thursday the [3]15th Muharram 995 A.H.

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[1] Though Nizām-ud-dīn does not mention it, there was one man who received no favour. Abul Fazl says that "Farīdūn, who was of an ungrateful nature, * * was made over to Zain Koka that his disposition might be studied"; *i.e.*, I suppose that he was imprisoned.

[2] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 714, gives the reason for the invasion of Kashmir. "The ruler there of * * did not take the road of good service. Though he indulged in protestations, he neither showed the intention of coming to kiss the threshold, nor of sending his son Ya'qub."

[3] The date given in the text is as it appears in one MS., and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. the year is اربع و تسعمائة, 904, which is of course incorrect. Elliot V, has 15th Muharram 994. Badāonī, Persian text II, 348 has یازدهم محرم مکرم سنه اربع و تسعین و تسعمائة and English translation II, 360 has 11th of Muharram 994. As the 31st year of the reign commenced on the 29th Rabi-ul-Awwal 499, the correct year is 995.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF THE MATTER OF THE TĀRĪKĪS.

[2] In former times a man from Hindustan came among a tribe of the Afghāns, and promulgated an heretical and heterodox religion; and made many of the fools of the country his disciples; and gave himself the name of Pīr Raushnāi. He wrote a book, which he called the Khair-ul-bayān, and described his false tenets. When he went to hell, his son Jalāla, who was fourteen years of age, came in the year 989 A.H. to wait on the emperor, when the sublime standards were returning from Kabul. He received royal favours, but owing to his inherent wickedness, he fled after remaining a few days in attendance on the emperor; and going among the Afghāns became a source of disturbance and revolt. He united a large horde with himself, and closed the roads between Hindustan and Kabul.

Verse:

A tree, that by its nature bitter is,
If in a garden in paradise, thou dost it plant.
And if from the rivulet there, for watering it,
Thou pourest on its root honey pure and sweet;
In the end, its nature doth prevail,
For bitter fruit it ever would bear.

His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilahī, deputed Kunar Mān Singh to extirpate and destroy the *Raushnāis*, who were really Tārīkīs, and in future would be called by that name, and conferred Kabul on him as his *jāgīr*. When the news arrived that Zain Khān Koka had entered the country Sawād, and had met with tribes of Afghāns, who were more numerous than ants and locusts, on the 2nd of the

[1] The heading given in the text is given in both MSS. as ذكر قضيه تاريكى and also as a second heading in the lith. ed. The first heading in the lith. ed. ذكر تاريكيان تيراه كه بروشنائي اشتهار دارند, *i.e.*, an account of the Tārīkīs of Tīrah, who are known as Raushnāis is a good descriptive heading; but as it is not in the MSS., I have not given it in the text.

[2] Badāonī says پيش ازين به بست و پنج سال, *i.e.*, "25 years before this". The founder of the sect is described as a Hindustani soldier in Elliot V, page 450; but the MSS. and the lith ed. describe him as a شخصى هندوستاني. Badāonī however has هندوستاني سپاهي. The Akbarnāma mentions the sect in different passages, but I have not been able to find out any account of its founder.

month of Safar of that year, , Sa'īd Khān Kakhar and [1] Raja Bīr Bar and Shaikh Faizi and Fath-ul-lah Sharbati and Ṭāsh Beg and Sāleh 'Aqil with other men were sent to [2] reinforce and help Zain Khān Koka. After a few days Hakīm Abul Fath and other *amīrs* and servants of the threshold were sent forward after them. When these armies joined Zain Khān Koka, they stretched their hands in harrying and plundering the Afghāns, and took many prisoners as slaves and much booty. When they arrived at the pass of [3] Karākar, a man came to Rāja Bīr Bar, and said "The Afghāns intend to make a night attack, this night, and the breadth of the mountain defile is not more than three or four *karohs*. If you pass through this defile, you may be free from all anxiety about the night attacks." Rāja Bīr Bar started with the intention of passing through the defile, without acting in concert with Zain Khān, and the whole army started behind him. At the close of the day, when the sun was setting they came to the narrowest path. The Afghāns from the different sides, having climbed to the top of the hills attacked them with arrows and stones. The men lost their way in the narrow defiles, in the darkness of the night, and were killed in the holes and caverns. [4] There was a terrible defeat, and a great

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[1] Badāonī calls him بیربر ملعون, or Bīr Bar the accursed; and later on says that he started without consulting Zain Khān از خود سری و خیرہ گردی و خود نمائی, which Mr. Lowe has translated as "Through his wilfulness and stupidity and arrogance."

[2] One MS. inserts here بدو دفع, *i.e.*, in two bodies, but the other MS. and the lith. ed. have not got those words.

[3] It is کراکر in the MSS., and in the lith. ed. and in Badāonī, but in the translation in Elliot V, page 451, it is Karāgar. In Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, page 720, it is "the Karākar (?) pass between Swād and Buner."

[4] This has been called the Yusufzai disaster. About it see note I, page 731 Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma. The number killed is said by Abul Fazl to have been 500, but his account is confused and contradictory, and he apparently wanted to soften the disgrace of Akbar's army. Both the other contemporary historians, Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāonī estimate the number slain at 8,000 and they have been followed by Ferishtah. Khafi Khān in the Muntakhab-ul-lubāb, I, 191, *et. seq.*, has the fullest account; but his estimate of the number killed *viz.* 40,000 to 50,000, appears to be too high.

disaster. About eight thousand men met their death. Rāja Bīr Bar who for fear of death had attempted to take flight was killed. [1] Hasan Behti, [2] Raja Dharmkand, Khwaja 'Arab, who was the *bakhshi* of the army, and [3] Mulla Shīrī the poet, and a large number of chief men were killed that night.

Zain Khān Koka and Hakīm Abul Fath sustained another defeat on the 5th Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the year; and reached the [4] fort of Atak with much hardship. This gave pain to the noble mind, and he deprived the *amirs* of the honour of attending on him. He appointed Rāja Todar Mal with a great army for redressing this disaster. The Rāja entered the hilly country, and aided by his skill and experience built [5] forts in several places. He left no *minutia* unaccomplished in the way of plunder and devastation; and

[1] The name is حسن بهتی, Hasan Behti in one MS., and looks like حسن تهنی Hasan Tahni in the other. It is حسن تهی, Hasan Tahi in the lith. ed. The name is omitted in the translation in Elliot V, though the next name is given as Rāja Dharm Singh. He is called Hasan Patani in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 732; and حسن خان پني Hasan Khān Panī in Badaoni, Persian text II, 350.

[2] This name is راجه دهرمکند, Rāja Dharmkand in one MS. and in the lith. ed. It is راجه دهیر, Rāja Dhīr in the other MS. Elliot V, has Rāja Dharam Singh. Akbarnāma has Rāja Dharmkand Sankar. Badāonī does not mention him. Khafi Khān calls him Rāja Dhīr.

[3] This name is also variously given; in one MS. it is ملاشري Mullā Sharī. In the other it is ملاشرين, Mullā Sharīn; the lith. ed. has ملاشيرين, Mullā Shīrīn. Elliot V, hides the name in asterisks. Abul Fazl or rather Mr. Beveridge has Mulla Sheri. Badāonī has ملاشيري in the Persian text; and Mr. Lowe has Mulla Shīrī. It appears from note I, page 732 of Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma that he was a great poet, and that though he was a courtier, he satirised Akbar's pretentions to Divinity.

[4] One MS. has بقلعه اتک بنارس, to the fort of Atak Banāras.

[5] According to the Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation III, 736, Mān Singh "established a fort on the bank of the river (the Indus) in the direction of Buner and near Ohind, and set about civilising the country"; and Todar Mal established a camp near the Lungar hills, which belong to Sawād. Brave men seized these two exits of the Afghāns, and made things difficult for them. Every day active men entered the hilly country from either side. Great endeavours were made to chastise the wicked by capturing them and by plundering." Truly a very nice way of civilizing the country.

reduced the Afghāns to great straits. Kunar Mān Singh who had marched to attack the Tārīkīs [1]met that sect in the Khaibar pass, and slew a large number of them, and was distinguished with victory and triumph.

And at this time news came, that, [2]Mīr Quraish, the ambassador of [3] 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, the bādshāh of Māwara-un-nahar, was coming with choice articles and presents. [4]Nazr Be Uzbek, who was one of the great *amīrs* of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān being aggrieved by the latter, also with his sons, Qambar Be, Shādi Be, and Bāqi Be, each one of whom had reached the rank of an *amīr*, brought the face of supplication to the threshold, which was the asylum of sultāns. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sent Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī and Ahmad Beg Kabuli, and a number [5]*Ahadis*, to hasten forward to meet the

[1] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. has با ان طایفه مقابله نموده جنگ صعب اتفاق افتاد. The other MS omits جنگ صعب اتفاق افتاد and also the word مان سنگه, and for بفتح substitutes erroneously فتح, and for ظفر فیروزی. The lith. ed. follows the second MS., but omits the last clause فتح و فیروزی. I have adopted a reading taking parts of the readings in the MSS.

[2] The name is میر قریش in both MSS.; but the lith. ed., has Mīr Wis. Elliot V, has Mīr Kuraish. Badāonī has میر قریش, and Mr. Lowe and Mr. Beveridge have Mīr Quraish.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, 'Abd-ul-lah Khān was frightened at Akbar's great power and near approach, so much so that "for fear of a rapid march of the World's Lord, the gates of Balkh were generally kept closed. 'Abd-ul-lah K., the ruler of Tūrān, had the enlightenment and discernment to have recourse to deprecatory behaviour, and tendered supplications."

[4] Badāonī calls him نظر بی اوزبک حاکم بلخ Nazr Be Uzbek, the governor of Balkh. The sons are mentioned by Badāonī, but their names are not given. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation page 735, gives the names of Nazr Be and his sons, as I have them in the text. The name of the eldest son is قنبربی in the MSS, but مربی, in the lith. ed., and Kabz Be in Elliot V. There is no difference in the name of the other sons, but the third is called باقي in the lith. ed., the بی being omitted.

[5] There is a good deal of information about the *ahadis*, in the index to the Akbarnāma, Vol. III. p. VII, s.v. "Ahadīs", where they are said to be a body of special servants. They are also called *Yakkah-Tāzān* and *Sawārān-Khāsa*.

caravan, and to bring them through the Khaibar pass. They, with the help and aid of Kunar Mān Singh, brought them through the pass. The Tārīkīs caused obstruction on the road, but were defeated, and many of those accursed people were slain.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 32ND YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

[1]The beginning of this year was on Saturday, the 11th of Rabī'-ul-akhir 995 A.H. The transit of the great luminary, who is the giver of gifts, from *Pisces* to *Aries* took place; and the beginning of the *naurūz-ī-sultānī*, and the commencement of the 32nd year took place. The royal apartments in the fort of Atak, were adorned with rich fabrics, and painted curtains, according to the annual custom; and the royal festival was celebrated. Kunar Mān Singh came and rendered homage.

AN ACCOUNT OF MĪRZA SHĀHRUKH'S GOING TO KASHMIR, AND OF THE CONCLUDING OF PEACE BY HIM WITH THE RULER OF THAT COUNTRY, AND THE RETURN OF THE AMĪRS TO THE PRESENCE.

[2]When Mīrza Shāhrukh and Rāja Bhagwān Dās and Shāh Quli Mahram arrived at the pass of [3]Bhulbas, which is on the boundary of Kashmir, Yusuf Khān, the ruler of the country, came to the pass, and obstructing their passage, closed the road. For some days, the imperial troops remained inactive, and snow and rain began falling; and the arrival of grain from various directions

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[1] There are some differences and mistakes in the readings in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best.

[2] The account begins abruptly but it will be seen (see p. 607 *ante*) that Mīrza Shāhrukh and the others were sent from Rāwalpindi to conquer Kashmir.

[3] The name is Bhulbās or Bhūlyās in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has Bhūliyás, and Badāonī, Phūlbās. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation page 723 has Būlyās in the text. It gives in the page mentioned some account of the route, which the expedition intended to follow, *via* Bhimbar; and the route, which they had to take under Akbar's order *via* Pakli. As to the pass Bhūlbās or Būlyās see note III, in page 723.

was also cut off. The news of the defeat of Zain Khān also arrived; and in addition to the other difficulties, became the cause of much trouble. The *amīrs* deciding [1] on peace, allocated the saffron fields, and the mint, and the revenue from the manufacture of shawls to the imperial treasury (*khālsa-i-sharifa*), and appointed officers to collect them. Yusuf knowing these terms to be very advantageous to him, came and saw the *amīrs*, and the victorious army, taking him with them, started on their journey to attend (on the emperor). When they arrived at the sublime threshold, the terms of peace did not meet with the approval of the noble mind; and the *amīrs* were forbidden to make their *kūrnish*. But after a few days, on the day of the transit of the Sun into *Aries* they were honoured by being allowed to make the *kūrnish*, and to kiss the ground.

Couplet;

[2] The anger of the generous, although it melts,
After causing pain, it favour confers.

On the same day of the transit, the [3] emissary of 'Abd-ullah Khān and Nazr Be, with his sons, obtained the honour of rendering homage, and of making the *kūrnish*. Also on that day

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[1] The various stages of the negotiations are mentioned in some detail in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 724-25. Badāonī, like Nizām-ud-din, mentions زعفران زار و حاصل شال و دارالضرب, as the three sources of revenue which should belong to the Khālsa; and adds somewhat unnecessarily و ولایت تمام با یوسف خان گذاشتند. The concessions mentioned in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 725 are that the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shāh-in-Shāh, and the mint, the saffron, the silk, and the game should be imperial. The silk is called ابریشم, in the Persian text and Mr. Beveridge says in a note, that perhaps this means woollen shawls. The Akbarnāma also gives the names of the men who were placed in charge of the different sources of revenues, and says that Akbar having regard to the circumstances of the army and of the Kashmiris * * * accepted the agreement.

[2] The first line is rather cryptic. It really means, although it melts, it does not burn or destroy.

[3] It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 735, that owing to Akbar being "somewhat troubled in his mind, on account of the

Isma'el Quli Khān and Rāi Singh brought the Kalāntars (headmen) and sardārs of the Biluches, and were honoured by being allowed to kiss the threshold. Four lākhs of *Mūrādī Tankas* which amount to five hundred *Tumāns* of 'Irāq were bestowed on Nazr Be and his sons. At the conclusion of the Naurūz, Kunar Mān Singh [1] obtained permission to leave, owing to his being pressingly urged to do so, by Rāja Todar Mal, who had been sent to extirpate the Yusufzai Afghāns and others.

As the noble mind was freed from anxieties about the matter of the Afghāns, and about the country round Atak Banāras and Kabul, the sublime standards came into motion with the intention of halting at the metropolitan city of Lahore, and on the 24th of Rabī'-us-sānī of the aforementioned year, (His Majesty) placed his foot of state in the stirrup of good fortune. As Kunar Mān Singh had at that time been appointed to the government of Kabul, the emperor appointed [2] Isma'el Quli Khān also with a large army to attack the Afghāns, and sent him from the bank of the [3] Bihat (Jhilam). An order to be obeyed by all the world

disaster of Rāja Bīr Bar, the ambassador for some days did not have an audience" and was somewhat disconcerted by the fact.

[1] The translation of this sentence in Elliot V, page 453 appears to be incorrect.

[2] According to the Akbarnama, Beveridge's translation III, page 735 Isma'el Quli Khān was sent in the place of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, who at this time suddenly became deranged in his mind; but he (Isma'el Quli Khān) "formed crude wishes, and indulged in idle thoughts", and fell out of favour. Later, his apologies were accepted, but he was removed from his post and ordered to chastise the Yusufzais. As to Raja Bhagwān Dās's madness, Badāonī (Lowe II, 364) says that "Bhagwān Dās, in order to save his safe conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger"; but Mr. Beveridge supposes, on what appears to me to be very insufficient grounds, (viz., that his daughter, Jahangir's wife poisoned herself) supposes that there probably was madness in the Amber family. See note II, page 742 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III. It appears, however, that Pratāp Singh, one of Rāja Bhagwān Dās's sons also became mad, and tried to kill himself, by putting a dagger to his throat; but his wound was sewn up, and he recovered. See Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 1111.

[3] The translation in Elliot V, as before erroneously calls the Bihat the Beyah and not the Jhilam.

was issued at this time to Kunar Mān Singh, that when Isma'el Quli Khān should arrive there, (*i.e.*, in the Yusufzai country), he should go to Kabul. [1] Saiyyad Hāmid Bukhārī was also appointed to reinforce Isma'el Quli Khān, and to crush the robbers and the turbulent Afghāns, and was ordered to remain at Peshāwar.

The sublime standards (or rather the emperor) then arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore, seeing the country and hunting on the way; and on the night of Friday, the 17th of the month of Jamādī-us-sānī of the aforementioned year (27th March 1586), the arrival in state took place. About this time they brought the [2] head of 'Arab Bahādur, who had taken shelter in the hilly country of Kamāūn, and was causing trouble to the country in the skirts of the hills, and who was killed by the servants of Hakīm Abul Fath, in *pargana* Shirkot.

On the [3] 5th Rajab of this year, the assembly of the sacred weighment of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī took place; and the magnificent festival was arranged; but as the details incidental to this festival have already been repeatedly mentioned, they are not again described here.

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[1] He is called Saiyyid Bukhāri in Elliot V, and is said there to have been "appointed to support Isma'el Kuli and was directed to occupy Peshawar". In the Persian text of Badāonī, it is said that

سید حامد بخاري در پشاور بکومک اسمعیل قلي خان و ساختن راه نگاه داشتند

In the English translation the man is called "Saiyid Hāmid of Bukhara", as if he and not one of his ancestors had belonged to that city.

[2] There is some difference in the readings. One MS. and the lith. ed. have incorrectly what looks like میر instead of سر. The translator in Elliot V, page 453, also has Mīr 'Arab Bahādur, but he had to omit the verb اوردند in the translation. Badāonī makes the matter quite clear. He says that 'Arab Bahādur was killed near Bahraich, though some say that he died a natural death, that his head was cut off and brought rolling غلطان غلطان all the way from the Kamāūn hills and was finally fixed on one of the pinnacles of the fort of Lahore. The circumstances under which 'Arab Bahādur was killed are given in some detail in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 746. He was killed by Dular, son of Kharak Rāi, a landholder.

[3] The date is the 5th Rajab in the MSS. and in the lith. ed,, but the translation in Elliot V, page 453 has the 13th Rajab. The date in the

On the 19th of the afore-mentioned month of Rajab, the [1] wedding of the fortunate Shāhzāda (Salīm), with the daughter of Rāi Singh, who was one of the great *amīrs* took place. Rāi Singh offered much tribute and innumerable articles of furniture and equipage ; and his head of pride was exalted to the summit of honour.

In the early part of Sha'bān of the aforementioned year Muhammad Qāsim Khān, [2] *Mīr Bahr-wa-bar* and [3] Fath Khān Faujdār, and Gujar Khān and Mīrza 'Ali 'Alam Shāhī, and Khanjari, and Shaikh Daulat Bakhtiyār, and a large number of other loyal *amīrs* were sent to conquer [4] Kashmir. When the victorious army

Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 748 is the 2nd Tir (12th June, 1586); Mr. Beveridge has pointed out in a note in that page that this corresponds with the 5th Rajab, the date of Akbar's birth, and the date given in the translation in Elliot V, viz., the 13th Rajab is incorrect.

[1] This appears to be his second marriage. The third marriage, which is not mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn took place almost immediately afterwards. This was with the daughter of Sa'īd K. Gakkar. (See Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 749.) The first child, a daughter, by the daughter of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, was born shortly before the second marriage. She was called Sultān Khirad; and Abul Fazl says that contrary to the usage of contemporaries, the emperor had an assembly to render thanksgivings. It is not clear what the usage of the contemporaries was. Was it the practice not to offer thanks on the birth of a female child ?

[2] He is called *Mir Bahr-wa-bar*, admiral and general, in one MS. and in the lith. ed. But the other MS. and the translation in Elliot V, and Badāonī all call him only Mir Bahr. The Akbarnāma does not give his title, but calls him Qāsim K. and describes him as "Among the singular of the age for ability and courage."

[3] There is much difference in the names. I am giving them as they are in the MSS.; but one of them gives the title of 'Alam Shāhī to Mirza 'Ali, while the other has Mirza 'Ali Akbar Shahi. The lith. ed. has Mirza 'Ali without the addition of either Akbar Shāhī or 'Alam Shāhī and has besides those mentioned in the MSS. Mirzād 'Ali Khān, and Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah 'Alam Shāhī. The translation in Elliot V, gives the name of Muhammad Kāsim Khān alone and asterisks for the others. Badāonī has Muhammad Qasim Khān Mir Bahr, and Fath Khān *Filban Faujdar* and a body of *amīrs*. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 752 has a number of names from which it appears that Akbar Shāhī was the correct title of M. 'Ali and that Shaikh Daulat Khanjarī was one man. Mirzād 'Ali Khān, and Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah 'Alam Shāhī are not mentioned in it.

[4] It may be noted that the terms of the treaty agreed upon between

advanced seven stages among the mountains and defiles, [1] Ya'qub, the son of Yusuf Khān, who considered himself the ruler of Kashmir, came with a large force to the pass of [2] Kapartal to oppose them and having fortified it, sat down. But the daily-increasing grandeur and prosperity of his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī did its work, and cast the stone of dissension among the Kashmiris. The particulars of this brief statement are these, that as the chiefs of Kashmir were displeased with the command and chiefship, of Ya'qūb, some of them separated from him, and came to Muhammad Qāsim Khān; and another body raised the standard of hostility in the city of Srinagar, which is the seat of the rulers of the country. Ya'qūb, considering the quelling of the rebellion in the house (*i.e.* in the capital) most important, turned back towards the capital. The imperial forces then entered Kashmir without any opposition; and Ya'qūb being unable to meet them, fled to the mountains. [3] The imperial army took possession of the city of Srinagar; and officers were sent to all the *parganas*.

the *amīrs* who were sent on a previous occasion to conquer Kashmir, and Yusuf, the ruler of the country, were not acceptable to Akbar. See p. 613. It appears from a note in page 725 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, that according to Haidar Malik's history of Kashmir, Yusuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country, and that Ya'qūb (his son) fought bravely, that the Mughal army suffered terribly from the cold and "were glad to retreat on my terms." As regards the present invasion, the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 752, says that "as the Kashmirians in their folly * * did not adhere to the treaty, and as Ya'qūb, the evil doer, thought that he was safe behind the barriers of difficult mountains, * * H.M. addressed himself anew to the conquest of the country."

[1] Badaoni says Ya'qūb had gathered round him the servants of his father, and considered his father as good as dead. Lowe's translation II, 365.

[2] The MSS. have كپريل Kapril, or كپرتل, Kapartal and كتريل Katril, and the lith. ed. has كرتل Kartal. Elliot V, has Kartal also in page 454, but in page 464, the translator says the name is doubtful and gives the different variants. Badāonī has كتريل Katrīl. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 754 has Kapartal in the text, and Mr. Beveridge has a long note, but does not come to any definite conclusion about the correct name of the pass.

[3] The words are شهر سر بنگر را متصرف شد و در جميع پرگنات عمال فرستادند

When the truth of the circumstances received the honour of the attention of his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, *farmāns* of graciousness and favour were issued to Muhammad Qāsim Khān and the other *amīrs*; and each one of them was honoured and exalted. Ya'qūb Kashmiri again collected a force, and came and fought with Muhammad Qāsim Khān, but was defeated. He made again a [1]night attack, but could not effect anything. The victorious army pursued him in to mountains covered with trees, and narrow defiles and completely beat and worsted him; and carried things so far, that he was about to be seized. In the end he came with humility and lowliness and saw Muhammad Qāsim, and [2]was enlisted in the band of the loyal servants (of the emperor); and the country of Kashmir was freed from all disturbances.

On the 19th Ramzān of the afore-mentioned year, the ambassador of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān obtained permission to leave, and [3]Hakīm Hamān brother of Hakīm Abul Fath, who was adorned with bodily and spiritual graces and perfection, was sent with him, as ambassador. Mīr Sadr Jahān, who was one of the Husaini Saiyyads of the country of [4]Kanouj and was dignified with human perfections was sent for the purpose of [5]offering condolences for (the death of) Iskandar Khān, father of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān. He also sent as presents to 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, about a *lakh* and half of rupees, which

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omitted in one MS., but they are in the other, and in the lith. ed., in which, however, the word جميع is omitted, and in the translation in Elliot V.

[1] Badāonī says that Mīrzāda 'Ali Khān was killed in the night attack.

[2] He came with Muhammad Qāsim Khān to render homage, but apparently he did not gain much by doing so; as according to Badāonī, he was sent to Kunar Mān Singh in Behar, where apparently his father also was; and they both suffered in prison from melancholy and spleen, till death freed them from all their troubles.

[3] The name is transliterated as Humān both in Elliot V, and in the translation of Badāonī; but it is Hamān in the translation of the Akbarnāma.

[4] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all write قنوج, but as the name is derived from Sans. Kānyakubja, I have written it with a K and not a Q.

[5] According to the translation in Elliot V, page 455, Mīr Sadr Jahān was sent on a complimentary visit to Iskandar Khān and according to Mr. Lawe to offer condolence to Sikandar Khān.

are equivalent to three thousand seven hundred *tumāns* of 'Irāq, and various articles of Hindustan, and choice and rare gifts with Muhammad 'Ali Khazānchī.

At this time news came, that one day the Tārīkīs having collected twenty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry came and attacked [1]Saiyyad Hāmid Bukhārī, who had been one of the great *amīrs* of the Sultāns of Gujrat, and had later become enlisted among the loyal servants of the emperor, and was posted at Peshāwar for crushing and destroying them. He with the few men that he, at that time, had with him, came out and gave them battle, and attained to martyrdom. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sent Zain Khān Koka and Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and Shaikh Farīd Bakhshi and a large number of other *amīrs* and servants (of the threshold), to redress this disaster, and to extirpate the Tārīkīs. As the latter had gathered together in large numbers in the Khaibar pass, and had blocked the road between Kabul and Hindustan, Kunar Mān Singh came with a large force to the Khaibar from Kabul, and there was a great battle and Mān Singh having been distinguished by victory and triumph slew a large number of the enemy. [2]He halted at the Khaibar for a night and a day and held his ground. The Tārīkīs and Afghāns came in large hordes all day and night and carried on a fight. At this time, Mādho Singh, the brother of Mān Singh, who was with Ismá'el Quli Khān at the *thāna* (military post) of Ohind, arrived

[1] The circumstances under which Saiyyad Hāmid Bukhārī was attacked and killed are described in some detail in pp. 777-778 of Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma.

[2] The passage of which this sentence from here down to "were slain" is a translation is omitted from one of the MSS., and also from the lith. ed., and also from the translation in Elliot V; but it is in the other MSS. I have inserted it in the text because there is an analogous passage in Badāonī. The latter adds a picturesque touch when he says that the تاریکیان روز دیگر هجوم عام اورده، تمام شب و روز چون شغالان فریاد کرده از اطراف جنگ مي انداختند *i.e.* on the following day, the Tārīkīs came in large hordes, and all day and night they howled like jackals and went on fighting from all sides. Mr. Lowe is scarcely correct, when he says that the next day they made a general onslaught. He has also put (?) after Auhand to show that he did not know where the place was.

with a well ordered army, to reinforce Mān Singh. After that the Afghāns fled. About two thousand of them were slain. After that Mān Singh took up a position at Jamrud; and left a *thāna* (military post) at the Khaibar.

At this time Mīrza Sulaiman, who had come to Badakhshān from Mecca the revered, and had got power there, but had to retire to Kabul, on account of the renewed attacks of the Uzbeks and had come from Kabul to Hindustan, arrived to wait upon his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, and became the recipient of royal benefactions.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 33RD YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA

The beginning of this year was on Monday,[1] the 23rd of Rabī'-ul-āwwal 996 (11th March 1588). The *Nauruz* festival was arranged as in previous years.

As it was reported (to his Majesty), that Jalāla Tārīkī, having been defeated by Kunar Mān Singh, was unable to remain in his former station, and had fled towards Bangash, [2]the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī appointed 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs*, with a number of others, such as Muhammad Quli Beg Turkmān, Hamza Beg Turkmān, Ahmad Beg Kabuli and others, (to march) to Bangash for the destruction of Jalāla. When the victorious army arrived in Bangash, Jalāla made them careless and negligent; and with cavalry and infantry exceeding ants and locusts in number came forward to attack them. There was a fierce battle, and the rebels were defeated and fled; and a large number of them hastened to hell.

1 This is the date according to the MSS. the lith. ed. and the translation in Elliot V. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 806, however gives Sunday, the 22nd Rabī'-ul-āwwal 996 (10th or 11th March, 1588) as the date of the beginning of the year. There is however only a difference of one day. Badāonī however mentions the 11th Rabī'-us-sānī 995 as the beginning of the imperial new year of the 32nd, or according to the Mīrza (?) the 33rd year from the accession.

2 The words خليفهٔ الهي are written in one MS. only, but are omitted from the other, and from the lith. ed. I have however inserted them in the text.

In this year of auspicious omen, the birth took place of Sultān Khusru, son of the fortunate prince Sultān Salīm, from the chaste cradle of the daughter of Rāja Bhagwān Dās. On the decoration of the festivities of the birth of this prince, which was as it were the rising of the first star of fortune, the earth and the age made proclamations of pleasure and success to all inhabitants of the world.

[1] A NARRATIVE OF THE DEPARTURE OF SĀDIQ KHĀN TO ATTACK SEHWĀN, AND OF HIS CONCLUDING A TREATY WITH THE RULER OF THATHA

At this time, Muhammad Sādiq Khān the governor of Bhakkar had, in accordance with orders, invaded the country of Thatha; and had besieged the fort of Sehwān. [2] Jānī Beg, the ruler of Thatha, who was the grandson of Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān, son of Mīrza 'Isa, came forward with humility; and in accordance with the practice of his grandfather, sent ambassadors with suitable choice presents and offerings to the threshold, which was the asylum of all people: and the imperial favour having been granted to him, a *farmān* was issued to Muhammad Sādiq Khān, to the effect, that the emperor had conferred the country of Jānī Beg on him; and that he (Sādiq Khān) should withdraw his hand of encroachment from it. On the 25th of Zi-qa'ada of the afore mentioned year, the ambassadors of Jānī Beg were permitted to return; and in order to enhance the dignity of Jānī Beg, Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk

[1] The heading is given in one MS. as I have given it in the text. In the other the words بر سر سهوان are omitted. In the lith. ed. سهیوان is printed instead of سهوان. In the translation in Elliot V, the heading is "Campaign against Sihwān."

[2] The words که پسر زادهٔ محمد باقي ترخان بن میرزا علي است are to be found in only one MS., but are omitted from the other and from the lith. ed. I have however inserted them in the text, as words indicating the relationship of Jānī Beg to Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān are to be found in the translation in Elliot V, page 456 and in Badāonī, Persian text II, 358. is میرزا علی however a mistake. The correct name is میرزا عیسی. In the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 750 to 51 there is an account of Sādiq Khān's besieging Sihwān (called Sahwan); but the facts do not agree with those in the text or in Badāonī.

was sent with his ambassadors, and he was honoured with various imperial favours and benefactions.

In the beginning of the month of Rabī'-us-sānī of this year the government of Kabul was entrusted to Zain Khān Koka; and [1] Mān Singh was summoned to the threshold, which was the asylum of all men. At the end of Rabī'-us-sānī, the Khān Khānān Mīrza Khān, came by rapid marches from Gujrat, with that most learned man of the age, Mīr Fath-ul-lah Shirāzī, who bore the title of 'Azd-ud-daula, to the threshold, which was splendid like the firmament, and became the recipient of imperial favours. [2] And on the 27th of Rajab Muhammad Sādiq Khān came from Bhakkar, and obtained the honour of rendering homage. About the end of Sha'bān of the afore mentioned year, Mān Singh arrived at the threshold, and at the end of the year, he was honoured with the government of the country of Bihar and Hājīpur Patna; and received permission to go there. About the same time also the government of Kashmir was entrusted to Mīrza Yusuf Khān [3] Rizavi; and Muhammad Qāsīm Khān, *Mīr Bahr Wa Bar*, was summoned from that country. Muhammad Sādiq Khān was sent to Swād and Bajaur for the destruction of the Yusufzais; and the jāgīrs of Mān Singh at Sialkot, etc, was bestowed on him. Isma'el Quli Khān was sent for from Swād and Bajaur, and was sent to Gujrat in place of Qulīj Khān; and the latter

[1] Badāonī, like Nizām-ud-dīn, merely mentions the fact of Mān Singh's recall, but does not say why he was recalled. It appears however, from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 790, that "The Rajput clan behaved with injustice to the subjects of Zābulistān, and that Kuar Man Singh did not look closely into the case of the oppressed, and disliked that cold country, it was taken from him, and he was appointed to chastise the Tārīkīs, and his fief was assigned to him in the eastern districts."

[2] Most of the changes in the governments are mentioned in Badāonī, Persian text II, 364. In the English translation Mr. Lowe has translated بدفع یوسف زی, which is mentioned there also as the object of Sādiq Khān being sent to Swād and Bajaur, as "to *expel* the Yusufzai from Sawad-u-Bajor"; "and Mān Singh's *jāgīr* at Sialkot" is stated to be "the *jāgīr* of Mān Singh at Sawālikot, etc."; and in a note it is explained, that the place is "called in the maps Sealcot."

[3] One MS. omits the word رضوی.

was summoned to the court. The government of the country of Bihar and Bengal was entrusted to Kunar Mān Singh, and he was given permission (to go there).

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 34TH YEAR OF THE ILAHI ERA

The beginning of this year was on [1] Tuesday, the 4th Jamādī-ul āwwal 997 A.H. (10th or 11th March 1589). Qulīj Khān came this year from Gujrat, and had the honour of rendering homage; and an order was passed, that he should, in concert with [2] Rāja Todar Mal, attend to all political and revenue matters.

Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk who had gone to Thatha with the ambassadors of Jānī Beg Tarkhān returned; and received the honour of rendering service. He presented Jānī Beg's tribute and representation, and became the recipient of imperial favours.

On the 22nd Jamādī-us-sānī 997, His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī started [3] with the intention of visiting Kashmir and Kabul. When he arrived at Bhimbar, where the hilly country of Kashmir begins,

[1] This agrees with the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 816. But the translation in Elliot V, has Saturday as the day of the week, but the date, month and year agree with those in the text. The translation in Elliot V, also has in italics, "The usual festival of 18 days"; but there is no mention of any festivity on this occasion, in the MSS. or in the lith. ed.

[2] Badāonī, who in his absurd bigotry could see nothing good in Todar Mal, or in fact in any Hindu, says that he had at this time become بسیار خرف میبود, which Mr. Lowe has translated as a very imbecile old man.

[3] The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 813–819, gives the lengths of the different marches which varied from 6 *kos* and 41 poles to one *kos* and 12 bamboo-lengths. The journey apparently was a laborious one. "Three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners and splitters of rocks and two thousand *beldārs* (diggers) were sent off under Qāsim K., that they might level the ups and downs of the road." The journey from the crossing of the Rāvī to the pass of Bhimbar began on the 28th April and ended on the 19th May. The emperor was attended during this time by the *ahl-i-mahal* (inmates of the house or harem), but at Bhimbar he left them behind, and marched *jarīda*, or with a small retinue. Some of the ladies were, however, sent for and were ultimately brought, and Akbar was very angry with the Prince Royal because, considering the difficulties of the road, he had brought them as far as Naushahra and had left them there.

he left the *Ahl-i-mahal*, or inmates of the harem, with prince Shāh Murād and from there, he proceeded in the way of rapid marches, (*yelghār*) to see the scenery of Kashmir. On [1] Sunday, the first day of Sha'bān of the afore mentioned year, the world-conquering standards halted at the city of Srinagar. As a few days gave the noble mind freedom from seeing the sights and travelling about in that country, and the time of the rains was approaching, an order came ((?) was issued,) that the Shāhzāda with the inmates of the harem should take up his quarters at Rhotas, and await the arrival of the emperor there.

That most learned man of the age, [2] Amir Fath-ul-lah Shirāzī,

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 827, the arrival at Srinagar took place on the 5th June, 1589. The distance from Lahore to Srinagar is 97 *kos* 7 poles, and it was traversed according to the text in 24 marches, but it appears from note 4, in the page that the distances given by A.F. only amount to about 89½ *kos*, and the number of stages is 23 and not 24. Lawrence, page 266, states that the distance from Srinagar to Bhimbhar is 148 miles. The account of the visit to Kashmir in the text is disappointing. There is not a single word about the scenery and nearly half the space devoted to the visit, is taken up with a quotation from Faizi's elogy on Amīr Fath-ul-lah Shirāzī. It is very brief in Badāonī also, and it is said there (quite incorrectly) that Akbar went to Kashmir from Kabul. It appears, however, from Badāonī's account, that Akbar called Kashmir his باغ خاصه, or his own special garden; and the country is described in one place as the ولایت با جمال or beautiful country. Abul Fazl is more appreciative. In one place he says "The praises of the country cannot be contained within the narrows of language." The journey by boat to Mararij (Marraj) is described with much appreciation and enthusiasm. He says that "Though at every station there were choicest spots, yet Nandi Marg was a fresh vision to eye and heart." Nandī, he correctly says, is the name of a servant of Mahadeo; but unfortunately he makes him a young woman in love with a young man who used to play polo on the *Marg* or plain, and she would come up and soothe her soul by a sight of him. When a governor of Kashmir proposed to bring the plain under cultivation she bought it up for a large sum, and imprecated a curse on any one who altered the ground. Cycles have elapsed since then, but it is still preserved in the same state. Akbar appears to have left Kashmir with reluctance, for Abul Fazl says, "Though the attractions of the climate, and the abundance of flowers and fruit shut off the road of escape, yet wisdom prevailed, and prevented him from staying longer."

[2] He died after Akbar had commenced the return journey, in the *Khānqā* of Mīr Saiyyad 'Ali Hamadānī, the great saint of the valley, and who is said to have been the chief agent in converting the inhabitants; and his body

passed away to the eternal world, in Kashmir. The separation from that unique one of the age fell heavily on the saintly heart of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, and he felt much grief. The prince of poets, Shaikh Faizi, composed a [1] *tarkib band* as an elegy on Amīr Fath-ul-lah. These following couplets are taken from it.

Verse:

[2] Again the time is come, when the world from order has fallen
On the world of wisdom, at the noon of knowledge, evening has fallen;
All the treasures of fortune, into the hands of the base have fallen;
All the blood-tears of adversity, into the cups of the great have fallen;
Truth has, the end of the thread of inquiry into its object, lost;
Meaning from language has lapsed, logic from speech has fallen;
The tongue of Ignorance runs recklessly to speed;
Propositions are all wrong, and truths are imperfect all;
The hearts of the seekers of perfection of the age are in eternal loss;
Like unripe fruit, that suddenly from the tree, half ripe doth fall;
The spiritual son of the great mother of wisdom,
The father of the fathers of insight, Shāh Abul Fath Shirāzī;
Two hundred [3] Bu-Nasrs and [4] Bu-'Ali's had gone, when he was born;

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was conveyed to the top of the Koh-i-Sulaimān, a delightful spot, and buried there.

[1] A kind of verse or stanza.

[2] The couplets of which these lines are the translation are quoted by Badāonī also, and have been translated by Mr. Lowe. My translation differs from his in some respect.

[3] His full name was Abu Nasr Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Tarkhān-al-Farābī. He is known as Mu'allim-ul-āwwal or the first teacher. He died in 339 A.H.

[4] His name was Abul 'Ali-al-Husain bin 'Abd-ul-lah bin Sina (known in Europe as Avicenna), born near Bukhāra in 370 A.H. died in 428 A.H. He

Fate has many such yet under the bales of its shop of cloth selling;
Sometimes with the camel litters of the [1] rationalists, round the world he roamed;
Sometimes with the flight of the [2] spiritually gifted he soared into the skies;
Proud was the age, of his existence of perfection rare;
In the reign of Jalāl-ud-dīn Akbar Ghāzī;
The eyes of the emperor of the world were bedewed at his death;
Alexander shed tears of grief, that Plato from the world was gone.

On the 27th of Ramazān, (the emperor) intending to visit the city of Kabul, [3] turned the bridle of his determination towards the fort of Atak, by the route of [4] Pakhli. Hakīm Abul Fath, who was one of the associates and companions (of the emperor), and was adorned by beauty of intellect and greatness and goodness of disposition and perfection of genius, took the last journey at the halting station of [5] Dhantaur; and he was buried at Hasan Abdāl.

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was the greatest philosopher after Al-Farābī, and is designated by the title of Mu'allim-us-sānī or the second teacher.

[1] The مشایان (lit. the walkers or peripatetics) philosophers who reasoned and acquired knowledge, but were deficient in spiritual insight, like Aristotle.

[2] اشراقیان, philosophers who had spiritual insight, like Plato.

[3] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 839, the return journey was begun by water. The anchor was raised on the 11th July, 1589, and the Khaibar was traversed on the 11th September. The journey is described in some detail in the Akbarnāma pp. 839–856. Akbar travelled by boat as far as Patan, which is on the Bārāhmula-Srinagar road, two days' journey from the latter place, and then by land.

[4] "Pakli commonly called Pakhli was west of Kashmir." J. II, 347 and 390. It was a *sarkār*, and is stated by A.F. to be in general a tributary to Kashmir. It is now known as the Hazāra country I.G., XIX, 318. Quoted from Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 723.

[5] Called Dantūr in the text of the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation III, 851), and a note says "Dantūr or Dhantūr, the Dhamtaur of the maps lies on the right bank of the Dor near Naushahrah. It is some five miles east of Abbottābād. Hakīm Abul Fath died on the night of Thursday, 19th Shawwāl 997 A.H. Akbar wrote a letter to his brother, Hakīm Hamān, telling him of

The Shāhzāda, in compliance with orders, came with the inmates of the harem, and the great camp from Rohtas, and coming to Atak, arrived at the pavilions of splendour and grandeur, in front of that fort, and rendered homage. Shahbāz Khān Kambu was appointed, at that station, to extirpate the remainder of the Yusufzai Afghāns, and obtained permission to depart. The world-conquering standards then crossed the Nīlāb river, and advanced towards Kabul. On the 22nd of Zi-qa'ada 977 A.H. ([1] 7th October), the sublime standards arrived at Kabul. Hakīm Hamān and Mīr Sadr Jahān, who had gone to Māwara-un-nahr, as ambassadors, arrived with the ambassador of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, and received the great honour and good fortune of kissing the ground. They placed the letter of 'Abd-ul-lah, which conveyed the intimation of his friendship and attachment, with the presents and choice articles which he had sent, before His Majesty's eyes. His Majesty stayed in Kabul for a period of two months, and spent most of the time in seeing the gardens and flowery meadows, and in enlightening his heart. The inhabitants of Kabul, both high and low, were made happy and fortunate with the bounties of his benefactions. At this time, the

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his brother's death. It is dated from the bank of the Indus, 28th Shawwāl 997, 30th August, 1589). It may be mentioned here, also that when Hakīm Hamān appeared before Akbar on his return from Māwara-un-nahr or Turan, the latter consoled him with the words "One brother has gone from the world for you, and for us, ten."

[1] Abul Fazl has 10th Mihr, corresponding to 21st September as the date of Akbar's arrival at Kabul. Mr. Beveridge has pointed out this difference, but has not attempted to explain it. I think that the date given by Abul Fazl is the date of Akbar's arrival, and that given by Nizām-ud-dīn is the date of the arrival of the great camp, and of the *entourage* generally. It will be seen from page 856 of Vol. III, of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma that at the station of Safed Sang, Akbar left the camp behind and advanced rapidly on horse-back. There is, however, some mistake in the dates mentioned by Mr. Beveridge. In note I, page 857, from which I have quoted first, the 10th Mihr is said to correspond with the 21st September; but in note 4, in the preceding page the date of Akbar's arrival at Kabul is said to be the day of Aban, 10th May equal to Monday, 21st Zi-qa'da. As Nizām-ud-dīn's date is the 22nd Zi-qada, there is a difference of only one day, which is quite well explained by Akbar's rapid ride from Safed Sang. It may be pointed out incidentally, that Akbar must have possessed considerable appreciation of the

news came that [1]Râjâ Todar Mal, who was the *vakîl-us-saltanat* (regent or agent-general of the empire) and the *musharraf-i-diwan* (or finance minister), and Râja Bhagwân Dâs, who was the *Amîr-ul-umra* (or the chief noble) had both resigned the deposits of their lives at Lahore.

On the [2]20th Muharram of the year 898, the august standards came into motion on the return journey to Hindustan. The government of Kabul was conferred on Muhammad Qâsim Khân, *Mir Bahr Wa Bar*, (admiral and commander-in-chief), and Tokhta Beg Kabuli, Muhammad Quli, and Hamza Beg Turkmân, and a large number of other *amîrs* were left to support him. The government of Gujrat was bestowed on Mîrza 'Azîz Kokaltâsh, who had the

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beauties of nature, for the reason of his rapid journey, was his anxiety to see the autumnal colouring of Kabul.

[1] Nizâm-ud-dîn, as a chronicler, very modestly refrains from making any remarks about these two great Hindu noblemen. He has not, however, anywhere in the course of his history spoken disparagingly of either of them. Abul Fazl describes Todar Mal, "as the unique of the age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs and the administration of India", and says that if he had not had bigotry, conventionalism, and spite (*kînatâzî*), and had not stuck to his own opinion, he would have been one of the spiritually great. (Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnâma III, 862). I cannot agree with Mr. Beveridge in his description of Badâonî's verses about Todar Mal's death as amusing. I consider that they are in the worst possible taste and rabid in their bigotry. Bhagwân Dâs is characterised by Abul Fazl as "endowed with uprightness, weight of counsel and courage", but even he does not escape from the malignity of Badâonî's pen, as he consigns him jointly with Todar Mal to the abode of hell and torment, and makes them the food in the lowest pit of serpents and scorpions, and impiously calls upon God to scorch them both.

[2] The date is incorrectly given as the 8th Muharram in the translation in Elliot V, page 458, but it is the 20th in the MSS. and also in the lith. ed. and also in Badâonî. The 20th Muharram corresponds with 19th November 1598. Abul Fazl says, Akbar left Kashmir on the 4th Azar, 14th or 15th November, but on that day he only went to Safed Sang. He went to Begrâm on the 10th Azar or 21st November. Todar Mal's death was reported to Akbar when he was encamped at Begrâm; and Râja Bhagwân Dâs's death at Bârîk Âb, five days later. The journey from Kabul to Lahore occupied a long time and is described at considerable length with many digressions, by Abul Fazl. See Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnâma, III, pp. 861–917. Akbar had two accidents, one when he fell from his horse and was hurt while hunting

title of Ā'azam Khān and [1]had also the government of Malwa. The writer of this history, Nizām-ud-dīn was sent for to be in attendance (on the emperor). At this time the Khān Khānān received Jaunpur as his *jāgīr*, in exchange for the one he had in Gujrat. When the world-conquering standards arrived in the metropolitan city of Lahore, the celebration of the *Naurūz Sulṭānī* and the commencement of the 35th year of the Ilāhi era took place.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 35TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [2]Wednesday, the 14th of Jamādī-ul-āwwal 998 A.H. (10th or 11th March, 1590). The *majlis-i-Naurūzi* (New year's day assembly) was decorated in the accustomed manner. [3]His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sat on the throne of honour in the great camp, which was located on the bank of the river of Lahore (the Ravi); and on the 2nd day of the *Naurūz* he made the city of Lahore, the object of the envy of the highest paradise, by the grandeur of his joy-giving presence. On the 3rd day of the *Naurūz*, the writer of this history with a body of camel-riders arrived by rapid marches after traversing a distance of [4]600

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a hyena near Dākā, and the second when he was trying to mount a *mast* elephant from the neck of a female elephant, and when he was thrown violently, and became insensible, but recovered after being bled, according to his own orders, and in spite of the advice of the physicians.

[1] Malwa was made over to Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khan. Badāonī, Persian text II, 372, says that Ā'azam Khan through spite of Shahālz Khān laid Malwa waste, and made it like *khāk siyāh* or black earth.

[2] This agrees with the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 871 but the day of the week is incorrectly given as Thursday in Elliott V, page 458.

[3] The words from حضرت خليفه الهي و to رشک فردوس برين ساختند. و روز لاهور نزول داشته are omitted from the lith. ed., but are in the MSS., but the words are not in one of them.

[4] The translation in Elliot V, page 459, does not mention the distance in the text, but has in a note "six hundred *kos*, B II, 372," from which it would appear that the distance was not given in the MSS. which he used. Badāonī adds that Akbar ordered that the camel-drivers should enter the plantation (*Mahjar*) in the same condition in which they had arrived, and they were a wonderful spectacle.

karohs in the course of 12 days; and was allowed to have the honour of kissing the ground, and became the recipient of imperial favours.

As Rājā Bhagwān Dās had died, Kunar Mān Singh who was the true son, and was one of the *amīrs* of high rank, and held the government of Bihar and Bengal, the emperor gave him the title of Rājā, and honoured him by the issue of a *farmān* of (imperial) favour, and the grant of a special robe of honour and a horse and sent them with one of the *ahadis*.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF Ā'AZAM KHĀN WITH THE JĀM AND THE SONS OF AMĪN KHĀN, AND MOST OF THE ZAMĪNDĀRS; AND OF THE VICTORY OF Ā'AZAM KHĀN.

When Ā'azam Khān arrived in Gujrat, he turned his attention to the conquest of the territory of the [2] Jam, who was distinguished among the *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood, by the multitude of his soldiers and followers. The Jām, in concert with Daulat Khān, son of Amīn Khān Ghūri, the ruler of the fort of Junāgarh, who had succeeded to his father, and the other *zamīndārs* collected twenty-thousand horsemen, and came forward to meet him.

[3] Couplet;

Although that army was like ants and locusts,
Ants are killed, when they fall on the way.

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[1] This elaborate heading occurs in one MS., but not in the other or in the lith. ed. Elliot V, page 459, has a heading "'Āzam Khān's campaign in Gujrat."

[2] The Jām's name, as we have seen before, was Satar Sāl.

[3] This couplet is to be found in Badāonī also with some slight variations. The account of the battle agrees with that given by Badāonī, but he says that the victory was one the like of which had never been seen in those parts. كه درين نزديكى انطور نشان نميدهند. Khawāja Muhammad Rafī' Badakhshī is described as a جوان بشجاعت و شهامت ممتاز, and the 4,000 Rajputs, who are called كفار are duly sent with the Jām's son to *Jahannum*. The translator in Elliot V, quotes with approval a remark of Col. Brigg's that as no results followed, the victory was most likely a defeat; but Mr. Beveridge says in note 4, page 305, of his translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, that it is not correct to say that the battle had no results, for it was followed by the surrender of

Ā'azam Khān conducted the campaign dividing his army into seven troops; and there was a fierce battle. Saiyyad Qāsim Bārha who was on the vanguard of the victorious army, fought with great gallantry and stood firm. Khwāja Muhammad Rafī' Badakhshī, who was on the commander of the left wing, and Muhammad Husain Shaikh, who was one of the ancient *amīrs* of this great dynasty, attained to martyrdom. In the vanguard also, Mīr Sharf-ud-dīn, the nephew (brother's son) of Mīr Abu Turāb, also had the bliss of martyrdom. Four thousand Rajputs were slain in this battle. The eldest son of the Jām, who had become his successor, was with his *vazīr*, among the slain. The breeze of victory and triumph, having blown on the standards of the servants of the imperial state, the enemy was defeated and Ā'azam Khān was signalised by triumph and victory. This victory was gained on Sunday, the 6th Shawwal, 998 A.H.

The city of Lahore had now for several years been the station of the august standards, and most of the rulers of those parts had come to render homage. Jānī Beg, the ruler of Thatha, although he had, by sending humble respresentations and tribute, placed himself in the band of the supporters of the throne, yet as he

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Junagarh, etc. In the same note, he argues that the battle took place in 999 and not in 998 as stated by Nizām-ud-dīn. He bases his argument on the statement of Abul Fazl, who says that the final battle took place on the 4th Amardād equal to 4th July, 1591, and Faizi's chronogram. This chronogram is given by Badāonī. It is فتوحات عزیزی, which Mr. Lowe has translated as "a glorious victory". I think it should be translated as "the victories of 'Azīz," 'Azīz being the name of Ā'azam Khān. Mr. Lowe has given the numerical value of the letters of the chronogram, which amount to 999, but he dismisses this by saying, "which is one too many." The battle or rather series of battles is described with considerable detail in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 903-5. At one time the imperial forces were in great difficulty, owing to their being on low lands flooded with water, and the scarcity of provision. To remedy matters they proceeded towards Nawānagar in order to distract the enemy, and obtain supplies. The enemy had also to move. The decisive battle then took place. The left wing at first fought bravely, but their reserves did not behave well, and many fled; but the *altamsh* fought well, and what was going to be a defeat turned out to be a victory. The correct date, if it was the 6th Shawwāl 999, was about the 18th July, 1591.

had never come to render service in person, at this time, the government of Multan and Bhakkar was conferred on the Khān Khānān and an order was issued that he [1] should engage himself in the conquest of Sind, and of the Baluchis; and in the month of Rabī'-us-sānī, in the year 999, he was sent with a number of renowned *amīrs*, such as Shāh Beg Khān Kabuli, and Farīdūn Birlās, and Saiyyad Bahā-ud-dīn Bukhāri, and Shīr Khān and Jānish Bahādur and Bakhtiyār Beg, and Qarā Beg and Muhammad Khān Niāzi, and Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm Bhakkari and others, a detailed list of whom would be too long; and one hundred elephants, and a park of artillery were also sent with them; and Khwāja Muhammad Muqīm, who had been born and bred up at this threshold, was appointed to be the *bakhshi* of this army. The date of this expedition has been found by that leader of learned men and the prince of poets, [2] Shaikh Abul faiz Faizi, in the words *Qasd-i-Thatha*, *i.e.*, "Expedition to Thatha".

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 36TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on Thursday, the 24th of Jamādī-ul-āwwal, 999 A.H. (10th or 11th March 1591). In the month of Shawwāl of this year, [3] four men who were among the

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[1] It would appear from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 917, note 4, that the Khān Khānān was sent on the 17th Rabī'-ul-āwwal (not Rabī'-us-sānī as in the text), 999, corresponding to January, 1590 to take Qandahār, which had always belonged to India, but which Humāyūn had made over to Persia, the star of which was now setting, and the Mīrzas (nephews of Tahmāsp, in whose possession it now was) were not acting properly, but from self-interested motives, and a desire to gather the spoils of Sind, he did not go by Baluchistan; but it is also said that he presumably obtained Akbar's consent to the change of plan.

[2] One MS. has شیخ فیضی, another has شیخ ابو الفیض فیضی, while the lith. ed. has شیخ ابو الفضل و فیضی. The last is of course incorrect. I find Faizi called S. Abu-l-Faiz Faizī, in page 909 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, and I have adopted it. Badāonī has شیخ فیضی only. The chronogram comes to 999.

[3] One MS. inserts here و مجلس نوروزی برسم معهود منعقد شد کہ *i.e.*, "that the *nauruz* assembly was held in accordance to previous custom,

attendants, and the special favourites of the threshold were selected as ambassadors to the four rulers of the Dakin. These were, one, the prince of poets, Shaikh Faizi, who was sent to 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpur; two, Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn to Burhān-ul-mulk, who [1] by the help of the servants of this state had attained to the government of Ahmadnagar, which was the dominion of his ancestors; three, Mīr Muhammad Amīn to 'Adil Khān the ruler of Bijāpūr; and four, [2] Mīr Munīr to Qutb-ul-mulk, the ruler of Golkunda. An order was also passed, that Shaikh Faizi should, after completing his mission with Rāja 'Ali Khān, also go to Burhān-ul-mulk.

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and". The translation in Elliot V, has after the date of the beginning of the year, (*usual rejoicings*), but beyond the words quoted above in one MS. I cannot find anything about the "*rejoicings*". The *personnel* of the embassies is given in a somewhat different form in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, page 909. It is said there that Faizi was sent to Rāja 'Ali Khān and Burhān-ul-mulk. Amīn-ud-dīn was sent along with him. Mīr Muhammad Rizavi was sent to 'Ādil Khān and Mīr Munīr to Qutb-ūl-mulk. Badāonī gives an account of the embassies similar to that in the text.

[1] Badāonī explains the word ایلدولت اولیای بتقریب in reference to Burhān-ul-mulk by the words از دم رسیدہ بسلطنت دولتخواہ بمدد امرای رفتہ درگاہ از کہ استقلال میزد. which may be translated as "who had gone from the threshold and with the help of the loyal *amīrs* had attained to sovereignty, and had now assumed absolute power." Burhān-ul-mulk's career has to be gleaned from scattered passages in the Akbarnāma. From page 821 of Beveridge's translation III, it appears "that when H. M. was going to Kashmir, Burhān came from Tīrah" (what he was doing there I cannot find out). "And H. M. sent him to the Deccan and gave orders to Ā'azam Khān and Rāja 'Ali Khān and others that they should help him with troops, so that he might soon be successful." Then from pages 890-91 it appears that with the assistance of Rāja 'Ali Khān, he first obtained possession of Berar, and later became the master of Ahmadnagar. Elphinstone, however, says in page 511 of his history that "Burhān remained for some years under Akbar's protection. At a later period (A.D. 1592) after his brother's death, Burhān acquired possession of his hereditary kingdom without any aid from Akbar."

[2] This name is میر منیر, Mīr Munīr in one MS., میر منیر را which appears to be Mir Munir Ra but may also be read as Mīr Mīrza in the other. It is میر میرزا Mir Mirza in the lith. ed. and Mir Mirza in Elliot V. Badāonī Persian text, page 377 has میر منیر, and Mr. Lowe has Mīr Munīr. Mr. Beveridge has Mir Manir.

On the [1]8th of the month of Zi-hijja of this year, the fortunate Shāhzāda, Shāh Murād, who was celebrated and entitled as [2]Pahāri Jīū, had the government of Malwa and its neighbourhood conferred on him; and a standard and kettle drum and musical band or orchestra and the *tuman tauq*, or banner of the highest dignity, and the emblems and insignia of nobility (*Amārat*) and sovereignty, and the imperial *Chaharqab* (a special robe of the Sultāns of Tūrān), which was reserved for only imperial princes were bestowed on him. Isma'el Quli Khan was distinguished by being appointed as the vakīl (agent or minister) of the prince, and Hājī Saundak and Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Khān and Jagannath and Rāi Durga and other *amīrs* were sent in attendance on him. When the Shāhzāda arrived in the neighbourhood of Gwaliar, he was informed that there was [3]Madhkar a *zamīndar*, of [4]Undjha in that neighbourhood, who on account of the multitude of his forces, was distinguished among the rājās of Hindustan; and who [5]at this time had stretched forth his

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[1] The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have هشتم, 8th, but Elliot V, page 460 has 28th. Badāonī Persian text and English translation have بستم, and 20th. The Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation III, 911, has 4th Mihr, 14th September, 1591; and Mr. Beveridge says in a note that Elliot V, 460 has 23rd Zil-hijja, but the Newal Kishore ed. has 8th and Badāonī has 12th. The 8th would correspond with the 28th September, 1591. The Iqbālnāma has 9th Zi-hijja.

[2] It appears from the index to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation Vol. III that prince Murād was called by this name. It appears to be بہاری جیو in the MSS., and بہاری جنو in the lith. ed. Prince Murād was so called because he was born at Fathpur Sikri. Jīū is of course Sans. Jiva, *i.e.*, "May he live (long)!" which has now been changed into Jī, as in Munshīji, Babujī, etc.

[3] Means lit. a bee or honey-maker, but has no special significance here.

[4] Written اوند جہہ in the MSS., but اوند چہ in Badāonī. It is Yundachah in Elliot V, and Undchah in Mr. Lowe's translation of Badāonī. It does not appear to be mentioned in the Akbarnāma. Mr. Lowe says it is the Orcha of the maps. It is Orcha in the map annexed to Elphinstone's history, a little to the S.W. of Jhansi.

[5] This, and his coming forward with a large army, etc., was according to the detailed account in the Akbarnāma (Beveridge's translation III, 922-23) all more or less moonshine. His sole offence was that "Out of presumptuousness he did not intend to pay his respect." There was a good deal of bungling by the prince's officers, and at last the man's house was plundered. Akbar

hands of encroachment on the *parganas* of Gwaliar. For this reason (the prince) proceeded with the intention of punishing him. Madhkar also with a large army came forward to give battle. After the forces had met, he fled and took shelter in the jungles and hills; and the whole of his country was plundered and ravaged. At this time he died a natural death, and went to hell. [1] His eldest son, Rām Chand, who succeeded him, became, with humility and lowliness, a loyal subject, came and rendered homage to Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, and offered much tribute. The prince sent him with Muhammad Yār to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world; and himself went to the town of Ujjain, and took up his abode there. Rām Chānd rendered homage (to the emperor); and inspite of the fact, that he had before this fled from the royal presence, his offences were pardoned, and he became the recipient of favours.

After defeating the Jām, (see p. 631 *ante*) Ā'azam Khān remained for sometime at Ahmadābād, and addressed his energies to the conquest of the country of Sorath, and of the fort of Junāgarh. News came (at this time), that Daulat Khān, the son of Amīn Khān, who had succeeded his father on the latter's death, and who had been wounded in the battle with the Jām had died. Ā'azam Khān's determination to conquer Junāgarh became confirmed, and he marched quickly towards that country. Daulat Khān's son shut himself up in the fort with his father's *vazīrs* and [2] temporised for sometime. When they found they could not gain

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did not approve of the proceedings, and censured the prince's officers; and he ordered the prince to proceed quickly to Malwa. Badāonī goes even further than Nizām-ud-dīn. He says that there was actually a battle between the prince's and Mudhukar's armies. Madhukar was defeated, but he betook himself to the mountains and jungles, and infested the roads, and killed many people, and took heavy blackmail from the caravans, and reduced the prince's army to great straits; and then he died and went to hell.

[1] This latter part agrees with the account given by Badāonī, which is however shorter. The Akbarnāma gives a different account. It does not mention Madhukar's death; calls his eldest son Rām Sāh; and says that after the prince had gone awey to Malwa, Madhukar made his supplications to H.M., and they were conveyed by Sādiq Khān and were accepted.

[2] The reasons of the delay in the taking of the fort are mentioned in the Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation III, page 910.

any advantage by any trickery, Amīn Khān's *vazīrs* prayed for quarter; brought [1]their Mīrzāda to wait on Ā'azam Khān, and made over the keys of fort of Junāgarh to the imperial officers. This victory was won on the 5th of Zi-qa'da of the afore-mentioned year.

The Khān Khānān who had gone to conquer Thatha, arrived near the fort of Sihwān, and besieged it. (But) when he came to know, that Jānī Beg, was coming with all the *zamīndārs* of the country, with many *gharābs* and boats and a well-equipped park of artillery, to oppose him, he abandoned the siege; and went forward, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of [2]Nasrpur; and the distance between the two forces was only seven *karohs*, Jānī Beg sent all the *gharābs*, which were more than one hundred in number, with two hundred boats, filled with bowmen and musketeers, and large cannon; and the Khān Khānān, inspite of the fact that he did not have more than twenty-five *gharābs*, met and engaged them. The [3]battle went on continuously for one night and one day; till the grace of God helped the brave men in the imperial army; and of the men in Jānī Beg's *gharābs* about two hundred were killed; and seven *gharābs* fell in to the hands of the victorious army, and the rest were dispersed. [4]This battle took place on the 26th Muharram

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[1] The words look like پیر زادہ او را, and میر زادہ او را in the MSS., and are پسر زادہ او را in the lith. ed. None of them makes any sense. The meaning of course is they brought their master's son, but I cannot think of the right word. The translation in Elliot V, is "brought the youth." The Akbarnāma and Badāonī give no help. *Mīrzāda khud rā* would do.

[2] The place is called نصیر پور Nasīrpur in one MS., and نصر پور Nasrpur in the other. It is incorrectly printed as مصر پور Misrpur in the lith. ed. The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 919 has Nasīrpur, but a note says "the Nasarpur of the I.G., XVIII, 398, in the Hāla Division of the Hyderabad District, J.I, 314."

[3] For narratives of the events in Sind, and of the battle, see Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, 918-20 and Badāonī Persian text II, 397, and English translation II, 392. The date of the battle according to the Akbarnāma was 21st Abān, 31st October, 1599. The 26th Muharram 1000 which is the date according to the T.A. corresponds with about the 3rd November, 1591.

[4] One MS. has و این جنگ دویم ابان ماه الهي شد ، موافق (سنه) ۳۶ سی

1000 A.H. After the victory, Jānī Beg raised an entrenchment round his army, on the bank of the river Sind, in a place which was surrounded by water and [1] morasses. The Khān Khānān stationed himself in front of it, and erected batteries and [2] slew his men. The siege and warfare went on for a period of two months. During the time of this campaign, His Majesty sent to the Khān Khānān a *lakh* and fifty thousand rupees, and another time, another *lakh* of rupees, and a third time a *lakh mans* of grain, and [3] some big guns, and many artillery men, to help towards the charges of the expedition, and to reinforce the army. He also sent Rāi Rāi Singh, who was among the *amīrs* of four thousand, by way Jaisalmir to help him.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 37TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

The beginning of this year was on [4] Saturday, the 6th of Jamādi-ul-ākhir in the year 1000 A.H. As news had come that Jalāl Tārīkī, who had fled, and gone to 'Abd-ul-lah Khān; had come back, and had again commenced causing troubles and disturbances and committing robbery, on the day of the *Naurūz* [5] Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān, who was a *bakhshi* was appointed to extirpate Jalāla, and he was sent off, so that in concert with Muhammad Qāsim Khān, the governor of Kabul, he might destroy that turbulent highway robber. The writer of this history Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad was honoured with the rank of the *bakhshi* of the army. And at the latter part of Sha'bān of the afore-mentioned year, Zain Khān Kuka

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ششم محرم. According to the note next preceding the date was 21st and not 2nd Abān.

[1] The word is جهله or دجله in the MSS., and جيله in the lith. ed. Elliot V, has "Morasses (Chihla)." Badāonī has در جزیره, "in an island."

[2] The words are او را قتل کردند.

[3] Badāonī says specifically "one hundred guns."

[4] That is the day and date in the MSS. and the lith. ed. Elliot V, and the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 927, have Friday, the 5th Jamāda-ul-akhari, and Badāonī has also the 5th, without mentioning the day of the week.

[5] Badāonī has جعفر بیگ ملقب باصف خان, *i.e.* Ja'far Beg who had the title of Āsaf Khān.

was sent to [1] improve the condition of the country of Sawād and Bajaur, and to [2] extirpate the Afghān tribes, and completely to wipe out Jalāla Tārīkī.

On the 24th Shawwāl of the aforementioned year, which corresponded with the 12th of the month of [3] Amardād of the 37th year of the Ilāhī era, the saintly mind of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī was turned to the idea of hunting in the neighbourhood of the river Chināb, which would terminate in a [4] visit to Kashmir; and he accordingly crossed the Rāvi, and spent five days in the garden of Rām Dās in pleasure and enjoyment. He then started from that place, and halted at a distance of three *karohs*. From [4] that station, he appointed Qulīj Khān and Mota Rāja to manage the affairs at Lahore. As the rainy season had now commenced, and there was much rain and inundation, he left the eldest Shāhzāda, Sultān Salīm in the great camp; so that it might advance slowly, and with the huntsmen and a small retinue, he advanced to the Chināb river. When he arrived at the bank of that river, news came that Yādgār, the nephew (brother's son) of [5] Mīrza Yusuf Khān Rizavi, whom the latter had appointed to be his naib, and had left in Kashmir, had in concert with some Kashmiris raised the banner of revolt; and had assumed the name of Sultān; and Qāzī [6] 'Ali, who had the post of the *diwān* of Kashmir, and

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[1] Badāonī has و تعمیر ولایت سواد و بجور که مطلق خراب شده بود, *i.e.* to rebuild (re-populate) the country of Sawād and Bajaur which had been completely devastated.

[2] One MS. inserts بقیته السیف, between استیصال and طایفه افاغنه, *i.e.* to extirpate such of the Afghān tribes as had escaped the swords.

[3] Nizām-ud-dīn begins to give the dates and months of the Ilāhī era from this place.

[4] Abul Fazl says that people tried to dissuade Akbar from undertaking this visit to Kashmir, but Akbar, having a prophetic knowledge of the trouble coming on in that country, insisted on going.

[5] The name of the place appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 943, to be Shāham 'Ali; and according to the Akbarnāma, Qulīj Khān and Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn were sent back from there to Lahore.

[6] According to Badāonī, Mīrza Yusuf Khān Rizavi had بملازمت امده بود *i.e.*, had come to attend on the emperor. The emperor however suspected him, and made him over for some days to the charge of Shaikh Abul Fazl.

Husain Beg Shaikh 'Umri, who was the *Tahsildār* (collector) of the tribute or revenue of Kashmir, had with the forces at their disposal [1] fought with him; and, as it was destined, Qāzī 'Ali had been slain, and Husain Beg knowing that flight was the best course, carried away half his life through the passes of Kashmir, and arrived at [2] Rajauri. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī sent [3] Shaikh Farīd Bakhshi, with a number of *amīrs*, such as Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Lakhnaui, and Mīr Murād and Khwajgi Fath-ullah Bakhshi of the *Ahadis* with seven hundred *Ahadis*, and Shaikh Kabīr and [4] the sons of Shaikh Ibrāhīm, and Nasīb Khān Turkman and Rahmat Khān and the sons of Abu Zaid, and other *amīrs*, and a body of Aimāqs of Badakhshan, who numbered a thousand horsemen. He himself crossed the Chināb, and occupied himself with hunting, when the Shāhzāda arrived with the great camp, and rendered homage.

At this time, news came that the [4] Khān Khānān had besieged Jānī Beg for a period of two months and there was battle and strife every day; and men were killed on both sides. The Sindis blocked the ways of the importation of grain to the Khān Khanān's army. Grain became so scarce, that a piece of bread was of the value of a man's life.

Verse:

The world, from that dearth, heart broken became;
The hungry were crying, the well-fed were hard of heart.
Everyone had a longing for a sight of bread,
That saw the sun's orb in the sky, and nought else.

The Khān Khānān, seeing no other remedy, started from that place and went towards *pargana* Jūn, which is near Thatha; and

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[1] The course of events is narrated in some detail in page 945 of Vol. III of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma.

[2] Written راجوری in one MS., but as رجوری in the other and in the lith. ed. Elliot V has Rājauri, and Badāonī Persian text II, 382 has also راجوری, and Mr. Lowe has Rajuri.

[3] He is called Shaikh Farīd Bakhshi Begī in the Akbarnāma, but Badāonī has Bakhshi as in the text.

[4] پسران, "sons" in one MS., and in the lith. ed. but پسر "son" in the other MS.

he sent Saiyyad Bahā-ud-dīn Bukhāri, and Bakhtiyār Beg and Qarā Beg Turkmān, and Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm Bukhari and Hasan 'Ali 'Arab, and a number of other retainers of his, to besiege Sihwān. Jānī Beg, considering the men sent to Sehwān not to be sufficiently strong, went to attack them. When the Khān Khānān got this news he sent Daulat Khān Lūdi, as [1] the leader of the detachment, and [2] Khwāja Muhammad Muqīm Bakhshi, and [3] Dhārūi, son of Rāja Todar Mal and [4] Dalpat, son of Rāi Rāi Singh, and Bahādur Khān Tarīn, and Muhammad Khān Niyāzi to reinforce them. They travelled eighty *karohs* in the course of two days and arrived at Sehwān. The next day Jānī Beg arrived after arranging his troops, and the imperialists also arrayed themselves. Inspite of the fact that they did not number two thousand horsemen, and Jānī Beg had more than five thousand, there was a severe fight. Dhārūi, the son of Rāja Todar Mal, was slain, after he had fought bravely and made manly efforts. The breeze of victory then blew over the plumes of the standards of the servants of the eternal state, and they were signalised with triumph and victory.

Jānī Beg was defeated, and went [5] further down the river; and for a second time, he made an entrenchment round his forces, in the village of Āmīrpur, [6] and took up his station on the bank of the

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[1] The words in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. are که سپهبد الشان است.

[2] It is Khwāja Muhammad Muqīm Bakhshi in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshi in the other MS. and also in the Akbarnāma; but Khwāja Muhammad Hakīm Bakhshi in Elliot V, page 463.

[3] The name is دهاروی Dhārūi in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and دهاری, Dhārī in the other MS. It is Dhārū in Elliot V, and Dharu Bahadur in the translation of the Akbarnāma.

[4] The name is دلپت Dalpat, in both MSS., and دلیب, Dalīb in the lith. ed., Elliot V, has Dal Bait. A Dilpat is mentioned in the latter part of the rather long but somewhat confused account of the battle in page 931 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, as having a choice force, but having failed to come forward through cowardice. Dalpat of course is a corruption of Sans. Dalapati the lord or leader of a band or group.

[5] The words are پایان اب رفت. The translation in Elliot V, page 463 "Fled towards the bank of the river" does not appear to me to be correct.

[6] The name is ابر پور, Abarpur, and انبر پور, Ambarpur in the MSS.

river. The Khān Khānān from that side and this army (*i.e.*, the one that had just fought with Jānī Beg) from this side besieged him from all sides; and there was fighting and battle every day.

Jānī Beg was at last reduced to such straits, that his men killed their horses and camels every day and ate their flesh; and every day large numbers of them were slain by cannon balls and musket shots. In the end Jānī Beg in great humility and distress knocked on the door of peace; and agreed that he would, like a slave, go and render homage to His Majesty.

Couplet:

When th' haughty-headed one homage made.
His head was safe from the sword, that strikes off the head.

He asked for three months' time to make preparations for the journey; and it was agreed, that as it was the rainy season the Khān Khānān would spend the three months in [1] *Mouza'* San which is situated opposite to Sehwān; and that Jānī Beg should make over the fort of Sehwān to the imperial servants; and he should affiance his daughter to Mīrza Irij, the accomplished son of the Khān Khānān; and should also make over twenty *gharābs*.

His Majesty considered this victory a good omen for the conquest of Kashmir, and was happy. He marched stage by stage towards Kashmir. When the victorious standards arrived near Bhimbar, which is the beginning of the passes and hills, news came that when the victorious army had advanced five or six stages through the defiles of the hilly country, a body of Yādgār's men and other Kashmiris had blocked their way at the pass of [2] Kartal, and

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and اسرپور, Asarpur in the lith. ed. Elliot V has Umarpur, with a variant Ambarpur, and the Akbarnāma Beveridge's translation III, 438 has Ampur in the text, and a note says "Oomarpur in Malet's translation of T. Masūmi, Umarpur and Amarpur in Elliot VI (1 ?) 251. Text Ampur or Anpur probably wrong. Perhaps the place is Arpur of J. II, 341." This part of the war with Jānī Beg is narrated in pages 938–940 of Vol. III of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma.

[1] The village is called بسند Basand in one MS.

[2] The name of the pass appears to be کرتل Kartal in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and کنزل Kanzal (?) in the other MS. It is called Kartal in the text of Elliot V, page 464, and a note says "This is a very doubtful name

had fought with them. But they did not have the strength to meet the assaults of the lions of the army, which was the asylum of victory, and fled. From the other side, Yādgār also came as far as [1] Hīrāpūr with a large force, with the object of meeting the victorious army. (It so happened however), [2] that suddenly, after a part of the night had passed, a body of the servants of Mīrza Yusuf Khān, who were partly Afghāns and partly Turkmāns, fell upon Yādgār and slew him. After three days, they brought his head to the threshold, which was the asylum of all people, and made it a matter of terror to the world and to all people. Such a great victory was gained with such ease, from the great good fortune of the eternal power of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī.

It was one of the most curious things, that on the very day on which His Majesty crossed the river of Lahore, with the object of travelling in and seeing the beauties of Kashmir, Yādgār with the wicked intention in his mind of raising a revolt, had caused the *khutba* to be read in his own name in Kashmir. [3] When His Majesty arrived in the garden of Rām Dās, which was the first stage of the journey from Lahore, he had this couplet on his prophetic tongue!

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written كرتل, كرتل, كهرتل and كبريل. The battle at the pass is, however, not mentioned in the text (but a note says "it appears from Faizi S. that the Katril or Katarbal pass is meant,"). The battle is described in some detail in page 952 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III. Later on, *i.e.*, further down the page, the van guard and the left wing of the imperial army are said to have taken the Kapartal pass, which I suppose is the same as the Kartal pass. The next morning they traversed another pass, namely the Akrambal pass. The taking of the passes does not appear to be mentioned by Badāonī, whose account of the campaign begins with the coming of Yādgār with a large force to the pass of Hīrāpūr.

[1] The name of the place is هرپور Harpūr in one MS. and هیراپور Hīrāpūr in the other. It is هیرپور, Hīrpūr in the lith. ed., Elliot V, page 464 has Hamirpur. The Akbarnāma has Hīrāpūr. Badāonī as we have seen, (see the next preceding note) has Hīrāpūr.

[2] For Abul Fazl's account of how Yādgār was killed see Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, 953. Badāonī's account agrees with that in the text, except that he says that Yādgār was indulging in debauchery in his tent, just before the attack on him began.

[3] This passage up to the end of the paragraph is not to be found in the translation in Elliot V.

Couplet:

[1] The cap of Cyrus and the crown of sovereignty,
How should they come to a bald man, never, oh never!

As Yādgār was bald, such a wicked act was committed by him, as in fact, His Majesty's mind had given notice of. Another of the strange things was, that on the very day that the news of the rebellion reached His Majesty, the latter said, that God willing, the affair of Yādgār would not last for forty days. It so happened that the fortieth day was exactly the day on which he was killed.

After another three days, on the [2] 28th Zi-hijja, in the year 1000 A.H., as Shāhzāda Khusro was somewhat indisposed and weak, he (the emperor) left Shāhzāda Dāniāl with all the inmates of the harem behind, and himself marched rapidly towards Kashmir. This slave of the threshold, the writer of this history, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, was taken to attend at his auspicious stirrups. The prince was ordered that he should wait with all the inmates of the harem in the fort of Rhotas. On the 8th of Muharram in the year 1001 A.H. [3] Kashmir was made the object of the envy of the

[1] This couplet is quoted by both Abul Fazl and Badāonī, and translated by Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Lowe. The word *Kal* means bald. Yādgār appears to have been bald, but it is doubtful whether he was actually called Yādgār *Kal*, as he is in page 381 of the Persian text and page 394 of the English translation of Badāonī. It would appear also that the word *Kal* in the original is *gul*, a flower, a rose. From note 1, page 944 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, it would appear that the couplet is by Nizāmī. It also appears from that note that in the first book of Abul Fazl's letter, N.K. Edition page 33 there is a letter from Akbar to his son Murād, describing the second journey to Kashmir. In it Akbar claims to have been inspired to utter the verse about the bald man, as he was crossing the Ravi, and also claims other prophecies.

[2] The date is the 28th in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but it is the 23rd in Elliot V, page 464. I cannot find the corresponding date of the Muhammadan calendar in either the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī. The Akbarnāma has the 13th Mihr.

[3] I suppose by Kashmir the author means Srinagar. The 8th is the date according to the MSS., the lith. ed., and Elliot V. Badāonī says that Akbar arrived in Kashmir on the 6th Muharram, but as he says, that he remained there for a month minus two days and left on the 6th Safar, the

higher paradise, by the grandeur of the auspicious advent of His Majesty. He stayed in Kashmir for [1]twenty-eight days; and every day the saintly mind was made happy by going about in boats and shooting water fowls. He conferred the government of Kashmir again on Mirza Yusuf Khān Rizavi; and left a number of others, such as Khwāja Ashraf, son of Mir Murād Dakhini, and the son of Fath-ul-lah Khān, and the son of Shaikh Ibrāhīm in the country; and on the [2]8th Safar of the aforementioned year, having determined to return, he embarked in a boat, and started for Bārāmula, which was on the boundary of Kashmir, and on the Pakhli route. On the road he was rowed through a reservoir or lake which is called the [3]Zain-lanka. This is the reservoir which is

6th Muharram is probably a mistake for the 8th. The Akbarnāma does not give the date of the beginning of the journey, but it gives an itinerary of the journey. Apparently Srinagar was reached on the 3rd day. On the 1st of the two days the horse that Akbar was riding slipped and he fell, but received no injury. The people had deserted the villages and also Srinagar for fear of punishment; but they returned on an assurance being given of their safety. Those who joined in the rebellion were punished, while those who had kept aloof obtained high dignity. The Akbarnāma also gives some description of the beauties of Kashmir as seen by Akbar on his second visit. Akbar is quoted to have said "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". Further on, the beauty of the saffron ground is described with great feeling. "Travellers cannot point to rose gardens, which comes up to them in delight and fragrance. Though the flowers resemble the lotus, yet their enchantment and joy-giving cannot be described. A banquet of delight was prepared, and a new door was opened for the Divine bounty." In the course of this visit Akbar added the daughter of Shams Cack (Chak) to his harem and the daughter of Mubārak Khān, the son of Husain Cak (Chak) to the harem of prince Sultān Salīm. Similarly some of the courtiers were united by marriage with (Kashmiris).

[1] Elliot V, page 465 makes Akbar's stay in Kashmir last only eight days, and this time he is said to have spent, riding about, and hunting water fowl.

[2] The date is given as هشتم, 8th, in one MS. and in the lith. ed., and هفتم, 7th, in the other MS. Elliot V, page 465 has 6th, and Badāonī also, as we have seen (See note 3, p. 643) has 6th.

[3] The lake is the Ular or Wular lake, J. II, 364, where the circumference is given as 28 *kos*. From note 3 in page 298 of the translation of Badāonī, it appears that according to the Tuzuk (Saiyyad Ahmad's text page 45, last two

bounded on the west and south and north by hills and its circumference is thirty *karohs*. The river Behat (Jhilam) passes through it. Its water is very [1] pure; and in the middle of this reservoir Sultan [2] Zain-ul-'Abidīn, threw down stones to the length of one *jarib* (chain), and raised it (*i.e.*, a platform) above the level of the water, and built a high building on it. And in truth no reservoir, and no building equal to these have been seen in the country of Hindustan.

In short, after seeing and admiring that building, we arrived at Bārāmula; and there, leaving the boats, we travelled by road to Pakhli. There was a great fall of snow and heavy rain. His Majesty marched rapidly towards Rohtas from that place and he ordered the meanest of his slaves, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the writer of this history, and [3] Khwāja Nazr-Daulat and Khwājgi Fath-ul-lah, that we should come slowly after him with the members of the harem. It was one of the very curious things, that at this time, when His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-llāhī, commenced the return journey

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lines) it was the building which was called Zain-lanka. The lake was called Ulur.

[1] One MS. has after this دارد بسیار عمق و, "and has great depth", but the other MS. and the lith. ed. do not have these words; but Elliot V, page 465 has "its water is very pure and deep"; so probably the MSS. from which that translation was made have the words.

[2] That is the name in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and also in Elliot V, and in Badāonī, and is the correct name, but Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, page 960 has Sultān Zainu-d-dīn. The MSS. and the lith. ed. all have مقدار یک جریب را سنگ انداخته. This appears to me to be incorrect. I think the را should be راه, which would have the meaning I have given to the sentence in the translation. The translation in Elliot V, is "carried out a pier of stone to the distance of one *jarib*". This makes good sense but it goes very much beyond the original Persian. Badāonī has بمقدار یک جریب در اب سنگ انداخته, which Mr. Lowe has translated "had a *jarib* of stones thrown into the water". It appears to me that this is not very intelligible. What is meant is that stones were thrown into the water for a distance of one *jarib*.

[3] The lith. ed. omits the name of Khwāja Nazr Daulat, and calls Khwājgī Fath-ul-lah, Khwāja Fath-ul-lah. Nazr Daulat is written ناظر دولت in one MS. and ناصر دولت in the other. These names are replaced by asterisks in Elliot V, and I cannot find them in the Akbarnāma or in Badāonī.

from Kashmir, he had said that it was forty years since he had seen a fall of snow, and most of the people who were with him, and who had been born and had grown up in Hindustan had never seen it, if they should see one [1]fall of snow in the neighbourhood of Pakhli, when they would be coming out of the defile, it would not be far from Divine favour. And it happened as he had said. The standards of return having been raised toward the metropolitan city of Lahore, on the first day of Rabī'-ul-āwwal of the aforementioned year, the emperor travelled for twenty days, hunting and seeing the country, and on the 8th of Rabī'-us-sānī of the aforementioned year, Lahore became the station of the august standards.

At this time news came, that [2]Rāja Mān Singh had fought a great battle with the son and brothers of Qatlu Afghān, who after the death of the latter were in possession of the country of Orissa; and victory and triumph having fallen to the lot of the loyal servants (of the emperor), Orissa, which was an extensive country on the confines of Bengal, had come into the possession of the servants of the great emperor.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE 38TH YEAR OF THE ILĀHĪ ERA.

[3]On the 17th of the Jamīd-us-sānī in the year 1001 A.H., the transit of the great luminary from *Pisces* to *Aries*, and the beginning

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[1] The word یک is omitted from one MS. but occurs in the other and in the lith. ed. The word برف is apparently used in the sense of "a fall of snow".

[2] Mān Singh's campaigns in Orissa are detailed at considerable length in pp. 940-41 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III. Badāonī's account is short, but according to it Bahādur Kodrah (Kūrūh ?), who after Qatlu's death, was in possession of Orissa, defeated Sakat Singh, son of Mān Singh, in a great battle; but when Mān Singh himself advanced against him, he was unable to withstand him, and hid himself in jungles and hills, and the whole of Bengal to the sea-coast came into Mān Singh's possession.

[3] The reading I have adopted is according to the MSS. and the lith. ed. but one MS. has the word ابتداء, incorrectly, before بتاریخ etc. This I have omitted. The month is Jamīd-us-sānī in both MSS., but it is Jamādi-us-sānī in the lith. ed. The translation in Elliot V, does not agree with mine. The day of the week is not mentioned in the MSS. or in the lith. ed. but according to the Akbarnāma and Badāonī it was Sunday, and the corresponding English date was the 10th or 11th March, 1593.

of the *Naurūz-i-Sultānī* (the imperial New Year's Day), and the commencement of the 38th year took place. In accordance with the annual custom, decorations and assemblies and festivals were arranged. In the course of these festivities, on the [1] 9th Farwardi, Divine month of the 38th year, corresponding with the 24th Jamādī-us-sānī of the aforementioned year, the Khān Khānān and [2] Janī Beg, the ruler of Thatha, came, and having been exalted with the honour of kissing the threshold, became the recipients of various kinds of royal favours and imperial kindnesses. Shāh Beg Khān, Farīdūn Birlās and Bakhtiyār Beg, and other *amīrs*, who had been sent in support of the army, came with them, and having been allowed to render homage, were honoured and exalted with increase of stipend and *jāgīrs* in accordance to their condition.

At this time, when the fort of Junagarh and the country of Surath had come into the possession of the servants of the daily-increasing power, and Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī, who was in that neighbourhood had fled, and had gone to the Khangār, who was the *zamīndār* of Kach and had been under his protection, Ā'azam Khān advanced to attack the Khangār and devastated the greater part of his dominions. He (the Khangār) then took the path of loyalty and devotion; and arranged that Muzaffar Gujrātī should fall into the hands of the imperial officers. In accordance with this plan, he led the son of Ā'azam Khān to a place where Muzaffar was; and taking the latter unawares seized him. On the way [3] Muzaffar Gujrātī sat down in a corner on the pretext of making ablution, and cut his own throat with a razor, which he had with him, and killed himself. They were therefore com-

[1] According to Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma III, 971, the Khān Khānān arrived in court on the 8th Farwardīn, and not on the 9th Farwardīn, as it is in the MSS. and in the lith. ed.

[2] Abul Fazl gives the negotiations of the Khān Khānān with Jānī Beg, and enters into a long digression about Jānī Beg's ancestry, and ends by saying that Jānī Beg received a *mansab* of three thousand, and the province of Multan as a *jāgīr*. Badāonī also says that Multan was given to Jānī Beg as a *jāgīr*, but after sometime he was transferred to Thatha.

[3] Badāonī's account does not differ much, but he uses instead of بیهانه وضو ساختن , بیهانه قضای حاجت. The account of the Akbarnāma is also similar. See Beveridge's translation III, page 964.

pelled to bring his head to Ā'azam Khān, and the latter sent it to the threshold which was the asylum of the world. At the same time [1] the one hundred and twenty elephants which had fallen into the hands of Rāja Mān Singh, at the time of the conquest of Orissa, and which he had sent to the threshold, which was the asylum of all people, were passed before the august eyes.

As a period of two years had elapsed since the time when [2] Āazam Khān had been at a distance from the imperial presence, a *farmān* was sent for summoning him, (to the effect), that as he had performed meritorious services, it was right that he should have the honour of attending on His Majesty, and become the recipient of royal favours. But as he had always had (the idea) of a pilgrimage to the two sacred places in his mind, and as at this time some malicious persons had communicated to him some unkind words, which they had said had been spoken in respect of him by His Majesty, he was led astray. He then, with his sons and wives and money threw himself into a boat, and on the 1st day of the Rajab of the aforementioned year, he determined on a journey to the Hijāz. As this news was reported to the emperor he transferred the government of the country of Gujrat to Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, and sent a *farmān*, that he should go from Malwa to Gujrat. He also sent [3] Muhammad Sādiq Khān, who was one of the great *amīrs*

[1] According to the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 985, 127 elephants and other articles were sent by Rāja Mān Singh.

[2] The circumstances under which Ā'azam Khān sailed for the Hijāz, in opposition to the orders of the emperor, who wanted him to come to court and wanted apparently to show him favour, are described in some detail in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 977-82. Badāonī, Persian text, II, 387 and English translation II, 401 gives some additional facts, *viz.*, that he had not waited upon the emperor, for a period of six years, that when he last came to Fathpur from Bengal, he had spoken harshly of the creed and religion of Abul Fazl and Bīr Bar, and had carried his speech to such excesses that the people had been astonished, that Akbar had taken away Junagarh, which he had conquered, and had made it over to Rāi Singh, that he had allowed his beard to grow in spite of Akbar's order, and when the latter had written to him ironically, on the subject, he had sent a long and rude letter in reply.

[3] Badāonī says that he was appointed *vakīl, vice* Isma'el Quli Khān, and the *sarkār* of Surat and Bahroch (he does not mention Baroda) were taken from Qulīj Khān, and made over to him as his *jāgīr*. The Akbarnāma,

to be the *vakīl* (agent or minister) of the Shāhzāda. The *sarkārs* of Surat and Baroch and Baroda were conferred on him as his *jāgīr*.

On the 24th Amardād month in the 38th year of the Ilāhī era, corresponding with the 14th of Ziq'ada in the year 1001 A.H., [1] Zain Khān Koka and Āsaf Khān, who had gone to punish and chastise the Afghāns of Swād and Bajor and to exterminate Jalāla Tārīkī came back, after wiping out the greater number of them, and brought with them to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world, the family and the dependants of Jalāla, and Wahadat 'Ali, his brother, and their relations in all about four hundred in number, whom they had taken prisoner.

On the 4th Shahryūr Divine month of the aforesaid year, corresponding with the 29th Zi-q'ada, the government of Malwa was bestowed upon Mīrza Shāhrukh, and [2] Shahbāz Khān Kambu, who had been imprisoned for three years, was released and was appointed to regulate the affairs of Malwa, and to be the *vakīl* of Mīrza Shāhrukh.

On the 12th of Mihr Divine month of the 38th year corresponding with the 8th Muharram in the year 1002 A.H., [3] Mīrza Rustam, son of Sultān Husain Mīrza, son of Bahrām Mīrza, son of Shāh

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Beveridge's translation III, 995, says that Sādiq Khān was appointed to be the prince's *atāliq* or guardian, and by his skill, things were well managed there; and Isma'el Quli Khān had not done well in that appointment.

[1] Zain Khān's operations are described with very great detail in the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 982–84. It is said there that four hundred of the enemy were killed and seven thousand were taken prisoner. On the side of the imperialists thirty were killed and one hundred and fifty were wounded. Badāonī says that "The wives and families of Jalāla and his brother Wahadat 'Ali with their relatives and brothers to the number of nearly fourteen thousand, were captured and sent to the court. And of the rest of the prisoners who can take accounts!". According to this account, Jalala and his brother must have had an immense family.

[2] According to Badāonī, Persian text II, page 388, he was imprisoned in Kangra for three years, and was released after a fine of seven *lākhs* of rupees, in cash, had been exacted from him.

[3] For the previous history of Mīrza Rustam and of his brothers, father and grandfather, see the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 990–93; and for Badāonī's account of his coming and reception, see Persian text II, 388.

Isma'el Safvi, who was the ruler of Zamīndāwar sent a petition to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world; and (later) arrived with his brother and sons and family to render service to His Majesty. When he arrived on the bank of the river Chinab, the servants of His Majesty, sent in the first instance, a pavilion and audience tent and qanāths (cloth-walls or screens for tents, etc.) and other furniture from the *farāshkhāna* (store house for tents, etc.), by the hand of Qarā Beg Turkmān to meet him. After that a jewelled belt and dagger were sent by the hand of Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk. When he arrived within four *karohs* of Lahore, the Khān Khānān and Zain Khān Koka and other great *amīrs* were sent to meet him, and on his arrival at the court, the emperor showed him all kinds of imperial favour and grace and kindness; and bestowed on him one *kror* of *Murādī Tangahs*; he was placed in the rank of the *amīrs* of five thousand horse, and Multan was conferred on him as his *jāgīr*.

At the same time, the prince of poets, Shaikh Faizī, who had gone on embassies to Rāja 'Ali Khān and Burhān-ul-mulk Dakini, returned; and became the recipient of royal favours;[1] and Mir Muhammad Amīn, and Mir Munīr, and Amīn-ud-dīn each one of whom had gone to one of the rulers of the Deccan, also came and rendered homage to His Majesty. Burhān-ul-mulk, who had [2]received favours from this threshold, did not send tribute which was suitable for it, and did not act in the manner and way of sincerity and devotion, which would have[3] befitted him. For this reason His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī

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[1] One MS. inserts here و مقصود ازین فرستادن فرط التفات و عنایت بحکام بود, *i.e.*, and the object (or intention) in the embassage was excess of affection and kindness to those rulers.

[2] There are some differences in the readings. One MS. has که نوازش یافته بود و برداشته این درگاه بود, the other has only که نوزاش یافته بود, the lith. ed. agrees with the first MS., but has instead of برداشته, برد شته. Elliot V, has "Burhān-ul-mulk had received favours and assistance from His Majesty".

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. have the text as I have got it, but the other MS. has after, و زیاده بر پانزده فیل و پاره قماش دکهن و اندکی از جواهر نیامد بفعل پیشکش او نبود، موجب بهم بر امدگي خاطر اشرف بندگان حضرت خلیفه الهي شد. Which means that his (*i.e.*, Burhān-ul-Mulk's) tribute did not

turned his high attention to the conquest of the country of the Deccan, and appointed Shāhzāda Dāniāl, on the 25th of the month of Mihr in the 38th year of the Ilāhī era, corresponding with the 29th Muharram of this year and ordered him to proceed to conquer that country. The Khān Khānān and Rāi Rāi Singh and Rāi Dehlī and Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk and the *amīrs* and *jāgīrdārs* of the *sūbas* of Ajmir and Dehli were also sent to attend on the Shāhzāda. In short, seventy thousand horsemen were deputed on the service. The emperor came out in state and grandeur, with the object of hunting, and came as far as the [1] river of Sultānpur, which is thirty-five *karohs* from Lahore; and sent for the Khān Khānān, who had been in attendance on [2] Shāhzāda Dāniāl who had arrived at [3] Sarhind, to

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exceed 15 elephants and some stuffs of the Dakhin, and a small quantity of gems. This became the cause of the anger of the noble mind of His Majesty, the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. Neither the translation in Elliot V, nor Abul Fazl nor Badāonī specifies the tribute, or mentions its inadequacy. Abul Fazl only says "Words of enlightment did not enter his ears and he regarded advices as futilities". In translating the corresponding passage in Badāonī, where it is said that the شاهزاده را بوکالت خان خانان, Mr. Lowe makes the Shāhzāda the *vakīl* of the Khān Khānān, and not *vice versa*. Badāonī shows his usual bad taste, by saying گفت توان سگ رای را او که سنگه رای, *i.e.*, Rāi Singh, who may be called Rāi *Sag* or Rāi Dog.

1 *I.e.*, the Bias. Badāonī makes the distance وبست و پنج کروهي لاهور and Mr. Lowe "twenty-five *cosses* from Lahore".

2 He was at this time married to a daughter of Qulīj Khān, see Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma, III, page 995. Badāonī makes him marry a daughter of the Khān Khānān, Persian text II, 389, but a foot-note gives the variant Qulīj Khān. In the English translation, the marriage is said to have been to a daughter of the Khān Khānān, and the mistake is copied in a foot-note in page 468 of Elliot V.

3 The Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation III, 996 says "News came that prince Dāniāl was still in Sirhind, and that the army was not making progress. H. M. did not approve", etc. The Persian text of Badāonī, about the conference between the emperor and the Khān Khānān is slightly incorrect. The words سرداران لشکر گردانیده باستقلال, should be سردار ان لشکر باستقلال گردانیده, *i.e.*, having made him the sole commander of that army. Mr Lowe's translation is a curious travesty of the facts. He says "He made him turn back to go and meet the leaders of the army with orders to abandon the enterprise and again dismissed him." The "made him turn back to go and meet the leaders of the army" might be due to the mistake in the Persian text;

the imperial presence, for the purpose of a conference. The Khān Khānān waited on the emperor in the neighbourhood of [1] Shaikhupur; and there was again a consultation on the subject of the conquest of the Deccan. The Khān Khānān took upon himself alone the duty; and represented that the prince should not undergo the trouble. Consequently, an order was issued that the army, which had been nominated for service in the Deccan, should accompany the Khān Khānān. The prince was sent for, and he arrived in the course of two days, and waited (on the emperor). The Khān Khānān was honoured with various imperial favours; and marched towards Agra. His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī returned, hunting along the way, and made the capital city of Lahore the station of the grand standards.[2]

It should not remain concealed from the minds of men of understanding, that the history of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, has been written, in a summary manner by the pen of broken writing; in spite of the fact that, having reference to its extent, the history is like a drop in comparison with a sea and an atom in comparison to [3] an egg; but most of the great events have been [4] succinctly narrated, to the end of the 38th year, from the accession of His Majesty on the *masnad* (carpet, throne) of sovereignty and empire, corresponding with the year 1002 A.H. If life helps (me), and God's favour helps (me), the events of the coming years also, if the dear God so wills, will be noted down, and will be made a part of this worthy book. Otherwise, any one who may be guided by the grace of God, having engaged himself in writing it down, will attain to great good fortune.

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but how امر بانصرام ان مهم فرمودند can be translated as "with orders to abandon the enterprise" passes my understanding.

[1] It is شیخپور Shaikhpur in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., and also in the text of the Akbarnāma; but it is Shaikhūpūr in I.O. MSS. 236 and in Elliot V, 468 and 696. Mr. Beveridge, has adopted Shaikhūpūr in the text of his translation. The place is not mentioned by Badāonī.

[2] The history or chronicle of Akbar's reign ends here. The next paragraph is in the nature of a personal explanation.

[3] The word used is بیضه which ordinarily means an egg, but probably here means a large sphere.

[4] The words look like استقبال نمودند, but neither these words nor any others resembling them, that I can think of would suit the context.

Let it not remain unknown that as I have now completed the fortunate and auspicious history of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, I will now commence AN ACCOUNT OF THE NAMES (AND SHORT HISTORIES) OF THE AMĪRS OF HIGH RANK, who during the time of this exalted dynasty have rendered great services. As the names (histories) of the *amīrs* of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī are more numerous than can be contained in this short history; and as that asylum of excellencies, the most learned Shaikh Abul Fazl has written in his wonderful style an account of each of them, in his book (called the) Akbarnāma, I have confined myself to a mention of the names (histories) of the great *amīrs* only.

[1] *The Khān Khānān Bairām Khān, commander-in-chief.* He belonged to the Bahārlui Turkmān tribe, and his ancestry goes up to Mīrza Jahān Shāh Turkmān. He attained to the rank of *Khān Khānān* and *Amīr-ul-umra*, in the service of His Majesty Jinnat Ashiānī (Humāyūn); and was honoured with the post of *Atālīq* (or guardian) of the great prince Akbar Shāh; and by the endeavours of that great man the foundation of this state became strengthened. The conquest of Hindustan was achieved by his world-conquering wisdom. The support of learned and wise men was an innate and natural trait of this great man In the art of versification, he had great facility; and he has left collections of Persian and Turki odes. Four years after the commencement of the eternal greatness of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, he wanted to go to Mecca; and in Gujrat Pattan, he attained to martyrdom at the hand of a desperate Afghān. They have found the date of this occurrence in the words, "Shahīd Shud Muhammad Bairām", *i.e.*, Muhammad Bairām attained to martyrdom.

[2] *Mirza Shāhrukh, son of Mirza Ibrāhīm, son of Sulaimān Mīrza.* When Badakhshan fell into the hands of the Uzbeks, he came to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world; and is

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[1] For other accounts of Bairām Khān see 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 365–70 and Badāonī's Persian text III, 190–92, and English translation III, 265–67.

[2] For other accounts of Mīrza Shāhrukh see 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 312–13. He is not mentioned in Badāonī's list.

now enrolled in the rank of the *amīrs* of five thousand horse, and is the governor of Malwa.

[1] *Tardi Beg Khān*, was one of the great *amīrs* of Jinnat Ashiānī. In the first year after the accession of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, he was, on account of certain political reasons, put to death by the endeavours of Bairām Khān.

[2] *Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān*, was one of the great *amīrs* of Jinnat Ashiānī and was the governor of Kabul. After Bairām Khān, he attained to the rank of Khān Khānān; and for a period of fourteen years, was honoured with the office of *Sipah-sālār*, (commander-in-chief), and *amīr-ul-umra* (Chief noble). He passed away by a natural death in the year 982 A.H.

[3] *Mīrza Rustam, son of Sultān Hussain Mirza, son of Bahrām Mīrza, son of Isma'el Safvi.* When on account of the hostility of his brother and the assaults of the Uzbeks, (he) was unable to remain in Qandahār, he came to the shelter of the threshold which was the asylum of the world; and has been enrolled in the rank of the commanders of five thousand horse, and has been honoured with the post of the governor of Multan.

[4] *Mīrza Khān, Khān Khānān*, is the true son of Bairām Khān. After the conquest of Gujrat which has been described in its proper place, he attained to the rank of Khān Khānān and *Sipahsālār*; and now for ten years, he has held that high position; and has performed high services and achieved great victories. About the intelligence and understanding and learning and perfections of this great man, whatever one writes, is but one in a hundred, and a little out of much. His universal kindness and his generosity to wise and learned men, and his love for *faqīrs* and his poetical faculty are hereditary traits. At the present time he has no equal among the men of rank in respect of human perfections and greatness.

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[1] See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 318–19; not mentioned in Badāonī's list, but some account of him is given in note 3, page 310 of the English translation.

[2] See 'Ain i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 317–19, not in Badāonī's list

[3] See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 314-15.

[4] See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 334–39.

[1] *'Ali Quli Khān, Khān Zamān.* He belonged to the Shaibāni tribe. In the service of Jinnat Ashiānī, Humāyūn Bādshāh, he attained to the rank of *amīr-ul-umra.* In the reign of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī his position improved and he achieved great victories, as has been narrated in their proper places. In the end, he was slain, on account of his rebellion and his faithlessness to his salt.

[2] *Adham Khān,* had the relationship of foster brother to His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, rose to the rank of *amīr-ul-umra*; but as he murdered Atka Khān, he was slain in retaliation, as has been mentioned in its proper place.

[3] *Mīrza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain,* was the son of Khwāja Mu'in, a descendent of Khwāja Nāsir-ud-dīn Ahrār. In the service of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī he rose to the rank of an *amīr*; and was enrolled in the band of the great *amīrs.* At the instigation of wicked men, he fled and went to Gujrat. In the year 980, when His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī conquered Gujrat the first time, [4] Rājā Bahārjī seized him, and brought him to the threshold, which was the asylum of the world. He remained for a long time in imprisonment, and again the imperial mercy drew the line of forgiveness across his guilt, and sent him to Bengal. There he again joined some ungrateful rebels and died.

[5] *Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atka.* He had the title of Khān 'Uzma. He was the foster father of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He attained to the rank of *amīr* and *vakīl*; but he drank the cup of martyrdom from the hand of Adham Khān.

[6] *Muhammad 'Aziz Kokaltash, who had the title of Ā'azam Khān,* was the son of Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Atka Khān Ā'azam. After (the death of) his father, he was honoured with this high title, and became a commander of five thousand horse. He achieved great victories, and performed meritorious services. He had no

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1 See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 319-20.

2 See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 323-24.

3 See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 322-23.

4 One MS. inserts بکلانہ راجہ, *i.e.*, the Rāja of Baklāna after Rāja Bahārjī.

5 See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 321.

6 See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 325-28.

equal in sharpness of intellect, and in brilliance of disposition, and in knowledge of history. He went on a voyage to the Hijāz from Gujrat, and is now in [1] Mecca.

[2] *Khizr Khwāja Khan.* (He) was one of the Sultāns of Kāshghar. The sister of Jinnat Ashiānī was married to him. He died after he had attained to the rank of *amīr-ul-umra.*

[3] *Bahādur Khān*, brother of Khān Zamān; was distinguished for courage and bravery. Had attained to the rank of an *amīr* and a commander of five thousand horse. Was slain after he had rebelled.

[4] *Mīr Muhammad Khān Atka*, was celebrated as Khān Kalān. He was the eldest brother of the Khān Ā'azam. [5] He performed great deeds; and passed away at Pattan Gujrat by natural death, in the year 983 A.H.

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1 The account of this nobleman ends here in one of the MSS. and in the lith. ed.: but the other MS. has a long account of what he did after his return from Mecca, which extends over some fifty lines. This must be an interpolation by some person other than Nizām-ud-dīn, who died on the 23rd Safar, 1003, 28th October, 1594 (see note 2, page 1004 of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III) and Ā'azam Khān did not return to court till the 13th Āzar, sometime in the following November. This account begins with the statement that when he returned from Mecca he had shaved off his beard, although he had never done so before, though, in fact, Akbar had asked him to do it. This is confirmed by Badāonī, who says he cut off his beard and became Akbar's and Abul Fazl's disciple in the new faith; but the remaining part of the statement about his insubordination towards Akbar, and of his being carried in chains to the fort of Gwaliar and of his being imprisoned there, etc., have no foundation in fact. I have accordingly refrained from translating it.

2 Not mentioned in the 'Ain-i-Akbari.

3 See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 328.

4 See 'Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 322.

5 One MS. has in place of the last sentence كه و در اخر بحكومت پتن گجرات در كتب تواريخ انرا نهرواله مينويسند سرافراز گشته انجا در سنه ثلاث و خمس و ثمانين و تسعمائه باجل طبعي در گذشت The words و خمس "and five" are of course wrong, but the rest may be translated "and in the end, having been honoured with the government of Pattan Gujrat, which is written in books of history as Nahrwāla, he passed away there in the year 983 A.H. by a natural death."

[1] *Muhammad Quli Khān Birlās*, was among the great *amīrs*. He died in Bengal.

[2] *Khān Jahān*, was the nephew (sister's son) of Bairām Khān. Having received the title of Khān Jahān was honoured for some years with the government of the Punjab, and for some years with that of Bengal; and performed great services. Was enrolled in the list of *amīrs* commanding five thousand horse; and in the year 986 A.H. died a natural death in Bengal.

[3] *Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān*, was in the list of *amīrs* of five thousand horse, and in this state marks of greatness appeared from him.

For many years he was the governor of Gujrat; and for a long time of Malwa; and in the year 999 gave up the deposit of his life in Ujjain.

[4] *Sa'īd Khān*, was the nephew (brother's son) of Jahāngīr Quli Beg, who in the time of Jinnat Ashiānī was honoured with the Government of Bengal. Sa'īd Khan is now honoured with the Government of Bengal. He is enrolled in the band of the *amīrs* in command of five thousand horse[5].

[6] *Pīr Muhammad Khān*. In the beginning, he was a student;

[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 341-42.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 329-31.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 332-33.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 331-32.

[5] The MS. which has a long interpolated passage about Ā'azam Khān, has again an interpolated passage here extending over 28 lines, about certain disputes which occurred at the time of Akbar's illness, between Mān Singh and Ā'azam Khān on one side, who espoused the cause of prince Khusro (Salīm's eldest son) and the other *amīrs* and *sardārs*, who took up the cause of prince Salīm, who afterwards became Jahāngīr. It is true that the idea of Khusro's succession was for a time favoured by Mān Singh (who was his mother's brother) and by Ā'azam Khān whose daughter he had married, but Akbar, up to the last, declared in favour of Salīm's succession, and Mān Singh and Ā'azam Khān were convinced of the difficulty of their attempt, and gave up the idea. It does not appear, however, that Sa'īd Khān and Shaikh Farīd Bakhti took any active part on the side of prince Salīm as stated in the passage in question. As Akbar's illness and death took place in September, 1605, and Nizām-ud-dīn died in November, 1584, he could not have written the interpolated passage. I have not therefore translated it.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 324-25.

but attained to the rank of an *amīr*, through the influence of Bairām Khān. At the time, when he was the governor of Malwa, he invaded Burhānpur, and devastated and destroyed most of the towns and the people of that country. While he was still engaged in warfare with the ruler of that country, he was suddenly defeated and in his flight he plunged into the river Narbada, and sank in the sea of destruction, as has been narrated in its place.

[1] *Rāja Behāra Mal*, was the Rāja of the country of Amber. He enlisted himself in the rank of the loyal supporters in the beginning of the daily increasing grandeur, and became one of the great *amīrs*. He died in Agra.

[2] *Rāja Bhawgwan Dās*, son of the above-mentioned Rāja Behāra Mal. Was included in the rank of the *amīrs* who were commanders of five thousand horse. He died in the year 996 A.H.

[3] *Rāja Mān Singh*, was the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās. He has achieved great deeds, as has been mentioned in their proper places. He is at the present time one of the *amīrs* commanding five thousand horse, and is the governor of the country of Behar.

[4] *Abd-ul-mājīd Āsaf Khān*, was a calligraphist and penman. He was gradually raised to the rank of an *amīr*. Performed great services. His affairs attained to such a height, that he had twenty thousand horsemen as his retainers. His history has been narrated in its place.

[5] *Sikandar Khān Uzbek*, was one of the great *amīrs* He joined the rebellion of Khān Zamān, but in the end having repented and returned to his allegiance, he re-entered the rank of loyal servants; and died in the year 980 A.H.

[6] *Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek*, was one of the great *amīrs*. On

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[1] Written بہارہ مل, in both MSS. and بہارا مل, in the lith. ed. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 328–29.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 333.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 339–41.

[4] One MS. prefixes Khwāja before his name. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 366.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 365–66, where he is called Iskandar Khān, a descendant of the Uzbek Kings.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 320–21.

account of certain suspicions, which he had, he went away to Gujrat from Malwa where he was the governor, and joined the rebels there, and died.

[1] *Qiyā Khān Gang*, [2] was one of the great *amīrs*. He died in Bengal in the year 984 A.H.

[3] *Yusuf Muhammad Khān*, was the elder brother of Ā'azam Khān Koka, and the son of Khān-i-Ā'azam. Died in early manhood from excessive drinking.

[4] *Zain Khān Koka*, is one of the *amīrs* of five thousand horse. In respect of bravery and other praiseworthy qualities, he excelled other men of the age. He is highly distinguished for intelligence and knowledge and wisdom and all [5] perfections.

[6] *Shujā'at Khān*, was the sister's son of Tardi Beg Khān, and was one of the *amīrs* in command of five thousand horse. He was the governor of Malwa. In the year 996 A.H. he attained to martyrdom at the hands of his own servants.

[7] *Shāh Bidāgh Khān*, was one of the *amīrs* of Jinnat Ashiānī. At this threshold also, he attained to the rank of *Amīr-ul-Umra*, and was made governor of Malwa, and died there

[8] *Ibrāhim Khān Uzbek*, was in the rank of *amīrs* of four thousand horse, and is dead.

[9] *Tarsūn Muhammad Khān*, was formerly a servant of Bairām Khān, and afterwards attained to the rank of an *amīr* of five thousand horse, and died in Bengal in the year 992 A.H.

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 343–44.

[2] One MS. inserts here بهادران رستم شکار. I suppose شکار is a mistake for شعار, *i.e.*, "among the heroes of Rustam-like bravery."

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 323.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 344–46.

[5] The MS. which had interpolated passages in respect of Ā'azam Khān and Sa'īd Khān has an interpolated passage about this nobleman also. That it is an interpolation, and not the work of the author, is clear from the words, امروز در عهد خلافت جهانگیری, which it contains towards its end.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 371.

[7] See Ain-i Akbari, Blochmann I, 371–72.

[8] See Ain i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 383, where he is called Ibrāhīm Khān-i-Shaibāni and is placed in the class of commanders of two thousand and five hundred.

[9] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 342–43.

[1] *Vazīr Khān*, was the brother of 'Abd-ul-majīd Āsaf Khān. He obtained the title of Vazīr Khān, and the appointment of *vazīr*, and the rank of an *amīr* of five thousand horse; and died a natural death in the year 995 A.H.

[2] *Muhammad Murād Khān*, was one of the great *amīrs*, and died after performing great deeds.

[3] *Ashraf Khān*, Mir Munshi, was one of the most learned men of the time. The name of this unique man of the age was Muhammad Asghar, and he was one of the 'Arab Shāhī Saiyyads. He wrote seven different kinds of writing and was one of the great *amīrs*.

[4] *Mahdi Qāsim Khān*, was included in the list of great *amīrs*, and in the *Jirgah* (band) of *amīrs* commanding five thousand horse. He died after performing meritorious services.

[5] *Muhammad Qāsim Khān Nishāpūrī*, was one of the Saiyyads of Nishāpūr. He had the rank of an *amīr* in Nishāpūr also. He fled from that country, on account of the catastrophe of the Uzbeks, and came to Hindustan. He held for sometime the government of Multan and was afterwards honoured for a long time with the government of Malwa and there he surrendered the deposit of his life.

[6] *Khwāja Sultan 'Ali*, had the title of Afzal Khān. Was one of the *vazīrs* of Jinnat Ashiānī, and his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-llāhī, honoured him with the title of Afzal Khān.

[7] *Rāja Todar Mal*, belonged to the clan of Khatris and writers, and by the help of Muzaffar Khān rose to the rank of *vazīr*, and for

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 353–54.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 373–74, where he is called Murād Khān.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, I, 389.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 348, where he is placed in the class of commanders of four thousand.

The name is incorrectly given in one MS. as Mu'tamid Qāsim Khān, and in the other as Muhammadi Qāsim Khān. The lith. ed. has the correct name.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 353.

[6] One MS. affixes تربتی است *i.e.* is of Turbat. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 376-77.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 351–53.

seven years was independent (sole) *vazīr*; and had four thousand horse. He died in the year 996 A.H.

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[2] *Mīrza Quli Khān*, brother of Haidar Muhammad Khān, was one of the great *amīrs*.

[3] *Muzaffar Khān*, was (originally) named Muzaffar 'Ali, was one of the calligraphists of Turbat. He had the appointment of *vazīr* independently for seven years. Afterwards he attained to the rank of *amīr-ul-umra*. He attained to martyrdom in the catastrophe of the rebellion of the Qāqshāls in Bengal, as has been mentioned in its proper place.

[4] *Haidar Muhammad Khān*, was one of the *amīrs* of Jinnat Ashiānī. Was also included in the band of the great *amīrs* in the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī.

[5] *Shāham Khān Jalāir*, is one of the old *amīrs* of this dynasty, and is among the *amīrs* in command of two thousand horse.

[6] *Isma'el Sultān Duldi*, was one of the *amīrs* of Jinnat Ashiānī; and in this reign also had attained to the rank of an *amīr*.

[7] *Muhammad Khān Jalāir*, is one of the old *amīrs*. It is some years since he has had a derangement of the brain and has been insane.

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[1] In the list of *amīrs* mentioned in the Tabaqāt, given in pages 529-535 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann Vol. I, the name of Mīrza Yusuf Khān Razavī, an *amīr* of four thousand horse according to the Tabaqāt, and an *amīr* of four thousand five hundred according to Abul Fazl, occurs between the names of Rāja Todar Mal and Mīrza Qulīj Khān, while in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt it is given between the names of Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and of Muhibb 'Ali Khān, Mīr Khalifa.

[2] He is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari but has no place in the list of *amīrs*. Mr. Blochmann says in Vol. I, page 385, that he does not understand why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abul Fazl in his list.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 348-50.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 385.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 410-11.

[6] Probably identical with Ismail Khan Duldi in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 388.

[7] He is mentioned in connection with Shāham Khān Jalāir in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 411, but is not included in the list of grandees.

[1] *Khān 'Ālam*, son of Hamdam Koka, was included among the *amīrs* of two thousand horse, and was distinguished among his equals in intelligence, knowledge, and the faculty of composing verses.

[2] *Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān*, was the brother of Khān 'Āazam Atka Khān, held the rank of *beglār-begi* and *amir-ul-umra*. Had five thousand retainers. He attained to martyrdom, at Baroda in Gujrat, at the hand of Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī, as has been mentioned in its proper place.

[3] *Mirza Yusuf Khān*, was one of the Rizavi Saiyyads. Was included among the *amīrs* commanding four thousand horse. The government of Kashmir is at present entrusted to him.

[4] *Muhibb 'Ali Khān, Mir Khalifa*, was the son of Mīr Khalifa the *vakīl-us-sultanat* of Bābar Bādshāh. Was distinguished for great accomplishments and perfections. He conquered Bakkar. Was included among the *amīrs* of four thousand horse. He died in the year 989 A.H. when he was governor of Delhi.

[5] *Qulīj Khān*, is one of the *amīrs* who has served the state for a long time, and now holds the appointment of *vazīr*, and has four thousand horsemen.

[6] *Muhammad Sādiq Khān*, has from his early age been in the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He is among the *amīrs* of four thousand horse. Has performed good services. Is at present honoured with the appointment of *vakīl* of Shāhzāda Shāh Murād.

[7] *Mīrza Jānī Beg Khān*, formerly ruler of Thatha. He is

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 378-79.

[2] Called Qutb-ud-dīn Khān in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 333-34.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 346-47. See also note 41A, p. 710 above.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 420-22.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 354-55.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 355-57 where he is called Cādiq Khān, son of Bāqir of Harat.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 361-64. He is also mentioned in page 209 and is said to have been according to Badāonī one of the members of the Divine faith.

now an *amīr* of four thousand horse. An account of him has been narrated in its proper place.

[1] *Isma'el Quli Khān*, is a brother of Khān Jahān. He is included among the *amīrs* of three thousand.

[2]

[3] *'Itamād Khān Gujrātī*, was one of the grand *amīrs* of Sultān Bahādur and Sultan Mahmūd Gujrātī. After the conquest of Gujrat he became one of the loyal servants of the threshold, and obtained the confidence (of the emperor), became an *amīr* of four thousand horse and died in the year 995 A.H.

[4] *Rāi Rāi Singh*, is the Rāja of the country of Bikānīr and Nāgor, and is an *amīr* of four thousand horse.

[5] *Sharīf Muhammad Khān*, is a brother of Khān A'azam Atka. Is included in the band of *amīrs* and is honoured with the government of Ghaznīn, which is his birth-place.

[6] *Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn*, had the title of Naqābat Khān, was included among the *amīrs* of three thousand horse. Died in Gujrat in the year 986 A.H.

[7] *Habīb 'Ali Khān*, was formerly a servant of Bairām Khān and died in 980 A H.

[8] *Shāh Quli Khān Mahram*, was formerly a servant of Bairām Khān; and for a period of thirty years has been included in the

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 360-61.

[2] One MS. inserts between Isma'el Quli Khān and 'Itamād Khān Gujrātī يوسف خان كوكه ، برادر بزرگ زين خان بود ، بشجاعت و شهامت متصف بود ؛ و در جنگ گجرات در ركاب ظفر انتساب بشهادت رسيد, *i.e.* Yusuf Khān Koka, elder brother of Zain Khān Koka, was possessed of bravery and courage. In the war in Gujrat, he attained to martyrdom while attending at the victorious stirrups (of the emperor).

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 385-87.

[4] He is called Rāja Rāi Singh in one MS. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 357-59.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 383 where he is called Sharīf Khān.

[6] Called Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn Khān in one MS. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 406.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 436.

[8] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 359-60, where he is called Shāh Quli Mahram-i-Bahārlu.

list of *amīrs* of three thousand horse; is possessed of courage and bravery; and having attained to the rank of an *amīr* at this threshold, is honoured, at the present day, with the government of the capital city of Agra.

[1] *Muhibb 'Ali Khān Rohtāsi.* As he held the government of Rohtas for many years, he is referred to as Rohtāsi. Was one of the *amīrs* of four thousand horse, and was characterised with bravery and courage. [2] Died in the year 996 A.H.

[3] *Mu'in-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān*, was for some years the *mīr-i-sāmān.*

[4] *'Itamād Khān Khwāja Sarāi*, was one of the *amīrs* of Salīm Khān. When he was included among the supporters (of the empire), he reached the rank of an *amīr*, and became the governor of Bhakkar. Was killed by his own servants in the year 985 A.H.

[5] *Dastam Khān*, had grown up from his days of youth in the service of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. Was killed while fighting with some Rajputs, who had fled from the threshold in the neighbourhood of Rantambhor in the year 990 A.H.

[6] *Kamāl Khān Gakkhar*, son of Sultān Sārang, (who was) brother of Sultān Ādam Gakkhar. Was enlisted in the band of five thousand horse. In bravery and liberality he was distinguished among the men of the age. He died in the year, 972 A.H.

[7] *Tāhir Khān, Mīr-i-Farāghat.* was among the *amīrs* of Jin-

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 422, where Mr. Blochmann says he cannot understand why Abul Fazl has not included him in his list of grandees.

[2] One MS. inserts here Dar Kashmir, *i.e.*, in Kashmir.

[3] One MS. inserts after the name, *Khurāsāni ast.*, *i.e.*, is a native of Khurāsān. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 434, where he is called Mu'in-ud-dīn (Ahmad) Khān-i-Farankhūdi.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 428.

[5] Called in one MS. Mīr Rustom Khān and in the other Dastam Khān. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 398, where he is called Dastam Khān which Mr. Blochmann says is his correct name.

[6] He is not included in the list of *amīrs* in the Ain-i-Akbari but is mentioned incidentally as Kamāl Khān Ghakkar (or Gakkhar).

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 408.

nat Ashiānī, and died after rising to the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse at this threshold.

[1] *Saiyyad Hāmid Bukhārī*, joined the servants, (of the emperor) in Gujrat, and after attaining to the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse, attained to martyrdom in battle with the Afghāns at Purshur.

[2] *Saiyyad Mahmūd Khān.* Bārha and Bāra are the names of two villages which are included in the *Doāb* of the Jumna and the Ganges, near *pargana* [3] Sambal. He was the head of a clan and had many retainers. In respect of bravery and courage, he had great fame among the people of India. In the service of His Majesty he attained to the rank of an *amīr* of four thousand horse. He died in 982 A.H.

[4] *Saiyyad Ahmad Khān Bārha*, was a brother of Saiyyad Mahmūd Bārha. Was included in the rank of *amīrs*, and was noted for his bravery. Died in 985 A.H.

[5] *Qarā Bahādur Khān*, was among the grand *amīrs*, and attained to the rank of an *amīr* of four thousand horse.

[6] *Bāqī Muhammad Khān Koka*, was a brother of Adham Khān. Was included in the band of *amīrs* of four thousand horse, and died in the year 992 A.H.

[7] *Saiyyad Muhammad Mīr-i-'adl* (or chief judge), was one of the great learned men of India. Was a native of the town of Amroha.

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1 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 397.

2 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 389 where he is called Saiyyad Mahmud of Barha (Kundliwal).

3 One MS. has instead of pargana Sambal, pargana Mirat and Naukra Hari, etc.

4 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 407, where he is called Sayyid Ahmad of Bārha.

5 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 460-61, where he is called, Qarā Bahādur without Khān.

6 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 381, where he is called Bāqī Khān, and where his full name is said to have been Muhammad Bāqī Khān Koka.

7 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 438. The Saiyyads of Amroha are mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari elsewhere, and there they are compared, to their disadvantage, with the Saiyyads of Bārha.

Rose to the rank of chief judge, and was honoured with the government of Bhakkar, and gave up the deposit of his life there.

[1] *Ma'sūm Khān Farankhūdī*, was a son of Muin-ud-din Ahmad Khān and was one of the *amirs* of two thousand horse. An account of him has been given in its (proper) place.

[2] *Naurang Khān*, was a son of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān Atka. Is included in the band of *amīrs* of four thousand horse. Is now entrusted with the government of the country of Junagarh.

[3] *Shah Muhammad Khān Atka*, younger brother of Khān Ā'zam Shams-ud-dīn Husain Atka; was included in the list of *amīrs* of two thousand horse; and died in the year 997 A.H.

[4] *Matlab Khān*, was a son of Shāh Bidāgh Khān. He is included in the rank of amirs of two thousand horse. Died in the year 997 A.H.

[5] *Shaikh Ibrāhim*, was the son-in-law and nephew (sister's son) of Shaikh Salīm Sikrīwāl. Was included in the list of *amīrs* of two thousand horse.

[6] *Ali Quli Khān Indarābī*, died after rising to the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse.

[7] *Tolak Khān Qūchīn*, is one of the *amīrs*, who has been a long time in the service (of the emperor) and is included in the rank of *amīrs* of two thousand horse.

[8] *Shāh Beg Khān Kabuli*, was formerly a servant of Mirza

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 443 44.

[2] He is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari page 334 as a son of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, but is not included by Abul Fazl in the list of *amīrs*.

[3] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. Three brothers and two sons of Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Atka Khān are mentioned there, but he is not included among them.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 403, where he is called Abdul Matlab Khān, as he is in fact called in various places in the Tabaqāt.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 402, where he is described as "Son of Shaikh Mūsa, elder brother of Shaikh Salīm of Fathpur Sikri," and not as the latter's sister's son, as stated in the Tabaqāt.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 432. Indarāb is a town of southern Qunduz.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 444-45, where his name is transliterated as Tolakt Khān Quchīn.

[8] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 377, where he is called Shāh Beg Khān;

Muhammad Hakīm; and after the latter's death, entered the service of the emperor. Has performed meritorious services, and is now included among the *amīrs* of three thousand horse.

[1] *Fattu Afghān*, was an *amīr* of Salim Khān. Having entered the service of the emperor, died after attaining to the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse.

[2] *Babu Mankli*, belongs to a tribe of Afghāns, and is an *amir* of one thousand horse.

[3] *Fath Khan Fīlbān*. In his younger days was a *fīlbān* (elephant driver—*mahut*) of the emperor. In the end attained to the rank of an *amīr*, and is an *amīr* of two thousand horse. Died in the year 990 A.H.

[4] *Samāji Khān Maghūl*, is in the band of *amīrs* of two thousand horse.

[5] *Darvīsh Muhammad Uzbek*. In the beginning he was a servant of Bairām Khān Died after attaining to the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse.

[6] *Shahbāz Khān Kambu*, is one of the *amīrs* of two thousand horse, and is now governor and bakhshi of the army of Malwa.

[7] *Khwāja Jahān*. His name was Amīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd. He

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and it is stated that he was sometimes called Beg Khān and sometimes Shāh Beg Khān Arghun; and under Jahāngīr he got the title of Khān Daurān.

[1] There are slight variations in the readings in the MSS. and the lith. ed. Fattu Khān or Fath Khān is mentioned in several places in the Ain-i-Akbari; and he is said to have had the title of Masnad-i-'Ali. He is not however mentioned as an *amīr* in Abul Fazl's list. but his son Rahmat Khān is mentioned as one in page 502 of the Ain-i-Akbari.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 473.

[3] Not mentioned in Abul Fazl's list. See however Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 523, under the heading of Fath Khan, Superintendent of the leopards (Chitabān).

[4] There are two Samanji Khāns mentioned in Abul Fazl's list (Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 416 and page 441). The latter appears to be the man we have here, though in page 531, the former is said to be the man, but it is said in page 415 that the name of this grandee is not given in the Tabaqāt.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 402.

[6] The Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. has a long account of him, see pp. 399–402.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 424.

was a native of Khurāsān and was for some years permanent *vakīl* and did great deeds and died in the [1] year 983 A.H.

[2] *Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl*, was one of the great *amīrs* and had five thousand retainers.

[3] *Muhammad Qāsim Khān Mīr Bahr*, is one of the ancient *amīrs* of this great dynasty; and is now an *amīr* of three thousand horse, and holds the government of Kabul.

[4] *Muzaffar Husain Mīrza*, son of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, and daughter's son of Kāmrān Mīrza. An account of him has been narrated. After he had been taken prisoner, and had for a long time been in imprisonment, the natural affection of his Majesty showed him favour, and honoured him with affiliation, and exalted his head to the highest heaven by an alliance. He is now an *amīr* of one thousand horse, and is looked upon with an affectionate eye.

[5] *Rāja Jagannāth*, is a son of Rāja Bihāri Mal, and is an *amīr* of three thousand horse.

[6] *Rāja Askaran*, is an *amīr* of three thousand horse.

[7] *Rāja Lonkaran*, was an *amīr* of two thousand horse and died in the year 991 A.H.

[8] *Mādho Singh*, brother of Rāja Mān Singh, is an *amīr* of two thousand horse.

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[1] There are slight variations in the MSS. and the lith. ed. as to the date of his death. One MS. has at the end "niko-khwāh-i-mardum is the date of his death".

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 369-70.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 379-81 where he is called Qāsim Khān Mīrbahr Chaman-ārāi (?) Khurāsān.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 461-64.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 387-88.

[6] He is mentioned in several places in the Ain-i-Akbari, but does not appear to be mentioned in Abul Fazl's list of grandees.

[7] He is mentioned in several places in the Ain-i-Akbari, but does not appear to be mentioned in Abul Fazl's list of grandees.

[8] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 418, where he is described as Mādho Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās.

[9] There is the name of Saif Khān Koka between those of Mādho Singh

[1] *Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Ali, 'Āsaf Khān*, was a native of Qazwīn. Held the appointment of *bakhshi* for some years. Died in Gujrat in the year 989 A.H.

[2] *Pāiyanda Khān Maghūl*, is an *amīr* of two thousand horse, and is governor of the country of Ghora Ghāt.

[3] *Mubārak Khān*, son of Kamāl Khān Gakkhar. Is an *amīr* of one thousand horse.

[4] *Bāz Bahādur Afghān*. He had for a period of four years ruled Malwa, and had taken the name of Sultān, and had the *khutba* (public prayer) and *sikka* (coin) in his own name; but had at last entered the service of this threshold, and after being enrolled as an *amīr* of two thousand horse, died.

[5] *Mīrak Khān Jangjang*, was one of the *amīrs* who had been long in the service of this dynasty He died in the year 975 A.H.

[6] *Tardi Khān*, son of Qiyā Khān Gang. Belongs to the class of *amīrs* of two thousand horse.

[7] *Saiyyad Qāsim*, son of Saiyyad Mahmūd Khān Bārha; is one of the *amīrs* of two thousand horse, and is known as a man of bravery and courage and has performed services; and is now employed as governor of Pattan-i-Gujrat.

[8] *Rāja Khangār*, was also in the rank of *amīrs* of two thousand horse.

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and Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Ali, Āsaf Khān in the list of amirs mentioned in the Tabaqāt as given in page 531 of the Ain-i-Akbari; but it is not given either in the MSS. or the lith. ed.

[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 435, where he is called Khwāja Ghiyās-ud-dīn ('Ali Khān, Āsaf Khān II) of Qazwīn.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 387.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 455.

[4] There is a fairly long account of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 828-29.

[5] He is mentioned in page 439, Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but is not included in Abul Fazl's list.

[6] There is a very short account of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 416, but he is not mentioned in the list in page 531.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 419.

[8] He is mentioned once in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 419, but does not appear to be included in Abul Fazl's list of grandees.

[1] *Muhammad Husain*, had the title of Lashkar Khān. For many years was a *bakhshi* of the threshold, which is the asylum of the world; and (afterwards) rising to the rank of an *amīr*, had a thousand retainers. In the year 983 A.H., in the war with Dāūd Afghān, which the Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān had with him, he was wounded, and lay on the bed of weakness; and died of the pain and distress of that wound.

[2] *Husain Khān Tukriya*, (people) call him Tukriya, for the reason that when he held the office of the governor and commander of Lahore, he had ordered that Hindus should sew a patch on their garments near the shoulder; and as in the Hindi language a patch is called a *tukri* (more correctly a *tukra*), he became famous as Tukriya. He was the son-in-law of Mahdi Qāsim Khān, and was included in the rank of *amīrs* of two thousand horse. He died in the year 983 A.H.

[3] *Jalāl Khān and Sa'īd Khān Gakkhar*, at present each of these is an *amīr* of one thousand and five hundred horse.

[4] *'Itabār Khān Khwāja Sarai* (eunuch), was one of the old

[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 407, where he is called Lashkar Khān, Muhammad Husain of Khurāsān.

[2] This, and the biographical sketch of Mīr Fath Ullah Shirāzī are the only two sketches of the great men of Akbar's time given in Elliott V. It is said in a note there that these two accounts were included in the old volume of 1849. The MS. in which there are interpolations in the account of Āa'zam Khān and one or two others, has a passage in respect of this man, which is not to be found in the other MSS. or in the lith. ed. or in the translation in Elliott V. It is در سخاوت و شجاعت و تقوي و طهارت از امثال واقران امتياز تمام داشت و در تعظيم سادات و علما اقص الغايت سعي ميفرمود *i.e.*, in liberality and bravery and piety and purity (he) was much distinguished beyond his companions and equals; and in the respect paid to Saiyyads and learned men he went to the limit of excess. This MS. also has the words و خواهر زادة *i.e.*, and sister's son after the word داماد or son-in-law. He is called son-in-law in the other MSS. and in the lith. ed. but the translation, in Elliott V, says he was nephew and son-in-law of Imām (?) Mahdi Kāsim Khān. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 372-73. There is a quotation there, "He is the Bayard and Don Quixote of Akbar's reign."

[3] They are mentioned in several places in the Ain-i-Akbari; and the former is included in the list in pp. 529–535, but the latter is not in the list.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 403–04.

servants (*khidmatgārs*) of Jinnat Ashiānī. Having reached the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse, died when holding the governorship of Dehli.

[1] *Khwāja Tāhir Muhammad*, had the title of Tātār Khān. Was one of the *vazīrs* for a long time, and having attained to the rank of an *amīr*, made over the deposit of his life, in 975 A.H. when holding the governorship of Dehli.

[2] *Mota Rāja*, is one of the amirs of fifteen hundred horse. Is the ruler of Jodhpur.

[3] *Mihtar Khān Khāsa Khail*, is an *amīr* of one thousand five hundred horse.

[4] *Farhat Khan Khasa Khail*, was an *amīr* of two thousand horse.

[5] *Safdar Khān Khāsa Khail*, was an *amīr* of two thousand horse.

[6] *Bahadur Khān* (in one MS.), Bahār Khān (in the other) and Pahār Khān (in the lith. ed.), Khāsa Khail, was one of the *amīrs* of two thousand horse.

[7] *Rāy Rāy Sāl Kachwāha*, is included in the group of *amīrs* of two thousand horse.

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1 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 424.

2 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 420–21, where he is called Udai Singh Mot'h Rāja, son of Rāi Māldeo.

3 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 417, where he is described as Mehtar Khān, Anīs-ud-dīn, a servant of Humāyūn.

4 His name comes after that of Mehtar Khān in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but in the other MS. it comes after Bahār or Bahādur Khān. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 441, where he is described as Farhat Khān Mehtar Sakāi, a slave of Humāyūn.

5 Not mentioned in the list in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I.

6 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 405, where he is called Bahār Khān Muhammad Asghar, a servant of Humāyūn. Mr. Blochmann was doubtful about the identity of the two men, Bahār Khān and Bahādur Khān; as he has a (?) against number 87 which is the number of Bahār Khān's name in Abul Fazl's list.

7 This name comes after that of Farhat Khān in one MS., after that of Safdar Khān in the other and after Bahār Khān or Pahār Khān in the lith. ed. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 419–20, where he is called Rāi Rāy Sāl Darbārī Shaikhāwat (the Shaikhāwats being one section of the Kachwāhas, the others being called Rājāwats).

[1]

[2] *Rāy Durga*, is one of the *amīrs* of one thousand five hundred horse.

[3]

[4] *Maqsūd 'Ali Kūr*. He was also a servant of Bairām Khān. He died after arriving at the rank of an *amīr* at this threshold.

[5] *Ikhlās Khān Khwāja Sarāi*, was one of the *amīrs* of one thousand horse, and died while he was governor of Dehli.

[6] *Mehr 'Ali Khan Sildūz*, was at first among the servants of Bairām Khān. Having been honoured by being allowed to enter the service of His Majesty, died after attaining to the rank of an *amīr* of one thousand five hundred horse.

[7] *Khudāwand Khān Dakhini*, was included in the group of *amīrs* of fifteen hundred horse, and died in Gujrat in the year 995 A.H.

[8] *Mīr Murtaza Dakhini*, is included in the list of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.[9]

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[1] Only one MS. has here the name of Shāh Muhammad Qandahārī; and the following description is given of him: "He was also among the servants of Bairām Khān; attained to the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse; and attained to martyrdom at the hand of Rāi Kachi." See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 408, where he is called Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qa'lāt.

[2] The name is written as رای دُر کھ in the MSS. as well as in the lith. ed. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 417, where he is called Rai Durga Sisodiah.

[3] After the name of Rāi Durga, there is the name of Mīrak Khān Bahādur in the list of *amīrs* mentioned in the Tabaqāt, as given in pp. 529-535 in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann Vol. I. His name is number 115 in that list, and he is described as an *amīr* of two thousand horse. In Abul Fazl's list he is number 208, and has only five hundred horse. His name is not to be found in either the MSS. or in the lith. ed.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 437, where he is called Maqsūd 'Ali Kor.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 405, where he is called Ikhlās Khān 'Itibār, the eunuch.

[6] He is called Mehr 'Ali Sildūz in one MS. and سلدورہ Sildūra in the other. See also Ain i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 435. Sildoz is there said to be the name of a Chaghtāi clan.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pages 442–43.

[8] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 449, where he is called Mīr Murtaza Khān, a Sabzwārī Saiyyad.

[9] There are some illegible or unintelligible words here in the MSS. One MS.

[1] *Hasan Batani Afghān*, was included in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse, and in the disaster of the Afghāns of Swad and Bajaur, wound up the materials of existence.

[2] *Nazr Beg*, son of Sa'īd Khan Gakkhar, is in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[3] *Rāja Gopāl*, was in the group of the amirs of two thousand horse.

[4] *Qiya Khān Sahib-i-Hasan* (man of handsome appearance?). He died having attained to the rank of fifteen hundred horse.

[5] *Saiyyad Hāshim Bārha*, son of Saiyyad Mahmūd Khān Bārha, reached the rank of an *amīr* of one thousand horse, and became a martyr in the war which the Khān Khānān Mīrza Khān had at Sarkhej with Sultān Muzaffar Gujrātī in the year 991 A.H.

[6] *Rizavi Khān*, held for a time the appointment of a *bakhshi*; he died after rising to be an *amīr* of one thousand [7] horse.

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has سبزوار بست, and the other و سبزواری بود; probably the words mean that he was a Sabzwāri Saiyyad.

[1] He is called Husain Batni in one MS. and حسین بنی in another MS. and حسین ملنی in the lith. ed. There is a Hasan Patni or Batani (the latter is said to be correct as it is the name of an Afghān tribe) mentioned in the Akbarnāma. He was killed in the Yusufzai disaster. See also Ain-i-Akbari. Blochmann I, page 476, where he is called Hasan Khan Batani, and Batani is said, in a note, to be the name of an Afghān tribe N.W. of Dera Ismail Khān.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 486, where he is called Nazr Khān, son of Sa'īd Khan, the Gakkhar.

[3] The name is omitted in the lith. ed.; but the short account of him is there as well as in the MSS. Rāja Gopāl Jādon and Rāja Gopal are mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, but neither has a place in the list of grandees.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 464, where he is called Qiyā Khān, son of Sāhib Khān, but it is also said there, that the *Khan* of Sāhib Khān, in the Ain-i-Akbari MS., is probably a mistake, and the correct name is Qiyā Sāhib-i-Hasan which may mean "Qiya the beautiful, or Qiya, son of Sahib Hasan."

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 440. See also page 419.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 438-39, where he is called Razavi Khān Mīrza Mīrak, a Razawi Saiyyad of Mashhad.

[7] One MS. has *hazāri*, and the other *du-hazāri* after *amīr*. The lith. ed. does not mention either *hazāri* or *du-hazāri*.

[1] *Rāja Bīr Bar*, was in the band of *amīrs* of two thousand horse, and disappeared after the disaster of the Afghāns of Swād.

[2] *Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī*, is a Bakhshi, and is in the group of *amīrs* of fifteen hundred horse.

[3] *Rai Sarjan*, was the Rāja of the fort of Rantambhor. After the fort had been besieged, he surrendered it to the imperial servants, and became enrolled as a servant of the threshold, and was an *amīr* of two thousand horse.

[4] *Ja'far Beg*, is the brother's son of Ghiās-ud-dīn 'Ali Āsaf Khān, and also got the title of Āsaf Khān, and is a Bakhshi of two thousand horse.

[5] *Rāja Rupsī Bairāgi*, was in the rank of *amīrs* of fifteen hundred horse.

[6] *Fāzil Khān*, was a son of Mīr Muhammad Khān Atka. Was included among the *amīrs* of fifteen hundred horse; and at the time when the Gujrātīs were besieging Ā'azam Khān, he came out of the fort one day, and attained to martyrdom, fighting with the enemies.

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[1] Called Rāja Bīr Bal in one MS. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 404-05.

[2] The word Bukhāri is omitted in the lith. ed. The MS. which contains interpolations in respect of Ā'azam Khān and others contains an interpolation about this nobleman also which extends to 32 lines, and which says things that happened to him in the reign of Jahāngīr. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 413-16, where there is an interesting account of what he did at the time of Akbar's last illness and death, and his elevation to a command of five thousand, and to the title of *Sāhib-us-saif-wal-qalam* after the accession of Jahāngīr.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 409-10, where he is called Rai Surjan Hādā (the Hādās being a branch of the Chauhāns).

[4] Called Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān in one MS. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 411-12, where he is called Āsaf Khān (III) (Mīrza Qiwām-ud-dīn) Ja'far Beg, son of Badī'-uz-zamān of Qazwīn.

[5] The name is doubtful in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. It looks like Rūsī or Dūsī Sarāki. The correct name according to the Ain-i-Akbari is Rāja Rupsi Bairāgi, Blochmann I, 427-28.

[6] So called in both MSS. but is called Fāzil Muhammad Khān in the lith. ed. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 443, where he is called Fāzil Khān, son of Khān-i-Kalān.

[1] *Shāh Quli Nāranji*, is included among the *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[2] *Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī*, had attained to the rank of an *amīr* of two thousand horse. He became a martyr in the war with Shīr Khān Fūlādī in the year 980 A.H.

[3] *La'l Khān Badakhshi*, was one of the great *amīrs*.

[4] *Khanjar Beg Chaghta*, is one of the old *amīrs* of this dynasty. He was distinguished in the arts of particular knowledge and science, specially in music, and had a poetical temperament.

[5] *Makhsūs Khān*, is the brother of Sa'īd Khān, and is in the group of *amīrs* of two thousand and five hundred horse.

[6] *Sānī Khān*, belongs to the Arlat clan, was at first a *qalandar*, and at last reached the rank of an *amīr*, has a poetical temperament, and has versified the *kafia*.

[7] *Mīrza Husain Khān*, is the brother of Saiyyad Barkah and belongs to the rank of great *amīrs*.

[8] *Jayat Singh*, son of Rāja Mān Singh. He is included in the list of *amīrs* of one thousand five hundred horse.

[9] *Mīrza Najāt Khān*, brother of Mīrza Husain Khān, died after attaining to the rank of an *amīr*.

[10] *'Ali Dost Khān Bār Begi*, was one of the *khidmatgārs* of Jinnat Ashiānī. Having reached the rank of an *amīr* of one thou-

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1 One MS. calls him Shah Quli Khān Nāranji. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 480, where he is called Shāh Quli Khān Nāranji.

2 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 396, where he is called Shaikh Muhammad-i-Bukhārī.

3 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 475, where he is called La'l Khān Kūlābī.

4 One MS. has Chaghtāi instead of Chaghta. He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari.

5 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 388.

6 One MS. writes the name as Sāqi Khān. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 476, where he is called Sānī Khān of Harāt.

7 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 439.

8 One MS. has جکد سنگهه Jakad Singh. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 447.

9 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 439.

10 Not mentioned in the list in Ain-i-Akbari.

sand horse in the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, he died in Lahore.

[1] *Sultān Husain Khān*, was an *amīr* of high degree.

[2] *Khwāja Shāh Mansūr Shīrāzī*, was a calligraphist, a man of understanding and ability and knowledge of affairs. Owing to his great harshness, the *amīrs* were displeased with him, and forged a letter to Mīrza Hakīm, which purported to be written by him, and that helpless man was executed as has been mentioned in its place. For a period of four years he occupied the position of the *vazīr* owing to his merits.

[3] *Salīm Khān Sirmūr Afghān*, was included in the rank of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[4] *Saiyyad Jhaju Bārha*, was a brother of Saiyyad Mahmūd; was distinguished among men of his class for courage and manliness.

[5] *Darbār Khān*, son of Takaltu Khān, story-reader of Shāh Tahmāsp; was later a story-reader of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; was allowed to be very near (the emperor); and belonged to the *Jirgah* or *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[6] *Hāji Muhammad Sīstānī*, was a servant of Bairām Khān in the beginning, and in the end was included in the class of *amīrs*.

[7] *Muhammad Zamān*, brother of Mirza Yusuf, was included in the class of *amīrs*, and attained to martyrdom in the country of Gadha.

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[1] He is also not mentioned in the list in the Ain i-Akbari.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 430-32.

[3] One MS. and the lith. ed. has سلیم خان سر صور افغان, the other MS. has simply سلیم خان. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 436, where he is called Salīm Khān Kakar.

[4] One MS. and the lith. ed. have سید جیجهو. The other MS. has سید جهجو. In the Ain i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 477, he is called Sayyad Chhajau of Bārha and a note says the spelling Chhajhu is preferable to Jhajhu.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 464, where he is called Darbār Khān, 'Inayet (Ullah), son of Takaltu Khān, the Reader.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 374, where he is called Hājī Muhammad Khān of Sīstān. He is said there to have been made a *sih-hazārī*, and to have died of malaria in Gour in 983 A.H.

[7] He is not mentioned in Abul Fazl's list in the Ain-i-Akbari.

[1] *Khurram Khān*, was among the *amīrs* of two thousand horse; is dead.

[2] *Muhammad Quli Tuqbāi*, was included in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[3] *Mujāhid Khān*, was son of Musāhib Khān; was a young man of great bravery and courage, and having reached to the rank of an *amīr* of one thousand horse, attained to martyrdom, in the country of Komalmīr.

[4] *Sultān Ibrāhīm Aubahi*, was the uncle-in-law (mother's sister's husband) of the author of this book, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad. By the power of his arms he took possession of the country at the foot of the Kumayun hills, and performed meritorious services. He was distinguished for courage, and manliness among men of his class and rank.

[5] *Shāh Ghāzī Khān Turkmān*, was in the class of great *amīrs*.

[6] *Sheroya*, was the son of Shir Afghan Beg, who was one of the great *amīrs* of Jinnat Ashiāni. He is now in the rank of an *amir* of one thousand horse.

[7] *Kākar 'Ali Khān*, was in the Jirga of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[8] *Naqīb Khān*, is a son of Mīr 'Abd-ul-latīf Qazwīnī: is unique in his knowledge of history. Is one of the witty men of the emperor's court, and is in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

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[1] He is also not mentioned in Abul Fazl's list in the Ain-i-Akbari.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 434. Taqbāi is there said to be the name of a Chaghtāi clan.

[3] He is not mentioned in Abul Fazl's list in the Ain-i-Akbari but see note in page 533 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I.

[4] He is not mentioned in the list in the Ain-i-Akbari.

[5] One MS. omits the Khān. He is also not mentioned in the list in the Ain-i Akbari.

[6] One MS. has شیرویه Sheroya, the other has سرور خان Sarwar Khān, while the lith. ed. has شیرویه خان Sheroya Khān. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 455, where he is called Sheroya Khān, son of Sher Afkan Khān.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 408, where he is called Kākar 'Ali Khān-i-Chishti.

[8] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 447-49, where he is called Naqīb Khān, son of Mīr Abdul Latīf of Qazwīn.

[1] *Beg Nurīn Khān*, was in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse; is dead.

[2] *Qatlu Qadm Khān*, was in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[3] *Jalāl Khān Qurchī*, was a courtier by profession. His sweet words always gave great pleasure to the mind of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He was included in the *Jirga* of the *amīrs* of one thousand horse; and in the time the fort of Swad [4] was besieged, he attained to martyrdom.

[5] *Shimāl Khān Qurchī*, was a slave of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; was a courtier, and a boon companion (*nadīm musharrab* [6]) and was in the rank of *amīrs* of one thousand horse; is dead.

[7] *Mīrzāda 'Ali Khān*, son of [8] Muhtarim Beg. He was a manly young man of good deportment (*sāhib-i-salīqa*); and attained to martyrdom in Kashmir.

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 475, where he is called Beg Nurīn Khān Quchīn.

[2] One MS. calls him Qatlu Khān. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 432, where he is called Qutlugh Qadam Khān Akhtabegi, or the officer-in-charge of the geldings.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 475, where he is called Jalāl Khān Qurchi (qurchi means, the officer-in-charge of weapons, royal flags, *etc.*, also an armour bearer).

[4] One MS. has سواد Swād, the other has سوانه Sawana, and the lith. ed. has سواز, which may be Swād. In the index of Beveridge's translation of the Akbarnāma Vol. III, there is a Jalāl Khān Qurchi, who is last mentioned in page 982. There is a Jalāl Khān mentioned in that page, but there is no affix to the name, and he is mentioned as being engaged in the operations against the Tārīkīs in Swād, but I cannot find that he died there. From page 476 of the Ain-i-Akbari, it appears that he took a part in the expedition of Siwāna where he was murdered in mistake of Shimāl Khān.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 443, where he is called Shimāl Khān Chelah (slave).

[6] One MS. inserts here شگفته طبیعت, "of a cheerful disposition."

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 443, where he is called Mīrzāda Ali Khān, son of Muhtarim Beg.

[8] The MSS. have Mahram Beg, but the lith. ed. has Muhtarim Beg. The Ain-i-Akbari says in a note in page 443, "For Muhtarim Beg many MSS. read wrongly Mahram Beg.

[1] *Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān*, was in the service of his Majesty from his youth; and having reached the rank of an *amīr* of one thousand horse died in Kashmir.

[2] *Mīr Sharīf Amūlī*, is one of the heretics (*Mauhidīn*) of the age, and has a correct style (*salīqa*) in the *Sufi* doctrine, and is in the list of *amīrs* of one thousand horse; he is at present in Behar.

[3] *Farrukh Khān*, son of Khān Kalān, is one of the *Khānzādas* (one bred up in the house) of this great dynasty: and is at present in the country of Bengal.

[4] *Dost Khān Sahāri or Bahāri.* He was included in the list of *amīrs* of one thousand horse; and is dead.

[5] *Ja'far Khān Turkmān*, son of Qarāq Khān. When Qarāq Khān was the governor of Khurāsān, he rebelled against his Majesty Shāh Tahmāsp, and was put to death. His son (*i.e.* Ja'far Khān) brought his face of supplication to the threshold which was the asylum of Sultāns, and was included in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse. After sometime he died a natural death.

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[1] One MS. substitutes Mīr for Saiyyad. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 465, where he is called Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān, son of Mīr Khwānandah.

[2] It appears from the Akbarnāma, Beveridge's translation index that he was a heretic and was much abused by Badāonī. In Behār he had four great offices, namely those of *amīn*, *sadr*, and *qāzī*. The India Office MS. gives the fourth office as Khalifagi (apostleship). Āmul is a town on the Oxus. Some of Badāonī's abuse of him can be read in the Persian text Vol. II, p. 246 and in the English translation Vol. II, pp. 252-53. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 452, where he is called Mīr Sharīf-i-Āmuli.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 480, where he is called Farrukh Khān, son of Khān-i-Kalān.

[4] There is much difficulty about this name. One MS. calls him Daulat Khān Niāzi and the other Dost Khān Sahāri. The lith. ed. has Dost Khān Bahāri. He is not mentioned at all in the Ain-i-Akbari, except in page 534 in the list of *amīrs* in the Tabaqāt. There is a note in that page "One MS. calls him Bahāri, the other Sahāri."

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 426, where he is called Ja'far Khān, son of Qazāq Khān, but it is also said that he is often called in the histories Ja'far Khān Taklu, Taklu being the name of a Qizlbāsh tribe.

[1] *Rāy Manohar*, son of Rāy Lonkaran. From his early youth he grew up under the protection of the affection of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and grew up in the service of the fortunate prince Sultān Salīm, and began to write, and acquired a style in writing poetry, etc. Has the poetical *nom-de-plume* of *Tausani*.

[2] *Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Lakhnaui*, is one of the servants, who have rendered long service at this threshold, and is included in the band of *amīrs*.

[3] *Mīr Abul-Muzaffar*, is a son of Ashraf Khān, and is at present honoured with the appointment of the government of Audh.

[4] *Rām Singh*, is a son of Rāja Askaran, and is in the rank of *amīrs*.

[5] *Patar Dās*, is a Hindi writer, belongs to the Khetry tribe, has attained in the rank of an *amīr*, and is at present governor of Bihta.

[6] *Jānish Bahādur*, is in the group of *amīrs*.

[7] *Muhammad Khān Niāzi*, belongs to the tribe of Afghāns, and has attained to the rank of an *amīr*.

[8] *Ram Das Kachwāha*, is one of those who are in close attendance at the threshold. He is always in attendance on his Majesty.

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1 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 494, where he is called Rāi Manohar, son of Rāja Lonkaran.

2 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 470, where he is called Shaikh 'Abdur Rahīm of Lakhnau.

3 He is called Mīrza Abul Muzaffar in the list of the *amīrs* in the Tabaqāt in page 534 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I; but in page 484 where he is in Abul Fazl's list, he is Abul Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khān, without Mīr or Mīrza.

4 The name is distinctly Rām Singh in one MS. and in the lith. ed. In the other MS. it is راى سنگهه which appears to be Rāi Singh. In the Ain-i-Akbari, page 534, it is Rāj Singh in the list of *amīrs* as given in the Tabaqāt; and in page 458 in Abul Fazl's list it is Rāja Rāj Singh, son of Rāja Askaran, the Kachwāha. He received the title of Rāja after the death of his father, which appears to have taken place soon after the 33rd year.

5 He is called Rāi Patar Dās in the list of *amīrs* in the Tabaqāt, as given in page 534 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. He is called Rāi Patar Dās (Rāja Bikrmājit), a Khatry in Abul Fazl's list in page 469.

6 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 481.

7 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 483-84.

8 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 483, where he is called Rām Dās, the Kachwāha.

[1] *Mīr Abul Qāsim*, son of Saiyyad Muhammad, Mīr 'Adl. (chief judge). Has attained to the rank of an *amīr*.

[2] *Khwāja 'Abd-ul-hai*, is a Mīr 'Adl. (chief judge), and has attained to the rank of an *amīr*.

[3] *Shams-ud-dīn Husain*, is a son of Ā'azam Khān Kokaltāsh, is a young man of ability, and is included in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[4] *Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn Khāfi or Khawāfi*, is at present exalted with the office of *diwān*, is celebrated for his honesty and bravery and knowledge of affairs.

[5] *Mīr Jamāl-ud-dīn Husain Inju*, is one of the Saiyyads of Shirāz; is in the *Jirga* of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[6] *Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Khān*, is a son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Is included among the *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[7] *Saiyyad Rāju Bārha*, is one of the *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[8] *Medni Rāy Chauhān*, is distinguished among his comrades in

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 489, where he is called Sayyid Abul Qāsim, son of Saiyid Muhammad, Mīr 'Adl.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 480, where he is called Mīr 'Abdul Hai Mīr 'Adal.

[3] So written in both MSS., but the lith. ed. has Shams-ud-dīn Hasan. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 450, where he is called Shamsi, son of Khān A'zam Mīrza Koka.

[4] The affix is خوافي in one MS., and looks like خاقاني in the other. In the lith. ed. it looks like حافي. The name is derived from خواف, name of a district. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 445, where he is called Khwaja Shams-ud-din Khawafi.

[5] He was the "author of the Persian Dictionary, the Farhang-i-Jahāngīri. The text has Anju, but Badāonī has Inju, which he says is part of Shīrāz; * * the Ma'sir III, 358 says the Injuwiya are Sayids of Shiraz". Note quoted from Akbarnāma, Bevoridge's translation III, page 386. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 450, where he is called Jamāl-ud-din Husain and Inju Saiyyad.

[6] See Ain-i Akbari, Blochmann I, page 457, where he is called Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus (of Gwaliar).

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 452, where he is called Saiyyad Rāju, of Bārha.

[8] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 470.

bravery and liberality; and is included in the group of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[1] *Mīr Tāhir Rizavi*, is a brother of Mīrza Yusuf Khān, and is possessed of bravery.

[2] *Tash Beg Kabuli*, is included in the group of *amīrs*, and is in the *Jirga* of Shāh Beg.

[3] *Ahmad Beg Kabuli*, is a young man learned and brave and has seven hundred horsemen.

[4] *Shīr Khwāja*, is possessed of bravery and manliness, and is included among the *amīrs*.

[5] *Tahir Saif-ul-muluk*, is a son of Shāh Muhammad Saif-ul-muluk, who was the governor of Gharjistān, which is part of Khurāsān, and was slain by order of Shāh Tahmāsp. He has at present attained to the rank of an *amīr* and is in Bengal.

[6] *Muhammad Quli Turkmān*, has reached the rank of an *amīr*, and is in the same *Jirga* with Ahmad Beg.

[7] *Nūkhta Beg Kābuli*, is a brave young man and is in the same *jirga* with Ahmad Beg.

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 482, where he is called Mīr Tāhir-i-Musāwi.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 457, where he is called Tāsh Beg Khān Mughal (Tāj Khān).

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 465, where he is called Ahmad Beg-i-Kabuli.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 459, where he is called Sher Khwāja.

[5] His name is not given in the list of *amīrs* mentioned in the Tabaqāt, given in pp. 529–35 of the Ain-i-Akbari, where it should have been printed as number 189 in page 534, as it occurs between the names of Shīr Khwāja and Muhammad Quli Turkmān in the MSS. and the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt. His name is however given as number 271 in Abul Fazl's list. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochman I, page 473, where it is given as Tāhir (son of Saif-ul-mulk), and where the description of him given in the Tabaqāt is repeated.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 474, where he is called Muhammad Quli Khān Turkmān (Afshār).

[7] This name is not mentioned in the list of *amīrs* mentioned in the Tabaqāt printed in pp. 529–535 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, nor can I find his name in the Index of that volume.

[1] *Mīrza 'Ali 'Ālam Shāhī*, is a brother of 'Ālam Shāh, and is a brave young man and a swordsman.

[2] *Vazīr Jamīl*, is one of the *amīrs* who has done long service.

[3] *Bhūj, son of Rāy Sarjan*, is in the rank of *amīrs* of one thousand horse.

[4] *Mīr Abul Qāsim Namki*, is in the rank of *amīrs* and is governor of Bhakkar.

[5] *Bakhtiyār Beg Turkmān*, holds the government of Siwistān, and is included in the rank of *amīrs*.

[6] *Amīr Sadr Jahān*, is one of the Saiyyads of Kannauj, and is the chief judge of Hindustan, and is possessed of excellences and perfections.

[7] *Hasan Beg Shaikh 'Umari*, is included in the rank of *amīrs*, and has received imperial favours.

[8] *Shādmān*, is a son of Ā'azam Khān, and has attained to the rank of an *amīr*.

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 482, where he is called Mīrza 'Ali Beg 'Ālam Shāhī.

[2] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 473, where he is called Wazīr Beg Jamīl, but it is also said that he is often called Wazīr Jamīl.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 158, where he is called Rāi Bhoj, son of Rāi Surjan Hādā.

[4] He is not mentioned in the list of *amīrs* mentioned in the Tabaqāt printed in pages 529–535 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I; but his name occurs in both MSS. and in the lith. ed., and his name is also in Abul Fazl's list in page 470 of the Ain-i-Akbari, where he is called Mīr Abul Qāsim Namakin (Qāsim Khān).

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 204, where he is called Bakhtyar Beg Gurd-i-Shāh Mansūr, and it is said that the *Izafat* most likely means that he was the son of Shah Mansur, in which case the word Gurd (Athlete) would be Bakhtyar's epithet. Two MSS. have the word *Pisr* (son) instead of Gurd.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 468–69. In the list of *amīrs* mentioned in the Tabaqāt printed in pages 529–35 of the Ain-i-Akbari he is called Mir Cadr Jahān but in both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt he is called Amīr Sadr Jahān. In page 468 of the Ain-i-Akbari he is called Sadr Jahān Mufti.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 454, where he is called Hasan Beg (Khān-i-Bādakhshi) Shaikh 'Umari

[8] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 480, where he is called Shādmān, son of Khān-i-Ā'zam Koka.

[1] *Rāja Mukatman Bhādauriya*, is in the rank of *amīrs*.

[2] *Bāqī Safarchī*, is a son of Tāhir Khān, Mīr-i-farāghat, and is included in the rank of *amīrs*.

[3] *Farīdūn Birlās*, is a son of Muhammad Quli Khān Birlās, and is included in the rank of *amīrs*.

[4] *Bahādur Khān Qurdār*, is a Tarīn Afghān, and is a brave man, and has reached the rank of an *amīr*.

[5] *Shaikh Bayazīd Chishti*, is a grandson of Salīm Shaikh Chishti, and is a young man of sound spirit and agreeable manners, and has reached the rank of an *amīr*.

Let it not remain unknown that the rank of an *amīr* (Amārat wa Umrai) has not been given to every one of the servants of the threshold who has five hundred retainers and every one who has been mentioned was of the rank higher than that of an *amīr*.

An account of the learned and wise men who have lived in the great continent of Hindustan, during the time of the sovereignty of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, or have come from other countries to the threshold, which is the asylum of all people.

[6] *Amīr Fath-ul-lah Shīrāzī*, he came from the Dakin, and entered the service (of the emperor) in the year 990 A.H., corresponding with the 26th year of the Ilāhī era, and received imperial favours. He was directed, in accordance with orders, and in concert with the *vazīrs*, to enquire into matters connected with the officers and revenue works; and after having been honoured with this

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 488, where he is called Rāja Mukatman Bhadauriah. The Bhadauriah "maintained their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant. The next chief Mukatman entered the imperial service, and rose to a *mancab* of one thousand."

[2] Not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 478, where he is called Mīrza Farīdūn, son of Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 495.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 492-93, where he is called Shaikh Bayāzīd (Mu'azzam Khān, grandson of Shaikh Salīm of Fathpur Sikri).

[6] He is placed at the head of class III, of the learned men of the reign, viz., those who knew philosophy and philology. See page 540, Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī's account of him is to be found in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 154-55 and English translation, page 216.

work for some years, was highly exalted with the title of 'Azd-ud-daula. He was a very wise man; and in ratiocinative and traditional knowledge was distinguished above all learned men of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and Hindustan: and in his own time he had no one in the world similar and equal to him. He had gifts also in curious sciences, such as incantations and talismans; so that he constructed contrivances on carts, so that they moved of themselves; and arrived (at their destinations). He also made a mirror, in which wonderful shapes became visible from near and far; and he could fire off 12 guns by means of one wheel. He passed in to the world of permanence in the year 997 A.H. in Kashmir.

[1] *Amīr Murtaza Sharīfī*, was one of the grandsons of Amīr Saiyyad Jurjānī. He came to India in the year 972 A.H. corresponding with the 8th year of the Ilāhī era, and received imperial benefactions. He was buried in Delhi. He knew ratiocinative sciences very well;[2] and he gave lessons in various kinds of exact sciences and in Philosophy. They have found the date of his death in عالم رفت ز علامه, *i.e.*, a very learned man has gone from the world.

[3] *Mulla Sa'īd Samarqandī*, came to India in 970 A.H., and was distinguished by imperial favours. He was one of the very wise men of his age.

[4] *Shaikh Abul Fazl*, is a true son of Shaikh Mubārak. He has very deep knowledge in all sciences; and the greatness of his morality, the nobility of his attributes and his natural and acquired accomplishments are beyond all limits and bounds. The age has reason to-day to be proud of him. He is the leader of all who are nearest to his Majesty, and he possesses the trust of the State, and is the pillar of the empire. He possesses a pure and holy

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[1] He is called Mīr Murtaza and is placed next after Amīr Fath-ullah Shīrāzī in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 540. Badāonī's account of him is to be found in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 320-21 and English translation, pp. 442-44.

[2] One MS. inserts here و اقسام ریاضت و علوم عقلي خوب دانستی.

[3] He seems to be identical with Maulānā Sa'īd of Turkistān, Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 540 and Bādāonī, III, Persian text, page 152 and English translation, pp. 212-13.

[4] I cannot find any detailed notice of Abul Fazl in the 3rd volume of Badāonī.

spirit, and angelic attributes. He has written noble books. He has completed the book called the Akbarnāma, in which he has described the events and the victories of the reign of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, in a style of Persian prose, which might be the history of spirituality. He has other works, such as the *Ayyār-i-Dānish*, the *Resāla-i-Ikhlāq*, etc.

[1] *Mulla 'Ala-ud-dīn*, was distinguished for a long time, being the teacher of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He was one of the deeply learned men of the age.

[2] *Mulla Sādiq Halwāi Samarqandi*, he came from Mecca and entered the Emperor's service After staying for some years in Hindustan he went to Kabul, and for some years was employed there in teaching; and gave lessons to Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm; and is now at Samarqand.

[3] *Mirzāda Muflis Samarqandi*, was one of the wise men of Māwara-un-nahr. He came to India in the year 979 A.H. and was engaged for three years in giving lessons in the *Madrasa* (College) of Khwāja Mu'in; and then went to Mecca and was buried there.

[4] *Hāfiz Tāshkandi*, was celebrated in Māwara-un-nahr as Hāfiz-i-Kumki.[5] He is one of the deeply learned men of Māwara-un-nahr; and was distinguished above men of his class in ratiocinative and traditional sciences. He came to Hindustan in the year 977 A.H. and was exalted by imperial favours. He took the expenses of the journey to Mecca, and undertook the voyage to the Hijāz.

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[1] One MS. has the affix هندی "Hindī" and the other لاری "Lārī" after the name. The lith. ed. has no affix. Lārī is correct. See account of him in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 540, where he is called Maulāna 'Ala-ud-dīn.

[2] See an account of him in Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 255-56 and English translation, pp. 354-55 and also a short account of him in Ain i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 541, where he is called Maulāna Cādiq.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 541, where he is called Mīrza Muflis. Badāonī calls him Mīrza Muflis Uzbek. His account is in volume III, Persian text, pp. 156-57 and English translation, pp. 218-19.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 540, where he is called Hāfiz of Tāshkand; see also Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 152-53 and English translation, pp. 213-14, where he is called Hāfiz-i-Kumaki.

[5] The word is written as کومکی and کوهکی in the MSS.

[1] *Mullah 'Abd-ul-lah Sultānpūri.* His Majesty [2] Jinnat Ashiānī had given him distinction over other learned men by giving him the title of *makhdūm-ul-mulk.* In the science of *fiqa* (law) and traditions, he was superior to others. During the reign of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī he acquired much property and wealth, so that after his death, three *krors* of gold were taken out of his treasury. He died in Ahmadābād in Gujrat at the time of returning from Mecca.

[3] *Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabi,* was a resident of Dehli, and was one of the grandsons of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Quddus. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī showed him favour; and made him the *sadr-us-sadūr* (chief judge); and for a period of ten years he was the officer-in-charge of all judicial matters of the whole empire.

[4] *Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn Sindī,* was promoted to the appointment of a chief *Qāzī.* He knew traditional sciences very well, and also ratiocinative sciences to a certain extent; and was possessed of honesty and faithfulness.

[5] *Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn Lāhori,* knew ratiocinative and traditional sciences well, and for some years was *Qāzī* of Lahore.

[6] *Qāzī Tawaisi,* was proverbial among the learned men of the age and specially among the *Qāzīs* of the period for honesty and piety. For a long time he was the chief *Qāzī* at the threshold, which was the asylum of all the people.

[7] *Mulla Muhammad Yazdī,* was one of the accomplished pupils

[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 544, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, 70–73 and English translation, 115–18.

[2] So in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but the other MS. has خليفه الهي, Khalifa-i-Ilāhī.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 546, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, 79–83 and English translation, 127-31.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 546, where he is called Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn Multānī, also Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 78 and English translation, pp. 124-25.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 545, where he is called Qāzī Cadr-ud-dīn; also Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 84–85 and English translation, page 133, where he is called Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn sometime of Jalandar, afterwards of Lahore.

[6] I cannot find his name in the Ain-i-Akbari, but he is in Badāonī, III, Persian text, pages 78–79 and English translation, page 125.

[7] He is mentioned incidentally in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, and by

of Mulla Mīrza Jān, and was distinguished above his contemporaries in ratiocinative sciences; and knew history very well. He came from Shiraz in the year 984 A.H., and was distinguished with royal favour. He died in the year 998 A.H.

[1] *Mulla Is'hāq Kākū Lāhori*, was one of the deeply learned men of India. He was distinguished above his contemporaries and the men of his class for *Fuqr* (poverty) and contentment and reliance on God. His life had extended to a hundred years.

[2] *Mulla Jamāl Khān Mufti Dehlavī*, was one of the wise men of the age. In traditional sciences he had deep knowledge, and he had also made some study in ratiocinative sciences. He was engaged all his life in teaching.

[3] *Miān Hakīm Sambali*, was one of the very learned men of the age. He was occupied for years in teaching and he had memorised most of the books generally read.

[4] *Mian Ahmadī*, a wise man of Amethi, spent his life in teaching, and gave lessons from memory in most of the books generally read; was a wise man of purity and piety.

Badāonī in Volume III. But I cannot find any connected account of him in either the one or the other. From Badāonī, II, page 211, quoted in the Ain-i Akbari, Blochmann I, page 175, he appears on his arrival from Persia to have tried to make Akbar a *Shiah*. Later on he gave a *Fatwa*, declaring rebellion against Akbar to be lawful. He was summoned to the capital, and on the way was executed by being drowned in the Jumna. See also note 5, page 122, English translation, Vol. III, of Badāonī.

[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 545 and Badāonī III, Persian text, 51-52 and English translation, 85-87.

[2] One MS. omits the Khān. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 544, where he is called Miyān Jamāl Khān, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 37, and English translation, pp. 123-24, where he is called Miyān Jamāl Khān, Mufti of Dehli.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 544 and Badāonī, Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 66-71 and English translation, pp. 109-113. Badāonī was one of his pupils and has a long account of him.

[4] Written as میان اوحدی, Miān Auhadi, in one MS. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 546, where he is called Shaikh Ahmadi (his full name is Shaikh Ahmadi Fayyāz of Amethi) and also Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 83-84 and English translation, pp. 131-32, where he is called Shaikh Ahmadi Fayyāz of Ambethi.

[1] *Mulla Sa'd-ul-lah Lāhorī*, was one of the most learned men, and acted in the manner of the [2] *Sufis*.

[3] *Mulla Munawwar Lāhorī*, was one of the wise men of the age and was engaged in teaching for years.

[4] *Mulla Shaikh Husain Baghdādi*, was adorned with knowledge of ratiocinative and traditional sciences and also various kinds of philosophical knowledge, and also the exact and natural sciences and theology. For many years he gave lessons in Dehli, and afterwards went to the Hijāz.

[5] *Mulla Shaikh Hasan Tabrīzī*, was a wise man and gave lessons for years.

[6] *Mulla Bayezīd*, was one of the learned men of Dehli.

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 545, where he is called Maulāna Sa'd-ul-lah, but he was a resident of Bianah. There are two Sa'd-ul-lahs mentioned by Badāonī; one called Sa'd-ul-lah, the grammarian, III, Persian text, p. 108, and English translation, pp. 160-161, who was a resident of Bianah and another called Shaikh Sa'd-ul-lah Bani Isra'el, III, Persian text, pp. 53-54, and English translation, pp. 87-90. The residence of this man is not mentioned, but Badāonī says, he waited on him for the first time in Lahore, from which it would appear that he is identical with the man mentioned by Nizām-ud-dīn, who calls him "Lāhori".

[2] One MS. adds و سالها در افادهٔ اشتغال داشت, *i.e.*, was engaged for many years in teaching.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 547. In Badāonī III, he appears to be only incidentally mentioned once in page 52, Persian text, and page 68, English translation, as one of the pupils of Shaikh Is'hāq-i-Kāku.

[4] I cannot distinctly identify him. There is only one Shaikh Husain of Khwarazm in the index of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. There are four Husain Shaikhs in the index of the English translation of Badāonī, Vol. III, namely of Badakhshān, Bazhar, Ajmir and Khwārazm. The Husain Shaikh of Bazhar may be identical with Husain Shaikh Baghdādi. The translator of Vol. III, Badāonī, Sir Wollsely Haig says he has not been able to identify Bazhar. نرهری in the Persian text may be a mistake for بغدادی. Both men are said to have been engaged for years in teaching in Dehli.

[5] The affix looks like نرهری or مرهری in the MSS. I cannot find anyone in the Ain-i-Akbari or in Badāonī who can be identified with him.

[6] His name comes after Saiyyad Wali's in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but it precedes the latter in the other MS. I cannot identify him with anyone mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari or in the 3rd volume of Badāonī.

[1] *Saiyyad Wali*, was a wise man of Dehli.

[2] *Qāzī Ya'qūb Mānikpūri*, was chief Qāzī for years, and was related to Qāzī Fazīhat.

[3] *Shaikh Baha-ud-dīn*, *Mufti* of Agra, was one of the learned men of the age, and was distinguished for purity and piety.

[4] *Shaikh Abul Fath*, was a *Mufti* of Agra.

[5] *Qāzī Nāsir*, was a Qāzī of Agra.

[6] *Qāzī Sūfī*, one of the *Qāzis* of Lahore, was distinguished for honesty and purity.

[7] *Mulla Ilhadād Langarkhānī Lāhori*, was always engaged in giving lessons.

There are four Bayezīds in the Ain-i-Akbari, but three of them were Akbar's nobles and the fourth was a son of Sulaimān of Bengal. Badāonī mentions two. One Bayezīd-i-Ansui, the founder of the Raushaniyas or Tārīkis and the other Shaikh Bayezid of Bastān, who lived in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Hijri era.

[1] See the earlier part of the last note. I cannot identify him also.

[2] One MS. inserts ال, ع,ر *Karawāl* between Ya'qūb and Mānikpūrī. He was a son of Qāzī Fazihat, which was the nicknames of Qāzī Fazīlat, the Qāzī of Shīr Shāh's army. He is only incidentally mentioned once in page 174 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī gives an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, page 79, and English translation, page 125. He was removed from his post of Qāzī of the empire, and sent as Qāzī to Bengal. There he joined Ma'sūm Kabuli in his rebellion, was recalled and sentenced to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwaliar, but died on the way.

[3] There is a very brief account of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 546. He is only incidentally mentioned in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[4] There is a Shaikh Abul Fath of Gujrat, mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 546: and a Shaikh Abul Fath of Thanessar is mentioned in Badāonī, Vol. III; but neither of them was a *Mufti*.

[5] Omitted from one MS. I cannot find his name in either the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[6] Not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāoni, Vol. III.

[7] The affix is Lashkarkhānī in one MS. But is Langarkhānī in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. One MS. has Saiyyad Muhammad instead of Mulla Ilhadād. There is one Ilhadād and two Ilhadiyās in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but none of them appears to be identical with the man we have here. Badāonī III, Persian text, page 154 and English translation, page 215, has an account of the man. He is there called Maulāna Ilahadād-i-Langarkhānī.

[1] *Saiyyad Muhammad Mīr-i-'Adl* (Judge), was from *pargana* Amroha, and attained to the rank of an *amīr* and a governor. He was *mīr-i-'adl* for a long time, and the country of Bhakkar was his *jāgīr* for some years, and he died there.

[2] *Mulla Isma'el 'Arab*, was a wise man and was learned in *Hadīs* and *Tafsīr*, traditional sayings and interpretations.

[3] *Mulla Muqīm*, teacher, was engaged in teaching for some years, in Dehli.

[4] *Mulla Ghulām 'Ali Kūr*, in the lith. ed. One MS. calls him Ghulām 'Ali Kūr without the prefix, while the other has Mulla 'Ali Kūr Kūr.

[5] *Mulla Khwaja 'Ali Mawara-un-Nahri.*

[6] *Mulla Hasan 'Ali Musali*, was a man of ability in ratiocinative and philosophical and exact sciences. He went away to the country of Musal from Hindustan.

[7] *Mulla Jamal Lahori*, is now engaged in teaching.

[8] *Qāzī Ghaznafar Samarqandi*, a Saiyyad and a wise man adorned with various excellences. He was chief *qāzī* of the country of Gujrat for some years, and went away to Mecca from there.

[9] *Qāzi Bābā Khwāja*, is now the *qāzī* of Ujjain, and is versed in ratiocinative and traditional knowledge.

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[1] I have not been able to trace him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī, III.

[2] He is mentioned in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 130, and English translation, page 188, and may be identical with Maulānā Isma'el in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 538.

[3] I have not been able to trace him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[4] I have not been able to trace him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[5] I have not been able to trace him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[6] I cannot trace him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I; but there is a long account of him in Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 136-37, and English translation, pp. 192-93.

[7] I cannot trace him out either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[8] I cannot find any trace of him in either the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[9] One MS. calls him Qāzī Bābā Qarāja. I cannot trace him in either the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[1] *Mulla Hamīd Mufassir Sambali*, is a *sufi* and knows the science of interpretation well.

[2] *Mulla Hājī Kashmīrī*, is now engaged in teaching in Dehli, and knows ratiocinative and traditional sciences.

[3] *Mulla Ya'qūb Kashmīrī*, is a Maulavi and also writes verses and knows the arts of enigmas and versification.

[4] *Hājī Ibrāhīm of Agra*, was a learned and pious and pure-minded man.

[5] *Hājī Ibrāhīm Sarhandi*, knows the traditional sciences.

[6] *Mulla Wais Gwāliari*, was distinguished in philosophy and in the exact sciences and in astronomy.

[7] *Mulla Shāh Muhammad Shāhābādī*, has studied ratiocinative and traditional sciences; and has much knowledge in the exact sciences and in astronomy.

[8] *Mulla 'Abd-ul Haq, Haqqi*, is now in Dehli, and has studied

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[1] I cannot trace him in either the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[2] I cannot trace him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[3] He is probably identical with Sairafi (Sarfi) of Kashmir, Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 581, and Sarfi, Badāonī III, Persian text, page 260, and English translation, page 360.

[4] One MS. has Agra and the other has Kara and *Mufti* instead of *muttaqa*. The lith. ed. adds در نجوم ممتاز بود, *i.e.*, was distinguished in astronomy and astrology. He is probably identical with Hājī Ibrāhīm Muhaddis in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 139, and English translation, page 196; and if so Agra and not Kara is correct. He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari.

[5] His name does not occur in the lith. ed. He is mentioned only incidentally once in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 51, and English translation, page 84.

[6] This name is also not to be found in the lith. ed. It is written as Mulla Wali in one MS. I cannot trace him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but Badāonī has a fairly long account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pages 131-32, and English translation, pages 189-91, though most of it is concerned with the adventures of Maulāna Iliyās, the astrologer.

[7] He is called Maulāna in the lith. ed., and is probably identical with Maulāna Shāh Muhammad Unsi.

[8] One MS. has an affix to the name which looks like حصي Hasi, and the other has what looks like خغي Khaghi. I have not been able to find him out in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but there is a long account of him in Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 113-17, and English translation, pages 167-72,

many kinds of learning, writes poetry and passes his time, wearing *Sūfī* garments.

[1] *Shaikh Hamīd*, is learned in *hadīs* or the traditional sayings of the prophet, and is a man of purity, and piety; and resides in Ahmadābād.

[2] *Mulla Musa Sindī*, was a resident of Ahmadābād and has the attributes of piety and goodness.

[3] *Mulla 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Bohra*, resides in Ahmadābād.

[4] *Mulla Ilhadād Amroha*, is a man of good intelligence.

[5] *Mulla Ilhadād Sultānpūri*, is one of the pupils of the *makhdūm-ul-mulk*.

[6] *Mulla 'Ālam Gulbahāri Kābuli*, is a man of pleasant disposition and is cheerful and unrestrained. He wrote poetry, and wrote a book of biography, containing accounts of rulers and learned men and poets[7] and called it the Fawāeh-ul-vilāyat.

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from which it appears that the correct suffix to his name is Haqqi which was his *takhallus* or poetical name.

[1] I cannot trace him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III. There is a Shaikh Hamīd Qādirī mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 544, as the teacher of Maulāna 'Abdūl-Qādir, but I do not think he is identical with the Shaikh Hamīd in the text.

[2] He may be identical with Shaikh Mūsa, younger brother of Maulāna 'Abd-ul Qādir, with whom he was at enmity, on account of a right of succession; see Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 544, and Badāonī III, Persian text 91, and English translation, page 141.

[3] I cannot find him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III. The latter however mentions a Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Bahti of Lahor as a pupil of Mīr Dauri, see page 228 of the Persian text and page 317 of the English translation, but he cannot be identical with the man in the text as he does not appear to have resided in Ahmadābād.

[4] He is only mentioned once incidentally in page 202, Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but there is an account of him in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 157, and English translation, page 219.

[5] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, page 117, and English translation, page 172.

[6] I have not been able to trace him out in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but he appears to be identical with 'Alim Kabuli in Vol. III of Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 270-72, and English translation, pp. 373-78.

[7] One MS. adds حکما, *i.e.*, and philosophers or physicians.

[1] *Qāzi Khān Badakhshi*, was included in the list of *amīrs*, and knew ratiocinative and traditional sciences well, and was distinguished in the *Sūfī* doctrines.

[2] (See note).

[3] *Mīr Sadr Jahān*, is a learned man, and was a *mufti* (a law officer or judge) for a long time and is now *Sadr-us-sadūr*, Chief Judge; has a poetic faculty.

[4] *Mulla Bayazīd*, is a *mufti* of Lahore.

[5] *Mulla 'Abd-ush-shakūr*, is of Lahore.

[6] *Mulla 'Abd-ul-latīf Qazwīnī*, was a Saiyyad, very learned and a historian, and a man of piety and purity.

[7] *Mulla Mīr Kalān Harīwī*, a wise man, very learned and pious. He lived to be eighty and never married. When people asked him the reason of this, he said, that he did not marry as he thought that

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[1] Mentioned in various places in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, as Qāzī or Ghāzī Khān Badakhshi or Bakhshi. Badāonī III, has an account of him in Persian text, page 153, and English translation, pp. 214-15.

[2] One MS. inserts before the name of Mīr Sadr Jahān شیخ عبد الله ، ولد شیخ محمد غوث ، در کسب فضایل کوشیده ، و امروز در سلک امراء است ، And فنا الله . ولد شیخ محمد غوث ، کسب فضایل نموده ، و لباس شیخی دارد .

[3] See Ain-i Akbari, Blochmann I, page 468, where he is called Mīr (or Mīrān) Cadr Jahān (*Mufti*); and Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 141–42, where he is called صدر جهان بهاني, and English translation, pp. 198–200, where he is called Sadr-i-Jahān of Pihānī.

[4] I cannot find him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[5] He is only mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 189, as one of the *'Ulama*, who were sent into exile for being in favour of a rebellion against Akbar on account of his apostacy from Islām. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, page 106, and English translation, pp. 157–58, from which it appears that his banishment consisted in his being sent to Jaunpur, as Qāzī of that place.

[6] He is mentioned only incidentally in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 447, as being the father of Naqīb Khān. Badāonī.III, has a long account of him in Persian text, pp. 97–99, and English translation, pages 149–50.

[7] One MS. calls him Maulāna, and this MS. and the lith. ed. give the affix as Hariwi. There is a very short account of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 540. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 151–52, and English translation, pp. 211–12.

his wife might not act according to his mother's wishes. He was engaged in teaching at Agra for many years.

[1] *Mulla 'Abd-ul-Qādir*, was the teacher of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He spent years in teaching and in the end made a pilgrimage to the Hijāz.

[2] (See note.)

[3] *Qāzī Hasan Qazwīnī*, is adorned with personal excellences.

[4] *Mulla Habīb*, is a wise professor. He is a leader of the absorbed and adorned ones.

[5] *Mulla Isma'el, mufti*, was of Lahore.

[6] *Mulla Abul Fath Lahori*, was distinguished for purity and piety.

[7] *Mulla 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Lahori.*

[8] *Mulla 'Abd-ul-jalīl Lahori*, brother of Mulla Abul Fath, and was one of the *muftis* of the age.

[9] *Mulla 'Ali Kurd*, had a complete knowledge of ratiocinative learning. He came from Kurdistan to India and died here.

[1] There is a short note about him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 545; and he appears to be identical with Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qādir of whom an account is given in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 101, and English translation, pp. 152–53.

[2] One MS inserts here نقیب خان، ولد میر عبد اللطیف قزویني، معراج بی بدل است، و خدمت نزدیک حضرت خلیفه الهي دارد.

[3] He is briefly mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 498 and page 545; and only incidentally once in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 275, and English translation, page 382.

[4] One MS. calls him Mulla Habīb-ul-lah Lāhori. Badāonī incidentally mentions a Khwāja Habīb-ul-lah in III, English translation, page 322 note, and page 323. The Ain-i-Akbari, mentions two Habīb Khāns.

[5] The Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 538 and page 547, mentions a Maulāna Isma'el; and Badāonī III, has two Maulāna Isma'els; (1) the 'Arab and (2) of Uch; and a Shaikh Isma'el; but I cannot identify any of them with the man named in the text.

[6] I cannot identify him with any person of the same name mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[7] No person of this name appears to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[8] No person of this name appears to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[9] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. He may be

[1] *Mulla 'Usmān Samāna*, is now included in the rank of soldiers, and is engaged in the administration of (some) *parganas*.

[2] *Mulla Sultān Tānessari*, has spent years in teaching.

[3] *Mulla Imām-ud-dīn*, is a teacher in Lahore.

[4] *Shaikh Mu'īn, grandson of Mulla Mu'īn, preacher*, lived for years in Lahore, and is now dead.

[5] *Qāsim Beg Tabrīzī*, is distinguished for [6] knowledge; and is included in the rank of *amīrs*.

[7] *Saiyyad Na'mat-ul-lah Lāhori.*

[8] *Shaikh Nūr-ud-dīn Kambu Lāhori.*

[9] *Mulla 'Abd-ul-Qādir Badāonī*, has passed his whole life in the service of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and is possessed of great

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identical with Mulla 'Ali Tārami, the *Muhaddis* in Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 262–63, and English translation, pp. 363–65.

[1] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī III, has a short account of him, Persian text, page 118, and English translation, page 172.

[2] I cannot find him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I; but he may be identical with Sultān of Siplak in Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 236–38, and English translation, pp. 327–31.

[3] One MS. calls him Maulāna Imām-ūd-din. I cannot find any mention of him in either the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Bādaonī III.

[4] He is only mentioned incidentally in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 545. There is an account of him in Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 96-97, and English translation, pp. 147-48. The name is rather illegible in one MS., and looks like Shaikh Mughni.

[5] He is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, among the nobles in page 571 and among the learned men in page 544; but I cannot find his name in Badāonī III.

[6] One MS. has علوم عقلی in place of عقل, in the other MS. and the lith. ed.

[7] The name is Saiyyad Na'mat-ul-lah in one MS. and in the lith. ed. and Saiyyad Nūr-ul-lah in the other MS. There is no one of the former name in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III, but there is a Mīr Nūr-ullah in page 545 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, and a long account of Qāzī Nūr-ullah of Shushtar in Badāonī III, Persion text, pp. 137-38, and Eng. Trans., pp. 193-96; but he is identical with Qāzī Nūr-ul-lah Shushtari, whose name follows in this list; and there is no other Saiyyad Nūr-ul-lah.

[8] I cannot identify him with anyone in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[9] This is apparently the historian.

wisdom and perfections. He has complete facility in the learning of the *sūfīs*, and in history, and in the poetical arts; he has composed some books and has also translated some Hindī books into Persian by order of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī.

[1] *Shams Khān Kambu Lāhori.*

[2] *Mulla Hāshim Kambu*, is versed in ratiocinative and traditional sciences.

[3] *Qāzī Nūr-ul-lah Shushtari*, is now [4] employed in the work of the *Qāzī* of Lahore, and is possessed of integrity and honesty and learning and perfection.

[5] *Mulla Usmān Qārī*, was distinguished for piety and religious zeal, and was engaged for many years in teaching in Gujrat.

[6] *Saiyyad Yāsīn Sarhindi*, was one of the pupils of Miān Wajih-ud-din.

[7] *Mulla Qāsim Wahīd-ul-'Ain Qandahāri*, gave lessons in ratiocinative and traditional learning.

[8] See note.

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[1] I cannot find him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[2] I cannot find him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochamnn I, or in Badāonī III.

[3] See note 7 in the preceding page.

[4] One MS. has مامور است, "is employed"; but the other and the lith. ed. have مشغول است, *i.e.*, "is engaged."

[5] I cannot find him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[6] The MSS. have what look like Wais or Yasin in place of the Yāsin of the lith. ed. I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but Badāonī III, has an account of him, Persian text, pp. 120-21, and English translation, pp. 176-77.

[7] One MS. omits وحید العین Wahid-ul-'Ain which is to be found in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. The lith. ed. has instead of درس گفتی in the MSS. درس گوی وقت بودی. I cannot find any mention of him in Badāonī III There is a Maulānā Qāsim mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 545, and there is a note "the Tabaqāt mentions a Mulla Qāsim of Qandahār," *i.e.*, the man named here

[8] One MS. inserts here ملا سید یاسین از فحول علمای لاهور بود, *i.e.*, Mulla Saiyyad Yāsīn Lahori, was one of the chief learned men of Lahore.

The names of Mulla 'Abd-us-salām Lahori and Mulla Badah Lankah which follow occur in both MSS. but are omitted from the lith. ed.

[1] *Mulla 'Abd-us-salām Lāhori*, was one of the chief learned men of Lahore.

[2] *Mulla Badah Lankāh*, was a very wise man, and one of the most pious men of the age.

[3] *Mulla Hisām-ud-dīn Surkh Lāhori*, contrary to the learned men of Lahore, he was well versed also in ratiocinative learning, and was very pious.

[4] *Mulla Isma'el Audh*, was one of the very learned men, and was a [5] *mufti* (judge), and was learned in *Hadīs*.

[6] *Mulla Ilhadād Lakhnawi*, is famed for piety and purity.

[7] *Saiyyad Muhammad*, Kupa Mau.

[8] *Qāzī 'Usmān Ambāli, Sindi*, is one of the very learned men and is distinguished for piety and purity. He lives in Dehli.

[9] *Makhdūm-i-Jahān Sindi*, is in [10] Siwistān, and is a very learned man and is distinguished for piety and purity.

[11] *Shaikh Bahlol Dehlavi*.

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[1] Probably identical with Maulāna 'Abd-us-salām in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 545, but he is not mentioned in Badāonī III.

[2] Not mentioned either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[3] He is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 538, where he is called Maulāna Husām-ud-din; but I cannot find him in Badāonī III.

[4] I cannot identify him with any one mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[5] The word may be read either as مفتي or متقي.

[6] The lith. ed. has for the اشتهار دارد of the MSS., ممتاز است; and it adds در دهلي ميباشد. He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but Badāonī III, has an account of him in the Persian text, pp. 85-88, and English translation, pp. 134-35.

[7] The name is illegible in one MS. and is omitted from the lith. ed. I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[8] His name is not also in the lith. ed., and I cannot find it in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[9] I cannot find him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[10] The words following are in one MS. only, and not in the other, or in the lith. ed.

[11] He cannot be found in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[1] *Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn Dehlavi.*

[2] *Mīr 'Abd-ul-āwwal Dakhini*, was possessed of all learning.

[3] *Mulla Jamāl, Mudarris.* professor, *Multāni.*

[4] *Mulla 'Usmān Bangāli.*

[5] *Mīr Manīr*, is included among the soldiers.

[6] *Mīr 'Abd-ul-hai*, was the Sadr of Khurāsān. His Majesty the Jinnat Ashiānī made him the *sadr-ul-afāzil.* He has also spent many years in the service of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī.

[7] *Mulla Taqi-ud-dīn Shushtari*, knows ratiocinative and traditional sciences well, and has received royal favours in the service of His Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī.

[8] *Shaikh Farīd Bangāli*, was a very wise man, and a man of piety, and learned in the *hadīs*, and is a man of great religious fervour and enthusiasm.

[9] *Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn Dehlavi*, is one of the disciples of Shaikh Mān Pānipati and is a *Mutasawaf.*

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[1] One Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn of Dehli is mentioned incidentally in page 181 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, as being sometimes in attendance on the emperor; but there is no Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn of Dehli in Badāonī III.

[2] Not traceable in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[3] May be identical with Maulāna Jamāl, No. 127 in page 546 of the Ain-i-Akbari. Blochmann I, and with Maulāna Jamāl of Talah, which is said to be a *Muhalla* of Lahore, mentioned in Badāonī III, p. 108

[4] He cannot be traced in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but is mentioned in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 130, and English translation, page 188.

[5] He is not traceable in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 480, where the quotation about him from the Tabaqāt is not quite correct. See also Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 273-74, and English translation, pages 378-80. Badāonī calls him Mīr 'Abd-ul-hai Mashhadi.

[7] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 518, where he is called Taqiyya of Shushtar, and it is said there that Taqiyya is the Irāni form of Taqi. It is also said there that the Tabaqāt calls him Taqi Muhammad. The MSS. as well as the lith. ed., however, call him Mulla Taqi-ud-dīn Shushtari as I have it in the text. It appears from page 309 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, that he was one of the disciples of Akbar in the Divine faith. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, page 206, where he is called Taqi-ud-dīn Shushtari; but in the English translation, page 285-86, he is called Taqi-ud-dini of Shushtar, and the translator quotes Mr. Blochmann about his being called Taqi Muhammad in the Tabaqāt.

[8] He is not traceable in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[9] Is this a repetition of the Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn Dehlavi, mentioned above after the name of Shaikh Bahlūl or is he a different man?

AN ACCOUNT OF THE [1]SHAIKHS OF HINDUSTAN, many of whom this *faqīr* has served, and who have known the time of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī.

[2]*Shaikh Salīm Sikriwāl*, was one of the (great) Shaikhs of the age; was distinguished for religious exercises and enthusiasms and had sublime habits of working miracles and having revelations. He performed twenty-four pilgrimages to the Hijāz; and when again performing the pilgrimage remained once in Mecca for fifteen years. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī made the city of Fathpur his capital for some years on account of its connection with that saintly man. He was absorbed into God's mercy in the year 979 A.H.

[3]*Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Amethiwāl*, was possessed of personal and spiritual perfections, and held high rank in religious exercises and devotion, and was seated on the prayer carpet of Shaikh-ship and instruction and guided seekers of spiritual knowledge; and passed away in to the eternal world.

[4]*Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus*, brother of Shaikh Bahlul; he knew the prayers by invocation of the names of God. In the garb of a Shaikh he had great rank and splendour. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī had a very high opinion of him, and he once gave him a sum of one *karor*.

[5]*Khwāja 'Abd-ush-shahīd*, was the grandson of Khwāja Nāsir-

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[1] One MS. has مشايخ مشاهير هندوستان, *i.e.*, famous Shaikhs of Hindustan. Both MSS. have the word زمان, time, before Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, but the lith. ed. has not got it.

[2] This is the famous Shaikh Salīm Chishti. He is mentioned in various places in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I and in Badāonī, Vol. III; but I have not been able to find any connected account of him anywhere in those volumes. In the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, he is placed as No. 33 in class II of the learned men.

[3] Abul Fazl mentions a Shaikh Nizām as No. 2 in the first class of the learned men, who may be either Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn of Amethi or Nizām-ud-dīn of Nārnaul. Badāonī has a very long account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 15-24, and English translation, pp. 27-41.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, where he is No. 34 in the second class of learned men. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 4-6, and English translation, pp. 6-10.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, where he is placed as No. 24, in

ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-lah Ahrār. He was a very saintly person and possessed human perfection. He was in Hindustan for twenty years. His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī had allotted *pargana* Jamāri, as a stipend for him; and about two thousand *faqīrs* and worthy persons passed their lives by his means. When the time of his departure (to the other world) came, he started for Samarqand; and he said he was carrying his bones to that place; and he passed away six days after his arrival at Samarqand.

[1] *Shaikh Mubārak Nāgorī*, was one of the deeply learned men and Shaikhs of the age. He had a wonderful splendour in his reliance on God. In his early days he had studied with Khatīb Abu Fazl Kāzruni, and Maulāna 'Imād Tārmi in Gujrat; and in the latter part of his life he wrote a commentary (*tafsīr*) in Arabic in four volumes which he called the Mamba'-i-a'yūn, similar to the Tafsīr-i-kabir; and besides that he has other noble works.

He was engaged for about fifty years in Agra in teaching and instructing disciples. As marks of his perfections, he has left sons, who are masters of perfection and who may be the pride of the age, such as 'Allāmī Shaikh Abul Fazl, and the prince of poets, Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizī, and Shaikh Abul Khair, etc. He used to say that he had named his sons according to their dispositions.

He was united with the mercy of God in the month of Ziqa'ada in the year 1001 in Lahore; and "Shaikh Kāmil" and "Fakhr-ul-mukammal" give the date of the event.

[2] *Shaikh Adhan Jaunpurī*, was possessed of spiritual perfections, and for many years instructed seekers (of spiritual knowledge).

[3] *Shaikh Bekhudi Sambali*, was famous for purity of mind and spiritual perfections.

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class II of the learned men. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 40-41, and English translation, pp. 65-66.

[1] Father of Abul Fazl and Faizī; and placed by the former at the top of his list of learned men. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, p. 537. Badāonī's account of him is in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 73-75, and English translation, pp. 118-120.

[2] Abul Fazl places him third in class I, of his learned men. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 41-42, and English translation, pp. 66-68.

[3] The name is Bekhudi in one MS. and Hamui in the other and Hajui in the lith. ed. I cannot find any mention of him either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[1] *Miān Wajīh-ud-dīn Gujrātī*, he was seated on the path of instruction and guidance for a period of fifty years; and passed his time in poverty and fasting and reliance (on God). He gave lessons always, and was well versed in ratiocinative and traditional learning. He wrote many noble treatises, and wrote commentaries on many learned works.

[2] *Shaikh Ilhadād Khairābādī*, was possessed of religious fervour and devotion, and was engaged for many years in the guidance of seekers of God.

[3] *Shaikh Nizām Nārnauli*, was for many years in the path of Shaikhship, and engaged in the teaching of the seekers.

[4] *Shaikh Nizām Tānessari*, was possessed of Divine knowledge and absorption in God, and was the recipient of earthly and spiritual excellences. He was engaged for many years in the instruction of seekers (of spiritual knowledge).

[5] *Shaikh Dāūd Jāhniwāl*, was possessed of appreciation (*zauq*) and musical enthusiasm and contemplation, and spiritual conversa-

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[1] Abul Fazl places him fourth in Class I of the learned men. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 43-44, and English translation, pp. 70-73. The name has however been transliterated in the English translation as Vajihu-'d-din.

[2] He is called Shaikh Ilhadiya in one MS. He is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 538, where he is also called Shaikh Ilhadiya, and has the eighth place in the list of learned men of class I. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 27-28, and English translation, pp. 45-47.

[3] Omitted in one MS. but the same description is given of Shaikh Jalāl Nārnauli whose name occurs after that of Shaikh Nizām Tānessari in that MS. As to Shaikh Nizām, see note 3, p. 700 *ante*. Badāonī III, has an account of him in Persian text, pp. 26-27, and English translation, pp. 44-45.

[4] I cannot find any mention of him in either the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[5] See Badāonī, Persian text, Volume II, page 156. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, where he is placed as No. 32 in class II of learned men. He is there called Jhānniwal from Jhānni near Lahore. In Badāonī he is called Shaikh Dāūd Qādirī Jhānniwāl. His residence was at Shīrgadh which is described as a dependency of Jhanni, and which is reached by crossing the Biyah at the ford of Talwandi. There is an account of him in Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 28-39, and English translation, pp. 47-63. In the English translation however he is called Shaikh Dāūd of Chatī.

tion, and for many years was seated on the *masnad*, and gave instructions to seekers.

[1] *Shaikh Musa Āhangar*, was famous for spiritual knowledge and miracle working. He died in the early part of the reign of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, and is buried in Lahore.

[2] *Shaikh Na'mat-ul-lah Gujrātī*, was a *sufi* and of a patient disposition.

[3] *Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Ghafūr A'azampūrī*, spent years in *pargana* A'azampur in instructing seekers (of spiritual knowledge).

[4] *Shaikh Yusuf Harkun Majzūb* (absorbed in God) *Lāhori*, was celebrated and well-known for spiritual insight.

[5] *Shaikh Rahmat-ul-lah*, brother of Shaikh Hamīd who was learned in *hadīs*, was possessed of worldly and spiritual perfection. When he became ill in Gujrat, he went in the year 995 A.H. to the Hijāj, and died there.

[6] *Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Badāonī*, was originally a Hindu. At the time of reading the *Gulistān*, when he came to the name of the [7] prophet, he asked his teacher who this man was. The teacher mentioned some of the praises of his Holiness; and he was exalted with the honour of accepting Islam; he is possessed of learning and wisdom; and is well known for his purity and piety.

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, where he is placed as No. 25 in class II of learned men. I cannot identify him with any Shaikh Mūsa named in Badāonī III.

[2] I cannot find any person of this name in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III, who at all answers to the description given in the text.

[3] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 538, where he is No. 10 in the list of learned men of class I. See also Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 42-43, and English translation, pp. 69-70.

[4] See the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, where he is placed as No. 28 (class II) in the list of learned men.

[5] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[6] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III, except that "Venerable Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Badāonī" is mentioned in p. 106, English translation of Badāonī, Vol. III, as coming to visit the author when he was suffering from some wounds at Bilgrām.

[7] One MS. inserts after پیغمبر, which it writes as پیغامبر و صلی الله علیه و سلم

[1] *Shaikh Māh*, was one of the pupils of Shaikh Adhan and lived many years in Gujrat.

[2] *Shaikh Tāhā*, was one of the pupils of Shaikh Salīm, and lived in Gujrat, and died there in the year 994 A.H.

[3] *Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Saharwardy*, was in Gujrat.

[4] *Shaikh Kapūr Majzūb* (absorbed), was in Gwaliar, and the common people of India has a curious faith in respect of [5] him.

[6] *Mīr Saiyyad 'Ala-ud-dīn Audhanī*, was one of the great men of the age, and was possessed of human perfections. This couplet came in to his mind.

Couplet;

I know not what colour and perfume that blooming flower hath,
But birds of all gardens are ever warbling of it all!

[7] *Shaikh Ilha Bakhsh*, (of) Gadha Muktessar, was not void of absorption in God.

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[1] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[2] The name is written in one MS. as I have it in the text. In the other it is شیخ طرار Shaikh Tarār, but the از *ar*, may be the word از, *az*. In the lith. ed. it is شیخ طه Shaikh Tah. In one MS. his name follows that of Shaikh Māh. I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[3] The name and description of this man are in one MS. and in the lith. ed. as I have got them in the text. The other MS. has the word از *az* before Saharwardy and adds خلفای شیخ ادهن after سهروردی Saharwardy, and also has بودند instead of بود. The از should follow سهروردی and بودند is incorrect. I cannot find any mention of him either in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, where he is called Bābā Kapur. Badāonī III, has an account of him in Persian text, pp. 57-58, and English translation, pp. 95-96.

[5] One MS. adds وبزیارت او میرسید, which would mean and go on pilgrimage to him (*i.e.*, his tomb). میرسید should probably be میرسند.

[6] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 539, where he is called Shaikh 'Ala-ud-din Majzūb. Badāonī III, has an account of him, Persian text, pp. 61-63, where he is called Mīr Saiyyad 'Ala-ud-dīn اودهی *Audhī*, with a variant, اودهنی *Audhani* and English translation, pp. 101-103. In the English translation the last word has been transliterated as Audh.

[7] One MS. and the lith. ed. have Shaikh Ilha-bakhsh. The other MS. has

[1] *Saiyyad Sāleh Fathpūrī*, is celebrated as the *mewa* (delicious fruit) of Fathpūr. He also was not void of absorption in God.

[2] *Saiyyad Ahmad Majzūb* (absorbed) 'Idrūsi, is now at Baroj, and many wonders have been seen of him, and he is possessed of powers of revelation.

[3] *Saiyyad Jalāl Qādirī Agroi*, was one of the great men of the age. This *faqīr* was his neighbour for some years.

[4] *Shaikh Kabīr Multānī*, was one of the grandsons of the Pole-star of those who had received union with God, Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakaria. In the beginning he used to drink intoxicating liquor, and committed various sorts of unlawful acts; but when he entered the service his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī he received training from him, and became an abstainer, and followed the path of his great ancestors.

[5] *Shaikh Habīb-ul-lah Sūfī* had Divine afflatus.

[6] *Shaikh Abu Is'haq Mehrang.* The people of Lahore have faith in his revelations and insight.

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only Shaikh Bakhsh. I cannot find his name in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 58-59 has an account of him where he is called شیخ الهه بخش گرهٔ مکنر. In the English translation, pp. 96-97 he is called Shaikh Allah Bakhsh of Gar Maktesar, which the translator says incorrectly should be more properly Garh Makhtesar. It should really be Garh Muktessar or more correctly Garh Mukteswara.

[1] I cannot find any mention of him in Ain-i-Akbari. Blochmann I. There is Sālih the mad man in Badāonī III, Persian text, 261-62, and English translation, pp. 362-63, but he cannot be identical with the subject of this note. The latter is probably identical with the Mulla Sālih mentioned in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 267, and English translation, page 370.

[2] I cannot identify him with any of the Ahmads mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[3] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but Badāonī III has an account of him in Persian text, pp. 93-94 and English translation, pp. 143-44.

[4] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but Badāonī III has an account of him in Persian text, pp. 93-94 and English translation, pp. 143-44.

[5] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[6] He is barely mentioned as No. 31 in the list of learned men in the Ain-i-

[1] *Saiyyad Mubārak Alwari*, is not void of absorption (in God) and is among the men of Divine exercises.

[2] *Shaikh Kamāl Alwari*, is a disciple and relation of Shaikh Salīm.

[3] *Shaikh Makhu Agra*, was a Majzūb (absorbed in God), and many wonderful words from which the spirit was revealed were told by him.

[4] *Shaikh 'Ala-ud-dīn, Agra*; he was also a *Majzūb*, and a man of perfection.

[5] *Saiyyad Mubārak Gwāliāri*, had a share in the absorption of intoxication. One day a man asked him, when he was under the influence of such absorption, how he was. He said in the Hindi tongue "Ji se lagi hai" i.e. when a newly bought animal is brought, it has its eyes sewn up. After two or three days pass and it becomes somewhat attached, a little part of its eye is opened and slowly little by little its eyes are opened, and it becomes fond of its master. Then its eyes are opened. This is referred to by these words.

[6] *Shaikh Khalil Afghān.*

Akbari, Blochmann I, page 439, and is there called Abu Is'hāq Firang. In Badāonī III, Persian text, page 47, and English translation, page 60, he is incidentally mentioned.

[1] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but on page 537 under Shaikh Mubārak Nāgor it is said that Shaikh Mubārak of Alwar and Shaikh Mubārak of Gwāliār are mentioned in the Tabaqāt. Badāonī III, has an account of him, in Persian text, pp. 109-110 and English translation, pp. 162-63.

[2] There is a Shaikh Kamāl mentioned in page 546 of the Ain-i-Akbari Blochmann I, who is probably identical with the man referred to here. A Shaikh Kamāl of Alwar is also mentioned in Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 12, and English translation page 21.

[3] A Mak'hu is mentioned in note 3 page 613 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, as one of the singers of Jahāngīr's reign, mentioned in the Tuzuk and the Iqbālnāma, but he is apparently not identical with the man we have here. No Shaikh Mak'hu is mentioned in Badāonī III.

[4] There is a Shaikh'Ala-ud-dīn Majzūb mentioned in page 549 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. There are several 'Ala-ud-dīns in Badāonī III, but none of them appears to be identical with the man here referred to.

[5] See note 1 above. No Saiyyad Mubārak of Gwaliar is mentioned in Badāonī III.

[6] One MS. affixes Gwaliari. I cannot identify him with any Khalīl men-

[1] *Shaikh Khwāja Khizr Bakhtiyār*, was in Agra for many years. He had many hawks and falcons, and had not much domestic furniture. He spent much of his time in hunting and food was always ready in his kitchen. If any day some people came to his house, and each one came separately, he brought fresh food to eat. He gave alms to *faqīrs* and poor people. Some people thought that he knew alchemy, but it was not so.

[2] *Shaikh Munawwar Agra*, was a Majzūb (absorbed) and trod the path of faith. He passed his life in poverty and in reliance (on God), and had disciples among the *amīrs*.

[3] *Shaikh Husain*, a disciple of the Shaikh of Khwārizm, was a pure natured *darvīsh*, and a man of Divine inspiration and absorption. He lived in Agra for many years.

[4] *Shaikh Hājī Ahmad Lāhori.*

[5] *Shaikh Ahmad Hājī Pūlādī, Majzūb Sindi.*

[6] *Shaikh Jalāl Hajām Sindi.*

[7] *Shaikh Bhīk Kakori.*

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tioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, and no Khalīl is mentioned in Badāonī III.

[1] I cannot find any one in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III, answering to this name.

[2] A Shaikh Munawwar is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 547, as an author of a commentary on the *Hadis*; and a Shaikh Munawwar is mentioned in page 86 of Badāonī III, as a pupil of Shaikh Is'hāq Kāku of Lahore.

[3] Husain Shaikh of Khwārizm is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, and four Husain Shaikhs are mentioned in Badāonī III; but none of them appears to have been a disciple of the Shaikh of Khwārizm, and none of them appears to have lived in Agra.

[4] There is a Shaikh Ahmad mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 544, who may be identical with this man or the next one; and one Shaikh Ahmad is mentioned in Badāonī III, English translation, page 127 who was the father of Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabi, the Sadr-us-sadūr.

[5] The name of this man is in one MS. as I have it in the text. In the other it is حاجي بولادى, Hājī Būlādi, and in the lith. ed. it is حاجي بودلادى, Hājī Būdlādī. See also the last note.

[6] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[7] The name is بهنک, Bhink, in one MS. and نهک, Nhik, in the other and

[1] *Shaikh Muhammad 'Āshiq Sambali.*

[2] *Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'azīz Dehlavī*, was possessed of nobility of morals.

[3] *Shaikh Mustafa Dariābādī.*

[4] *Shaikh Husain Adha.*

[5] *Shaikh Hamza Majzūb.*

[6] *Shaikh Ibn*, Amroha.

[7] *Shaikh Qais Khizrābādi.*

[8] *Shaikh 'Abd-ul-karīm Sahārmūsī.*

[9] *Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn*, son of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-quddus Gang or Gangu.

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is نیک, Nīk, in the lith. ed. The correct name is Shaikh Bhīk. He is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 546. Badāonī III, Persian text, page 24, and English translation, pp. 41-42, has an account of him, where he is called Shaikh Bhikan. Kākori is said to be a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Lakhnow.

[1] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[2] He is mentioned as number 6 in class I of the learned men in page 548 of Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. He is also mentioned incidentally in several places in Badāonī III.

[3] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[4] I cannot find any mention of him in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[5] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī III, has an account of him in the Persian text, page 63, and English translation, pp. 103-04, where he is called Shaikh Hamza of Lakhnow.

[6] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[7] One MS. calls him شیخ فیل Shaikh Fīl (?). He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[8] The affix is as I have got it in the text in one MS. It is doubtful in the other and is Bahārmusi in the lith. ed. He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[9] In one MS. the word Shaikh is omitted before the name of 'Abd-ul-quddus. In the other MS. the father's name is 'Abd-ul-qādir and Multānī is added after Gangu. In the lith. ed. Gangu is changed to Kankra. He is number 5 among the learned men of class I, in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. The father's name is 'Abd-ul-quddus, and the place is Gango. Badāonī has an account of him in Persian text, page 50 and English translation, pp. 82–84.

[1] *Shaikh Habīb Lahori.*

[2] *Shaikh Sa'di Kākori.*

[3] *Shaikh Hāmid Multānī Gīlānī.*

[4] *Shaikh Piyara Korea.*

[5] *Shaikh Muhammad Jiu.*

[6] *Mulla Tāhir Sī, Muhaddis* (versed in *hadīs*) Gujrātī.

[7] *Shaikh Nasīr*, Kīmiāgar (alchemist) Hindui.

[8] *Shaikh Zakaria Ajodhi Dehlavi.*

[9] *Shaikh 'Abd-ul-karīm Pānipathi.*

[10] *Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn Lakhnawī.*

[11] *Shaikh Abul Fath Gujrātī.*

[12] *Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Majzūb Sambali.*

[13] *Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn Kāliwāl*, one of the Shaikhs of the age: was unique in the age for Divine afflatus and piety and purity.

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[1] One MS. adds Kakori after Lahori. He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[2] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī III has an account of a Shaikh Sa'di in Persian text, pp. 24-25, and English translation, page 42, who may be the man mentioned here.

[3] A Shaikh Hāmid Qādirī is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 544; and in Badāonī III, English translation 51 and again in page 141, who may be the man mentioned here.

[4] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. A Shaikh Piyarah of Bengal is mentioned in Badāonī III, page 21.

[5] The affix is جيو and جيو in the MSS. He cannot be identified with any one mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[6] Not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III. The affix is سي in both MSS., but in the lith. ed. it is صي.

[7] Not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[8] He is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 181, as father of Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn of Delhi, but is not mentioned in Badāonī III.

[9] Not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[10] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but is mentioned in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 25, and English translation, page 43, where he is called Sayyid Tāju-d-din of Lakhnow.

[11] He is mentioned as No. 120 among the learned men in page 546 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī III has an account of him in Persian text, page 47, and English translation, pp. 77–79.

[12] One Bahā-ud-dīn is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 409, but he belongs to Badāon.

[13] One Shaikh Burhān is mentioned as No. 29 in the list of learned men in

[1] *Shaikh Muhammad Bhikari.* He was originally from the country of Bihar. His father was one of the *amīrs.* In the beginning of his manhood he had doubts, and travelled in the cities of Irān, was a student in Baghdād, and studied the *hadīs* in Mecca. For forty years he gave instructions to seekers of knowledge in Patan Nahrwala. He has written books on the *Sufi* doctrines.

[2] *Shaikh Wajīh-ud-dīn Gujrāti*, was contemporaneous with Miān Wajih-ud-dīn. In his reliance on God and poverty, he had a great grandeur. The people of the country had great faith in him. He died in the year 995 A.H.

Let it not remain concealed, that during the grand reign of this truth knowing Bādshāh, there have been and are many persons of this class in the cities of Hindustan, so that their names cannot be contained in this book. Therefore, for the sake of its auspiciousness, the names of some of them, in whose greatness the majority of the people of the time had faith, and most of whom this helpless one (the author) has served, and in whose greatness he has faith, have been mentioned here.

An Account of the Hakīms (Physicians).

[3] *The Hakīm-ul-mulk;* he knew philosophy and other sciences and the science of medicine. His name was Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad, and his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī gave him the title of Hakīm-ul-mulk. Towards the end of his life he went on a pilgrimage to the sacred places, and died there.

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page 549 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. He is there said to have lived at Kalpi. An account of him is also given in Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 7-8, and English translation, pp. 10–12. Both MSS. and the lith. ed. have Kālīwāl as a suffix after the name of Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn. I wonder whether Kālīwāl is not a mistake for Kālpīwāl. The name is Burhān-ud-dīn and Bahā-ud-dīn in the MSS. and Burhān in the lith. ed.

[1] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[2] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, (except incidentally in the note under Miān Wajih-ud-dīn), or in Badāonī III.

[3] He is called Shams-ud-din of Gīlān by Badāonī. He is mentioned as No. 72 in the class of learned men and is No. 2 in the list of Hakīms in page 543 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. Badāonī III, has an account of him in Persian text, pp. 161-62, and English translation, pp. 224–26.

[1] *Hakīm Saif-ud-dīn.* He had the takḫallus (poetic name) of Shujā'i. He remained in India for some years and then went back to his own country.

[2] *Hakim Zambīl Shīrāzī*, was one who was near the grand threshold.

[3] *Hakīm Misri 'Arab*, was master of the science and practice of medicine. He has been practicing medicine for a life time and has acquired a high rank in the profession. He is possessed of high moral qualities, and praiseworthy attributes.

[4] *Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk Shirāzī*, has a high rank in the science of the use of collyrium, and is a man of good moral character.

[5] *Hakīm Masīh-ul-mulk Shīrāzī*, he was trained by Hakīm Najm-ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-lah, son of Sharf-ud-dīn Husain: and was possessed of great qualities.

[6] *Hakīm 'Ali*, he is Hakīm-ul-mulk's sister's son, and is adorned

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[1] So called in one MS.; in the other he is called Saif-ul-mulk and in the lith. ed. Saif-ul-muluk. Badāonī's account of him is in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 162–64, and English translation, pp. 226–28. He is called Saif ul-mūlūk Damāwandi by Badāonī. He is called Hakīm Saiful-ul-mulk Lang in page 543, of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I.

[2] The name looks like رسل, Rasl, in one MS., it is also رسل, Rasl, in the lith. ed. In the other MS. it is زنبل Zanbal. Badāonī III, Persian text, p. 164 has what looks like زیدل Zīnal; but the English translation III, p. 228 has Zambīl; and, in a note, the translator says "See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 442 and 542". In the latter passage he is called Hakīm Zambīl Beg. He was a commander of 900. Zambīl means a basket. * * he was not of Shīrāz, being a brother of Mīrza Muhammad Tabīb of Sabzawar." I do not understand, why he got a name which means a basket.

[3] See Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 165-66 and English translation, pp. 230-31. He is placed first in the class of Hakīms, and as No. 71 in the list of learned men in page 542 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I. He is also in the list of *amīrs* as a commander of four hundred in page 491.

[4] See Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 164-65 and English translation III, pp. 229-30. There is nothing said in Badāonī about his high rank in the science of collyrium. He is No. 85 in the list of learned men in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, in page 543. He is also in the list of grandees as No. 234 in page 480.

[5] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 543. See also Badāonī III, Persian text, p. 165 and English translation, p. 230.

[6] One MS. calls him Hakīm Bin 'Ali, but the other and the lith. ed. call him 'Ali as in text. See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 542, where he is called Hakim 'Ali of Gīlān. He is also in the list of grandees as No. 192, page 466.

by much learning: and is engaged in the treatment of diseases; he is one of those who are very close to the sublime threshold.

[1] *Hakīm Abul Fath Gīlānī*, he had attained to much proximity in the service of his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He was distinguished for quickness of intellect and sharpness of understanding, and other human perfections. He died in the year 996 A.H.

[2] *Mulla Mīran Sulaimān*, was from Māwara-un-nahr. Was possessed of sharpness and sanity of spirit.

[3] *Hakīm Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Ardistānī*, is now in the service of his Majesty.

[4] *Hakīm Ahmad Tatui*, was possessed of all excellences, had travelled in Arabia and 'Ajam (Persia): and was possessed of happiness of temper.

[5] *Hakīm Hasan Gīlānī*, is possessed of praiseworthy morals.

[6] *Hakīm Humām*, is a brother of Hakīm Abul Fath, and is adorned by excellences and perfections.

See also Badāonī III, Persian text, page 166 and English translation, page 232, also note I, on that page.

1 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 542, where he is No. 74 in the list of learned men, and also page 424, where he is No. 112 in the list of grandees. See also Badāonī III, Persian text page 167 and English translation pp. 233-34, and also notes 1 and 2, on page 233.

2 One MS. calls him Mulla Mīr Sulaimān, but the other and the lith. ed. have Mulla Mīran Sulaimān. He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari Blochmann I, or by Badāonī.

3 He is mentioned as Hakīm Jalāl-ud-dīn Ahmad in page 540, and also as Hakīm Jalāl-ud-din Ahmad of Ardistān as No. 348 in the list of grandees in page 516. He does not appear to be mentioned by Badāonī.

4 The affix is تتوی and تهد in the MSS. and بتوی in the lith. ed. I have adopted Tatui which probably means of Thatha. See Badāonī's account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 168-69, and English translation, pp. 235-36. He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I.

5 The name is Husain in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but is Hasan in the other. The latter appears to be correct.

See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 542, and Badāonī III, Persian text, p. 167, and English translation, page 234. He is there called Hakīm Hasan of Gīlān.

6 See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, page 543, and also page 424 where he is No. 225 in the list of grandees. See also Badāonī III, Persian text, page 168 and English translation, pages 234-35 and also note 2 on page 234.

[1] *Hakīm Fath-ul-lah Shīrāzī*, has facility in medical work, theoretical and practical.

[2] *Hakīm Lutf-ul-lah Gīlānī*. He was possessed of sharpness of intellect, and was in the service of her Highness Mariam Makānī.

[3] *Mulla Mīr*, was a physician of Harāt, and was a grandson of Mulla 'Abd-ul-hai of Harāt.

[4] *Mahādeo*, a Hindustani Physician.

[5] *Mulla Shahāb-ud-dīn*, a Gujrati Hakīm, was not destitute of excellence.

[6] *Shaikh Bhina*, son of Shaikh Hasan Pānīpathi, has great skill in surgery, and is wonderful in the treatment of elephants.

[7] *Durga Mal*, Physician.

[8] *Abī*, Physician.

[9] *Hakīm Ahmad Gīlānī*, is a pupil of the Hakīm-ul-mulk.

[10] *Mulla Qutb-ud-dīn Kuhhāl*, had great skill in surgery.

[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, 542, and Badāonī III, Persian text, 169, and English translation, page 237. According to Badāonī he came from Gilān and not from Shiraz.

[2] There is a very short notice of him in Badāonī III, page 169, and English translation, page 237. He is also mentioned on page 543 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, and also in page 518 as No. 354 in the list of grandees.

[3] He is mentioned in page 542 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but does not appear to be mentioned in Badāonī III.

[4] He is mentioned as No. 96 on page 544 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, but is not mentioned in Badāonī III.

[5] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[6] The name in one MS. and in the lith. ed. is as I have it in the text. In the other MS. it appears to be پنهایں Pinahaen. See Badāonī's account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, page 169, and English translation, page 237. He is called Shaikh Bīna there. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 543, where there are accounts of Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Bīna. The Latter's son Shaikh Hasan or Hassu rose to great eminence in the reign of Jahāngīr.

[7] The name is written as درگه, and may be Durga or Darga. He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[8] The name is Ābī in one MS., and appears to be Ali in the lith. ed. He is not mentioned in the other MS. He is also not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[9] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[10] He is not mentioned either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[1] *Biārjiū*, has at the present time much skill in surgery and in the use of collyriums.

[2] *Bhairom, Hindu Surgeon*, he had much distinction in his own country.

[3] *Chandar Sen*, Hindu Surgeon was also near him.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE POETS who in the period of the rule of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī had and also now have poetical *noms-de-plume* (Takhallus), and have composed *Diwāns* or collections of odes, etc.

[4] *Mulla Ghazālī Mashhadī*, he was with the Khān Zamān. for some years; and when the latter was slain, he entered the service of his Majesty. He has some books of *masnawīs* and [5] *diwāns* of verses. They say that the whole of his work amounts to a hundred thousand couplets. In the language of Sūfiism he had great excellence. The following is a specimen of his poetry:—

Couplet;

[6] There was a noise, and from the sleep of non-existence we opened our eyes,
We saw that a part of the night of tumult was yet left, again we slept.

Couplet;

[7] We are not afraid of death, but there is this danger, Alas!
That we shall be deprived of the sight of the fair ones.

[1] One MS. adds Gujrātī after the name.

He is not mentioned either in the Ain-i-Akbarī, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[2] He is not mentioned in either the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[3] He is not mentioned either in the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, or in Badāonī III.

[4] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 568, and Badāonī III, Persian Text, pp. 170–72, and English translation, pp. 239–42.

[5] Badāonī says the number of couplets was 40,000 or 50,000 and the Mirāt-i-'Ālam agrees with him. The Atishkada-i-Azar estimates them at 40,000 and the Haft-i-qlīm estimates them at 70,000.

[6] According to Badāonī these are the opening lines of an ode, which he was unable to discover in any of his *diwāns*.

[7] This and all the following couplets are also quoted by Badāonī.

[1]The sky is a shade of phantasy, and the world is inside it, amazed,
Men like the shadows in the shade, are wandering in it astray.
The sleepers on the dust have all by thy sword been slain.
But the sword of death has no admission into it.
My mind is an ocean, that has gems in it,
My tongue is a sword, that has an edge,
The trumpet of my pain has the call of the uprising,
A bird of the angelic sky am I, and my words have wings!

[2]*Mulla Qāsim Kāhī*, was possessed of excellences and perfections. He had acquired great distinction in the science of music, and has written treatises on it; and he has composed many notes and tunes. He lived in great freedom and unconventionality. He lived to an age of 120 years, and wrote the *Jawābī-i-Būstān*, and a *diwān* or collection of verses; and these are from it.

Couplet;
As with thee, like a shadow we go in directions all,
May be, that by and by, to us thou wilt some kindness shew.

Couplet:
As, to the reflection of her cheek, the rose petal a mirror forms,
If a parakeet into that mirror looks, it a nightingale becomes.

Couplet;
When the bird began its wings to flutter over Majnūn's head,
It made the fire of his longing for Laila to burn so bright.

And he has written in respect of a *Jogi* (Hindu ascetic) boy
The fire of thy face over the ashes of thy body, like a lotus shines.
Or the ashes have become a veil to the fire of thy face.

[1]The *Fānūs-i-khyāl* has been translated by Sir Wolseley Haig as a revolving lantern and he says in a note, "a lantern which revolves by the smoke of the candle which is within, and has on the sides of it, figures of men and animals".

[2]See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 566, and Badāonī III, Persian translation, pp. 172–76, and English translation, pp. 242–248.

[1] *Khwāja Husain Marvī*, he was originally, a *Vazīr-zāda*, (son of a *vazīr*). After acquiring much learning he was distinguished from men of his class by the height of his understanding, and the sharpness of his intellect. He was for many years in the service of Jinnat Ashiānī. Humāyūn Bādshāh; and he had attained to great proximity to his person; and was one of the courtiers of his paradise-like assembly. The following verses are from his works.

Verse;

I am he, whose kingdoms are the realms of words,
The money changer of intellect is the appraiser of my gems.
The preface "Be" is, from my book, a page;
The secrets of both worlds are at the point of my pen.
For the love that to thee I have, I wish,
That thou shouldst know, and I and God should know.

He wrote a poem ("*qasīda*"), the first hemistich of which gives the date of the accession of his Majesty, and the second that of the auspicious birth of prince Sultān Salīm. This is the opening couplet.

Couplet;

To God be praise! that from the grandeur and greatness of the king,
This brilliant gem was unveiled from the orb of justice high.

Towards the end of his life, he bade adieu to his native land and passed away in Kabul.

[2] *Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizī*, is the son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor, who was one of the greatest of learned men and saintly Shaikhs and had a great splendour in his reliance (on God), and aloofness (from the world). Shaikh Faizī grew up in the service of his Majesty, the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and received the noble distinction of the title of *Malik-ush-sha'ra* (king of poets). In the arts of

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[1] See Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, page 574; and Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 176–78 and English translation, pp. 248–51. He is said by Badāonī to have been a son of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn 'Ala-ud-daula of Samanan.

[2] One MS. has after the name سلمه الله تعالى, *i.e.*, May the great God protect him. For Badāonī's account of him, see Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 299–310 and English translation, pp. 411–429. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 548–63.

versification he has the[1] white hand (of Mūsa); and he has written a book on morals called the *Máwārīd-ul-kalám*, which has no dotted letters in it. He has also finished a commentary without dots on the word of God, and has styled it the *Sawāti'-ul-Ilhām* (Rays of inspiration). He has also a *diwān* (collection) of verses containing more than fifteen thousand couplets and some *masnawis*. In the art of poetry he is the chief of the poets of the age; and in prose writing he is alone and unique. In branches of sciences other than the Arabic, *i.e.*, in philosophy and medicine and other sciences he has much skill. He has no one to compare with him, in the matter of universality. This *faqīr* has had, from his early days, relations of sincerity with that unique one of the age. In the nobility of his morals and in the cheerfulness of his disposition he is without an equal. His angelic personality is a matter of gratitude for the age. These few couplets have been noted down from the writings of that pure-minded man as a memento.

Verse;

Close not thy eye lashes, when on thy eyes thou walkest (the path of love);
The way-farers on that path have walked on naked feet.
Why dost thou cut the hand, Oh sword of love! if thou art just,
Cut out the tongue of Zulaikha's slanderer base.
When I cast my gracious eye on those, who sit on the dust,
At my distribution, the brain of Solomon falls to the share of the ant.
It is not possible, that the flood of my tears should turn thee;
It is the flood of Noah, that alone can thy millstone turn.
Do not ruin the Ka'aba, Oh love! for there for a moment,
The wearied ones on the path of love, do sometimes sit and rest.

[1] Refers to the miracle related in the Qur'an, XXVII and 12, "Moreover put thy hand into thy bosom. It shall come forth white and without hurt. This shall be among the sure signs unto Pharoah and his people; for they are wicked people." The account in the Qur'an is taken from the Book of Exodus IV, 6–7. The expression "white hand of Moses" is frequently used of a miraculous act or of any extraordinary power in a man.

[1] Oh love! grant thou that from the shoulders of the sky
I place the banner of thy greatness on my shoulders weak!
Descend into thyself, if thou seekest thy heart's desire;
Tell the caravan, that Yusuf is not in the well.

Quatrain;

How long shall I pawn this heart for the blandishments of the fair?
This heart I will burn, and a fresh new heart will I have.
The flower of joy bloomed not in my garden of hope;
How long shall I sow desire, and sorrow reap?

Couplet;

Faizi! my sleeve is empty, and the path of love lies in front;
Perhaps I shall pledge my *diwān* for this world and the next.

Quatrain;

One should be the ladder for one's ascent,
One should be the arch for one's prostration,
One should be the door of one's sacred places,
One should be the cleaner of one's being.

Quatrain;

Faizi! place thy foot on steps higher than thyself,
Come out of thyself, and place thy goods at thy door,
Shut the two lids of thy eyes on thyself,
And then on thy eye lashes two hundred padlocks put.

And this is from his *masnawī*.

Since for alms I came to this door,
Since with the heart of my friend I grew rich,
Little did I ask, but my gem was prized
I sat at the door, but my steps advanced.

[1] Both MSS. have this couplet, but it is not in the lith. ed. One MS. has after this couplet

* بیت *

دگر رفتم که بگذرم مقابل شگاف خامه را با روزن دل

in the other, we have جای دگر گفته instead of بیت and بگذارم instead of بگزرم. This latter MS. has also before the couplet quoted

کی رسد از جاه بفقرم گزند که نمداست استراد این پرند

and again after it

که ان نوری که جانرا رهبر آمد زان روزن این روزن فـــزاید

[1] *Khwāja Husain Sanāi Mashhadi*, he came to the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī from Mashhad, Tus, and received much imperial favour. He has written a *diwān-i-She'r* (collection of poems) and a *Kitāb-i-masnawī* (book of *masnawīs*); and he wrote various kinds of poetry well, and in a scholarly way. He had much distinction over the poets of the period.

These verses are from his works.

[2] When my madcap Turk (beloved) takes off the corner of his cap for plunder;
He robs with his curly locks, the cash of all hearts; and a [3] river breaks out
Never doth thy temper harsh reach my heart,
But on the cheek of my heart the flush of desire doth bloom.

[4] Such graces fall from her body from her feet to her head,
That one can sweep them away again from her bed.

[5] In the description of winter he has written,

Thou wilt know then, the anguish of my heart,
When my heart thou woundest, and the knife in the wound doth quiver.
Words remain not fixed in the writings of mine,
Many from their head to their feet do shake.
The body to such trembling has used become,
That I fear that even the feet of resurrection may shake.

[6] *Mulla 'Urfi Shirazi;* he was a young man of ingenuity and possessed great intelligence. He composed beautiful verses; but as

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[1] For an account of him see the Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann I, pp. 563–66. See specially note 2 page 563; and Badāonī III, Persian text 208–10 and English translation 287–91. See specially note 7, page 287.

[2] The meaning, as of most verses of this poet is not at all clear.

[3] It is doubtful whether the correct reading is *dariyā*, a river or *dar pā*, at the feet.

[4] This couplet is given by Badāonī in page 207 of Vol. III, as

چنـــان بارد ناز زپاتا ســـرش که توان جمع کردن ناز از بسترش

This makes a somewhat better reading than that in the text.

[5] This verse is taken from the MSS. but it is not in the lith. ed. Badāonī quotes more largely from Khwāja Husain Sanāi than Nizām-ud-dīn, but does not quote any of the lines given by the latter.

[6] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 569 and

pride and vaingloriousness took possession of him, he became unpopular, and did not attain to old age. Even in his early manhood he died of intestinal disease. He left a *diwān* and a *masnawi*. The following couplets are given as mementos of him;

To-morrow when they will call the craftsmen of every art,
They will demand good deeds from *Shaikh* and *Brāhman* both.
From those who have reaped, they won't a barley corn take,
From those who have not ploughed, they would a harvest demand.
He who of her ruby lips is thirsty, knows
That her fair forehead is a wave of the waters of life.
Oh Messiah! thy spirit hath no effect, boast not,
Examine now and see that the heart is not sick.
No one e'er was born who was fit for the pain of love,
Each doth only of his face and his complexion idly talk.
I proclaim my love, and with anguish I cry;
It is my lesson first, and I am but a foolish child.

[1] *Mulla Shīrī of Lahore;* although he was an ordinary man, and did not acquire much learning, yet he possessed a mind eminently fitted for the writing of poetry. His genius and ingenuity were such, that within a very short time, he composed a *qasīda*. The following are a few of his verses;

My heart has become so fond of Salmā's beauty rare,
That satisfaction itself is on bad terms with my heart.
The crowd of her graces has so encompassed me all around,
That my hopes have lost their way in that narrow path.

He also composed one thousand couplets in praise of the *Nayyar-i-'Azam* (the great luminary, the sun) and named the collection "the light illumining the world". It contains short poems, of which the following is one *qita'*.

Many are the prisoners in the toils of love,
Of many such I have heard,

specially note 1 in that page; and Badāonī III, Persian Text, pp. 285–87 and English Translation 392–395.

[1] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 610, where he is called Sheri; and Badāonī III, Persian Text, pp. 248–52, and English Translation, pp. 345–51.

The sun should be the beloved of hearts,
And the hope of those who long to arrive.
Why oh tears! from my eyes you fall at the separation from my love,
Where were you then, that now you forbid my sight of her.
To me oh morning breeze my love is like the soul of longings all,
I have caught thee; perhaps you often in her lane do blow.

[1] *Mulla Qaidī Shirāzi;* he came from Mecca, and entered his Majesty's service; and was exalted with royal favours. He died in Fathpur Sikri; and was the companion of the present writer during our journey to Kābul. The following are some verses of his:

My store of complaints is large, oh love! It will be best,
That except in the mart of the Resurrection thou exposest it not.
If I die, and no other comes to bid her farewell;
Oh camel driver, be thou generous, so that the litter may go on.
What unguent of mercy from thee is there for my heart,
For nothing is more heart-scorching than the wounds of disappointment.
Oh thou who hast never put thy foot out of my narrow heart,
I wonder, how thou hast made for it a place in all other hearts.

[2] *Yādgār Hālatī;* he belonged to the tribe of the Chaghtāis and was enlisted among his Majesty's soldiers. These couplets are his.

Enough water was not left, from constant weeping, in my heart;
That the bird of thy arrow could not e'en moisten its beak in it.

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[1] He is called Mulla Qandi in one MS., but Mulla Qaidi appears to be the correct name. There is however a Qandi mentioned in page 316 of Badāonī, III, Persian text, and page 437, English translation. For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pages 599–600, and Bādaonī, III, Persian text, page 315, and English translation, page 436.

[2] For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 595, under the name of Hālati of Turān, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 221–23, and English translation, pp. 307-08 under the name of Hālati.

Ah! if I had been the thread of e'en thy dress
I might then have been with thee in the same garment.

[1] *Qāsim Arslām;* he belonged to Mashhad. Having grown up in Māwara-un-nahr, he passed many years in the service of His Majesty. He wrote the *nastālīq* script beautifully; and was liberal in his faith. He wrote a *diwān* of verses, from which here are a few.

[2] Ah! half my life to my lips has come; but what is it to thee?
When a glance of thine is equal to a hundred lives.
Words and meaning weep at my state;
When without thee into the book, I peer.
When weeping I passed the resting places of my friends,
A hundred times, in floods of tears, I placed my feet.

[3] *Muhammad Maumin Kank;* was with the Khān Khānān, and composed good verses. These verses are his.

She in her cruelty such pretext-seeker has become,
That if I find a place in her heart, e'en that would be my sin.
I fear, if I can reach the *ka'aba* (object) of my desire,
Owing to this eagerness I shall pass it, which is in my nature inborn.

[4] *Anqahabāzīn Khān* or *Ulfathhabāzīn Khān;* was the Koka (foster brother, it does not appear, whose) and these are from him.

A hundred letters my pen of desire wrote,
And I left them in the way of the breeze of the spring;
But owing to my bad luck not one did my beloved reach,
As if the breeze itself had a friend of my evil luck become.

[1] For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 609, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 178–80, and English translation, pp. 251–253.

[2] The translation in the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, English translation, III, page 251, is different.

[3] He is not mentioned in one MS. There is a short account of him in the other, but the verses are not given there. He does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, or in Badāonī's, Vol. III. There is a Muhammad Mumin Hāfiz mentioned by Blochmann in a note in page 613, but he was a player on the *tambura*.

[4] He is not mentioned in either MS. or in Blochmann or in Badāonī.

[1] *Mīrza Hasan;* he is a young man who has acquired much knowledge of the historical science. He is in the service of his Royal Highness the Prince Salīm.

[2] *Malik Mahmūd Piyāra Gujrātī;* he was adorned with all kinds of learning and attainment; and had much experience of contemplation and absorption in God. The following *Matla'* (opening lines) are from him.

A revolving heart have I, and I call it the pointer of the *Qibla*,
It turns towards her eyebrows, though I turn it in other ways.

[3] *Shaikh Rehāi;* he was a descendent of Shaikh Zain-ud-dīn Khāfi; and wrote a *diwān* of poems. He imitated the *khamsās*. He remained up to the time of his death at the imperial threshold. These verses are from his poems.

In the heat of thy anger, thou placedest me in the fire;
With thy blandishments thou warmest thy hands at that fire.
With the thought of that small mouth and that brow like the crescent moon,
I have become such, that no one ever of me doth think.

[4] *Mir Dauri;* he was a fine writer or scribe, so that the emperor bestowed upon him the title of the *Kātib-ul-mulk* or Caligraphist of the empire. He composed a *diwān* of verses. This couplet is from him.

Sometimes in my eyes thou art, and sometimes in my sorrowing heart,
Owing to thy vanity, thou never canst in one place rest.

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[1] He is not also mentioned in either of the MSS. or by Blochmann or by Badāonī.

[2] He does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, but is mentioned in Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 140-41, and English translation, pp. 197-98, under the name of Malik Mahmūd-i-Piyaru.

[3] For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 592 and note I, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 233-34, and English translation, pp. 324-25.

[4] He is only mentioned incidentally in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 103 as a *Katib* or Caligraphist; but some account of him is given in note II, in that page. He is not, however, mentioned in the list of poets. He is mentioned as a poet in Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 227–29, and English translation, pp. 316–18.

[1] *Fikri, Saiyyad Muhammad, the garment weaver;* he remained for years in the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi. He was distinguished in the writing of quatrains, and as he always composed these, he became celebrated as the Mīr Rubā'i (master quatrain writer).

Quatrain.

On that day when the fire of love was kindled,
The lover the ways of love from the beloved learnt.
From the lover rose that burning and melting,
That the candle was lighted and the moth was burnt.

Quatrain.

In love where is separation, and meeting where?
Where is the wanderer, and where the seeker of his friend.
He (God) is in the heart of people all, and their faces are towards the ka'aba and the temple.
Just see where is thy friend and where the strangers are.

Quatrain.

Tomorrow when of the world, there will remain nothing but a name,
The effect will appear then of the spring of the resurrection.
Like flowers will the beloved raise their heads,
And we too with our love will lift up our heads.

[2] *Mir Haidar Mua'māi* (enigma-writer) Rafa'i; his pen name was Kāshi. He possessed high intelligence and good manners. He was unrivalled in the art of enigma and history. He passed his life in the service of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. These are from him:—

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[1] For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 602, and note 2 in that page; and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 295-96, and English translation, pp. 406-07. The translator of Badāonī, III, in quoting the account of him in the Tabaqāt says, he is also known as Rubā'i (quatrain). This is not correct. In both MSS. and in the lith. ed. of the Tabaqāt it is said that he is famous as the Mīr Rubā'i, *i.e.*, master quatrain writer.

[2] See note about him in page 322 of the English translation of the Muntkhabut-Tawārīkh. It is said there that it is mentioned in the Tabaqāt that his poetical name was Rafi'i. This probably is not correct. His poetical name appears to have been Kāshi apparently from Kāshān. As the Tabaqāt says منخلص كاشي است.

I became jealous of the funeral bier of Rafa'i, that thou
Came with it crying more bitterly than the mourners themselves.
My heart is delicate, oh flirt! what treatment is there for it,
I am the lover of my beloved, who can come between us.
The devotee doth not sin, as thou art the avenger,
We are sunk in sin, as thou forgivest all.
He calls thee the avenger, and we thee the pardoner name,
Oh God! which of these names doth please thee best.

[1] *Saiyyad Muhammad Najafi;* he came from his native country (Vilāet) to India; and on account of the inequability of his disposition he was imprisoned for [2] ten years in the fort of Gwaliar. In the end the innate kindliness of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī drew the line of pardon across his offences. These couplets are from his work:—

I burnt in the fire of desire my cultured heart.
I lit the lamp of the *ka'aba* at the door of the temple.
I have given thee the right to slay me,
I have said, and I have written, and I have devoted all to thee.
For your pleasure we are the nightingales of the garden,
We do not know what flower has bloomed, or where is the garden itself.
The stone of thy door, my luck and the candle are the same;
My forehead that bears the mark of my shame is also the same.
In thy dominion, the name of fidelity bringeth tears,
The messenger and the letter did both bring tears.

During the time when he was a prisoner in Gwaliar he composed this verse:—

I have a heart so dark, that my sighs,
E'en with hundred torches know not the way to thy window.

[1] He is called Shaikh Muhammad Najafi in one MS. He does not appear to be mentioned either by Blochmann or by Badāonī.

[2] So in both MSS. But the lith. ed. has two.

[1] *Mīrza Quli Maili;* he was for years in the service of Naurang Khān, who was one of the nobles of this august dynasty. He wrote a *diwān* of *ghazls* and *qasīdas*. These verses are from his works:—

[2] Thou knowest that love for thee passes on with life,
Thou passest over the dust of those slain by thee, yet heedless quite.
Like the thread of the rosary, one arrow passes through a hundred hearts;
It is enough if its attack finds a place in the enemies base.
When in my dream I look on the sun of her cheek,
I fear that with the heat of my gaze I may her awake.
By the time he came to enquire about me, I was dead;
From whom did he ask the way to my house?
We went away from thy *majlis*, and an age passed by,
To our longing that thought is with us still.

[3] *Mulla Tarīqī Sāojī* (*i.e. of Sāwa*); for some years he was in the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and then he went on a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, where he died. These verses are from his works:—

None said nor asked what stage this was,
Where Khizr was the water-drawer of the stragglers behind the caravan.
I am that dog that drew its feet into the folds of its skirts,
That placed none under any obligation, nor was under one to any.

[4] *Mulla Mushfiqi Bukhārī;* he came from Māwara-un-nahr, and entered the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, and became the recipient of great kindnesses; but afterwards returned to Bukhāra.

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[1] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Aīn-i-Akbari, I, pp. 571-72, and Badāonī, Persian text, pp. 329–332, and English translation, pp. 454–458.

[2] This verse has been translated both by Blochmann and by Haig.

[3] For an account of him see Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 263-64, and English translation, pp. 365–67. Blochmann only mentions him incidentally in Note III, page 598 of his Ain-i-Akbari.

[4] See Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 582, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 328-29, and English translation, pages 452-53.

As the wealth of Majnūn's life was the pain he for his mistress felt;

Oh God! May it be the wealth of His pardon, for 'twas love.

[1] *Mulla Sabūhi Kābuli.* He passed his life at the threshold of the protector of the world. These couplets are his:—

What need is there that I should to her my state describe,
If there is a fire in my heart, it surely will its effect have.

Weakness overwhelmed me, my heart was with weeping wearied,
Who else will give her news of my condition sad!

The fall of the eye-lashes long, anguish great doth cause,
When the whites of her eyes become rose red, they shed much blood.

I am the candle that burns its heart, and thou the charming morn,
I burn if thee I cannot see, I die if thou thy face dost shew.

[2] *Mulla Haifi Saōji* (of Sāwa). He was the companion of this *faqīr* for years in Gujrat. Then having arrived at the threshold of the protector of the world, for some time, he accompanied the prince of poets Shaikh Faizi, when the latter went on an embassy to the Dakin, and from there he went for a pilgrimage to the Hijāz.

I am forbidden to circumambulate the Ka'aba, or I should have sent,
The soles of my feet to suffer the pain of her thorns of the Arabian tree.

My rose-seller, who wants to bring her blooms to the market,
Should first to endure the turmoil of the customers, learn.

[3] *Mulla 'Abdi Rāzī* (Zārī in one MS.). He wrote different kinds of poetry, such as *Ghazls* and *Qasīdas* (short and long odes). He was

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[1] Does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Is mentioned in Badāonī, III, Persian text, pp. 256-57, and English translation, pp. 356–58.

[2] Does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari or in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[3] He is called Mulla 'Abd-ul-lah Rāzī in the lith. ed. He does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, but is mentioned in Badāonī, III,

a companion of this helpless one for some years. These couplets are his:—

Couplets:

With the blood of my complaining lip it was wet,
From the window of my eye, came the smoke of my heart.
My tears all dropped fire-exhaling flames,
My sighs all lent brightness to the sparks of fire.

[1] *Mīr Mahwi.* He is a friend, generous and cultured. He joined the service of Mīrza Khān, Khān Khānān in Gujrat and by his help and training he went on a pilgrimage to the Hijāz. These verses are his:—

As long as the curl will be like the moon on thy face,
As long as thy cheek's down will be the soldier of beauty's king.
If my house is built of the bricks of the sun,
The lot of me the helpless shall ever remain dark.
Mahwi, who wandered outside wisdom's land,
Wandered further than a hundred Majnūns, astray,
Far from thee, I saw from afar, that wanderer lost,
In a desert where the wind in blood did roam.
A life and heart in sorrow I did not know,
Hot and fiery tears I did not know.
Thou didst not leave me a name, nor of me a sign,
Oh love! that such thou art I did not know.

Persian text, pp. 282-83, and English translation, pp. 390-91. He is there called 'Abdi Shirāzi. Probably the Rāzī or the Zārī of the MSS. of the Tabaqāt is a mistake for Shirāzi. The translator of volume III of Badāonī (Haig) says in a note "'Abdi" is not mentioned either in the Ain, or in the Tabaqāt. This is incorrect so far as the Tabaqāt is concerned.

[1] In one MS. he is called Mīr Mughis. There is a Mahwi of Hamadān mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, page 585. He appears to be the same man as the one mentioned in the text, as it appears from a note in the page, that his name was Mīr Mughīs, that he was in the service of Mīrza Khān, and that he was sent back with his pecuniary help to 'Iraq, and not to the Hijāz, as stated in the text. Badāonī, III has two Mahwīs. One called Mahwī, Mir Mughis, Vol. III, Persian text, pages 443-44, and English translation, pages 473-74, who is identical with the Mīr Mahwi in the text, and the other Mahwi, Mir Muhammad, the Munshi, Persian text, pages 321–23, and English translation, pp. 444–47.

[1] *Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm Nāmī Bakri.* He is a Safvi Saiyyad. He is a young man adorned with honesty and piety. For years he was a friend and companion of this *faqīr*. He has a [2] *diwān* of verses and *masnawīs*. These couplets are his:—

[3] How sweet is it that I am bereft of self, and you of my state enquire;
To thee, my condition I describe in the tongueless language.
When she saw me weeping, she secretly smiled,
'Tis clear that my weeping was not without its effect.
Again had the heart the wish for meeting her, and gave up the thought of life.
There was a longing for pain, and I gave up the wish for medicine,
Nāmī departed for non-existence at the pain of separation,
And alas! for the anguish for his friend left him weak.

[4] *Mulla Hāshim Qandahāri.* He was one of the courtiers of Khān Khānān Bairām Khān. These couplets are his:—

[5] Couplets:
Into the garden I go, without thy face I drop tulip-red tears,
At the foot of each flowering bush I sit, and from my eyes, I bleed.

[6] *Khwāja Hijri.* He had much wisdom and many attainments. He was, during a great part of his life, with Mīrza Hindāl. He

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[1] One MS. calls him Mīr Ma'sūm Bakri Nāmī. Blochmann calls him Mir Ma'cūm of Bhakkar, and places him in the list of *amīrs*, see Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 514. He says also that he is well-known as a poet and a historian. Badāonī gives an account of his under his *takhallus* of Nāmī in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 364–75, and English translation, pages 498–504.

[2] One MS. has "zabān shi'r dārad."

[3] The first two couplets are given in the same order as in the text in one MS., but the second is not in the other MS. or in the lith. ed.

[4] The name is written as Qandahāri in one MS. and Hāshim Qandahāri in the lith. ed. He does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī gives an account of him under the name of Hāshim in Vol. III, Persian text, pages 388–90, and English translation, pages 524–26.

[5] The MSS. and the lith. ed. have only the one couplet which I have translated, but the word *Abiāt* is in the plural.

[6] He is only mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, page 508, where it is

passed the latter part of his life in the service of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi. He has a *diwān*. [1]This quatrain is his:—

Quatrain:

Oh rose! my hand reacheth not to thy skirt,
Of thy name I am a lover, of thy scent I'm mad.
O wonder! that thou art present, and also absent too,
Secret and patent whatever there is, is of thee.

[2]*Mulla Lutfi, the astrologer.* He spoke extempore beautifully. In one sitting he recited up to a thousand couplets. He was a boon companion and a good mimic. He knew astrology well. He was a companion of this *faqīr* for some years.

From the heat of the wine of that face, the rose garden with roses was filled,
Oh rose-sellers! good news to you; for roses have in plenty bloomed.
In the rose garden's face, I found no fragrance but thine,
No flower I passed but I the fragrance of life, did smell.
My heart, from which the flames of [3]hell rise, has withered:
The rose of my fate, though from paradise it bloomed, is faded.

[4]*Raughani.* He was for years in the service of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi; and he has many [5]satires.

The messenger acquaints me of her coming,
So that the attraction of her love may draw me to the road.

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said that Khwāja Mahmūd Sharīf wrote as a poet, under the name of Waçli, and this is corrected in page 622 where Waçli is said to be a mistake for Hijri. He does not appear to be mentioned in Badāonī, Vol. III.

[1] The MSS. have simply *Shi'r*, verse, instead of *in rubā'i az ost*, and *Rubā'i*. I have retained the reading in the lith. ed.

[2] He is not mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī has an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, page 320, and English translation, page 440.

[3] The MSS. as well as the lith. ed. have *sha'la-i-duzakh*, but in the couplet, as quoted by Badāonī, it is *sha'la-i-ātish*.

[4] Not mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī gives an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pp. 234-35, and English translation, pp. 325-27.

[5] *Zabān-i-Haju* are the exact words.

Orally, Oh Messenger! describe my love to her, for in the letter,
From my unconsciousness, many words from my pen have fallen.

[1] *Nawīdī* [2] *Naishāpūrī*. He was all his life at the threshold of the protector of the world. These [3] couplets are from his writings:—

Couplet:

Fate as it writes the word "sin" against drinkers of wine,
Writes on the margin too, the gospel of the pardon of God.

[4] *Mulla Shikebi Isfāhāni*. [5] He has acquired much learning and possesses praise-worthy morals. He writes good poetry, and lives in the Society of Khān Khānān Mīrza Khān, son of Muhammad Bairām Khān. He takes pupils; and is of a cheerful disposition.

The following couplets are his:—

[6] Couplets:

Yet have my nightly weepings some effect,
Yet has my broken bow, an arrow that will reach its mark.
My heart is with separation beset. Mercy! Oh Fate!
For my hand in conflict has a hill round its waist.

[1] He is not mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī, III, has two Nawīdīs; one who is described as Nawīdī of Turbat, III, Persian text, pages 342–44, and English translation, pages 475–77; and the other as Nawīdī Mulla, III, Persian text, page 361, and English translation, page 495. The translator in a note in page 495 says that Nizām-ud-dīn has confused the two, for he attributes to him the couplets mentioned by Badāonī as Mulla Nawīdī's, while he says Mulla Nawīdī lived all his life in Akbar's court, while according to Badāonī it was the other Nawīdī, who lived all his life at Akbar's threshold, while this one only recently arrived there.

[2] The lith. ed. omits the word Naishāpūrī, while one MS. omits the word *'Umri*, a life.

[3] Only one couplet is quoted, although *Abiāt* is in the plural.

[4] See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, pages 576-77, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 253, and English translation, pages 361-62. The translator of Badāonī transliterates the name as Shakibi.

[5] There are differences in the readings in the MSS. and the lith. ed. I have adopted what appeared to me to be the best reading.

[6] The first four couplets are quoted by Badāonī also. The fifth is in both MSS. of the Tabaqāt, but the fourth and the fifth are not in the lith. ed.

Scatter thou roses into the skirts of the friends for the wounded by separation,
Has his liver (heart) torn into hundred pieces, by each eye-lash's point.
Oh God! give me in the world unseen a market for my wares,
I am selling my heart for a glance, give me a buyer for it.
Thou art warm with my love, and I to ward off all ill,
Am seated near a fire of wild-rue of myself.

[1] *Mīr Fārighī*. He was a brother of Amīr Fath-ul-lah Shirāzī. He passed a life-time in the service of His Majesty. This couplet is from his writings:—

The love, that I have in my narrow heart, for thee,
If I reveal it, the world will not it contain.

[2] *Yol Quli Beg Anīsī*. He is a Shāmslū Turkmān. He writes good verse, and is in the service of the Khān Khānān. These couplets are his:—

Love and the magnet are similar, for from the points of their hearts,
Before they are expelled, the love had their point absorbed.
[3] When thou a flame dost see in torment, know, it is a fire-worshipper,
Whose body is gone, and whose soul in the fire temple doth dance.

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[1] He is not mentioned as a poet in the Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī gives an account of him in Vol. III, Persian text, pages 292–94, and English translation, pages 403–05.

[2] The name is written as Fiuāl Quli Beg and Yol Quli Beg in the MSS. and Būd Quli Beg in the lith. ed. As both Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, page 578, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 185, and English translation have Yol Quli I have adopted that.

[3] This couplet is given with slight variations in the MSS. and the lith. ed. as:—

چو بيني شعله را مضطرب اتش پرستی دان،
که چشمش رفته و روحش در اتشکدهٔ میرقصد.

چشمش appears to be a mistake for جسمش, and I have corrected the couplet accordingly. Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 185 has the couplet also, but the second line is که جسمش روحش رفته و جسمش در اتشکدهٔ میرقصد. I consider the line as corrected by me to be better.

[1] My heart is a fire temple from thy tyranny, go,
Thy brand is the Hindu, who the fire doth tend.

[2] *Jazbī Bādshāh Quli.* He is a son of Shāh Quli Tārīkhi, who is one of the *amīrs*, who have served long at this threshold. He was a polished young man, and had much excellence in poetry. These couplets are from his works:—

Couplets:

The flavour, which the garden eternal, to the fair ones gives,
Has come to the point, that for love, the lover gives up life without pain.

See the bounds of my jealousy, I come from love's unconscious help to sense,
If anyone comes to know, that he said this, tell him who is the friend.

[3] *Amīr Saiyyad 'Ali Musauwar*, whose poetical name was Judāi. He was a painter of unrivalled excellence. He passed years in the service of his Majesty Jinnat Āshiāni (Humāyūn), and [4] had been honoured with the title of Humāyūn Shāhī. These couplets are his:—

Couplets:

At dawn, the thorn bragged of its companionship with the rose,
Its nail, it struck into the shattered heart of the nightingale.

[1] This couplet is in both MSS., but not in the lith. ed. Badāonī also quotes it, but he has *Zi Khiāl-i-tu*, in the first line instead of *Zi Jafā-i-tu*. I think the latter is the better reading.

[2] See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, page 598, and Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 211–215, and English translation, pages 293–95.

[3] Accounts of him are given S. V. Judāi in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, page 590, and in Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 211, and English translation, pages 291-92. It appears from the Haft-i-qlīm, that he was guilty of a gross act of perfidy and plagiarism in publishing what he considered to be the best among the poems of Mīr Ashki of Qūm, who left him his *diwāns* at his death bed to arrange, as his own; and throwing the rest into the water.

[4] This is mentioned in only one of the MSS. and nowhere else. On the other hand he is said to have received the title of *Nādir-ul-mulk*, but the Tabaqāt does not mention the fact.

I am a half-killed quarry, that is fallen far from my Love's lane,
I go falling and rising, till I see the face of my love.

[1] *Mulla Qadrī Shirāzī.* Having passed a long time in India he returned to his native country. The following couplets are his:—

So much grace, doth not my unconsciousness give me, that my life
May know, how it may come out and sacrifice itself to her.

[2] *Tashbīhī Kāshi,* follows the doctrine of monotheism, and is liberal. He passed his time in the service of his Majesty. These verses are his:—

Verse:

For once, Oh dust of the grave-yard, pride thyself with joy,
For thou hast in thee, me, slain by that hand, and that dagger also.
Dress thyself in any colour that thou mayest wish,
For I that bright figure of thine, do know.

[3] *Mīr Sharīf Wāqū'i Nishāpūrī.* He was a young man adorned with many excellences, and knew the science of history well. He was also distinguished in letter writing and calligraphy. He was among the servants of his Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and had much sincere attachments to this *faqīr.* He died in the year 1002 A.H. These couplets are his:—

Couplets:

Against this love of mine, thou comest with a hard heart, thou fearest not,
That on the feet of thy thought, with fiery sighs, I rub my face.

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[1] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī, III, has a short notice, in Persian text, page 316, and English translation, page 437. The translator says Qadri is not mentioned as a poet in the Aín or in the Tabaqāt. This is not correct as regards the Tabaqāt.

[2] For accounts of him, see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pages 204–06, and English translation, pages 283–85.

[3] He does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī, III has an account of him in Persian text, pages 378–80, and English translation, pages 512–16.

This flavour is the aim in the truth of love, and to the lover,
Thou dost not know that my life I devoted to thee, and wasted it.

[1] *Qarāri Gilāni.* He was a brother of Hakīm Abul Fath. Under his Majesty's orders he went away from his Majesty's service at the court, and went away to Bengal, and there died. He wrote a *diwān.* This quatrain is his :—

Quatrain :

If there should be a buyer for the love of my heart,
I shall do nothing, that my true self shall stand revealed.
I shall so the carpet of my abstinence, beat,
That from every thread of it a thousand idolaters' threads would show.

[2] *Mulla Ghairati Shirāzi.* He remained for a long time in India, and then went again to Shirāz. These couplets are his :—

Couplets :

[3] To the slaying of another, I do not consent, for I know
That death has removed the deadly poison from my executioner's dagger.
From the thread of the devotee's garb, the knot, without faith, cannot be loosened,
Go! for a time make it a thread of the fire worshipper's belt.
The head of the lane of my Love is a pleasant land, for there
All the malice of fate becomes changed to love.
I am slain by that death-dealing eyelash, for my blood,
It so shed, that not one drop on the ground did fall.

[4] *Mulla Hayāti Gilāni.* He is one of the friends of the sufferers (*yārān dardmandān*, Blochmann explains the phrase by saying, " He

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[1] See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, pages 586–88, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pages 312–14, and English translation, pages 432–35.

[2] For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, 594, and Badāonī, Vol. III, Persian text, page 292, and English translation, page 403.

[3] All these couplets have been quoted by Badāonī, and have been translated in the English translation. There are certain differences in the readings, but I wish to point out only one. In the first line of the 4th couplet the Tabaqāt has, *Halāk un Mizha Qātilam.* This I think is more poetic than *Halāk Khanjar un Qātilam*, which is Badāonī's reading.

[4] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 574, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, pages 219–21, and English translation, pp. 304–06.

was a man of feeling and sympathy." Badāonī has Az *Yārān Dardmand*, which Haig translates as a 'sympathetic friend'). He is enlisted in the band of the servants of His Majesty the [1] Khalifa-i-Ilāhi. These are his:—

For every word which thou sayest, watch thyself,
Repent of every word which no heart doth cheer.
What need of the wing of the bird, if such is the occupation of the age.
Borrow the foot of the ant, and take to flight.
[2] Everyone that thou seest on the road, that weeps and sheds tears,
The devotee to the privacy carries Moses in the manner of Abraham.

[3] *Mīr Khusrawi.* He is the nephew (sister's son) of Mīrza Qāsim of [4] Gunābād. He has now reached the service of His Majesty, and has been distinguished with royal favours.

Couplets:

If they mix up the dust of my body with that of others,
Thou wilt be able to separate them by the fragrance of love.
With the burning light of love the heart of Khusrawi was so illumed,
That of his bones could be made the candle for his tomb.
The lions of the *haram* will not pollute their claws with my blood,
Oh friend! feed first the dogs of the temple, with this repast.

[5] *Mulla Fahmī Tehrānī.* He lived with A'azam Khān. These couplets are his:—

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[1] The words *Hazrat Khalifa-i-Ilāhi* are in one MS. only, but not in the other or in the lith. ed. I have, however, inserted them.

[2] This couplet is not in one of the MSS. but is in the other and in the lith. ed. I do not understand it.

[3] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 591, and Badāonī, III, Persian text, page 227, and English translation, pp. 315-16.

[4] It is Gunābād in one MS., but Ruknābād in the other and in the lith. ed. The name is Gunābād or Junābād in Khurāsān, according to Blochmann.

[5] He is called Mulla Fahmī Rāzī in both MSS., but Mulla Fahmi Tehrānī in the lith. ed. For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 599;

The repute in which I was held was lessened, as I was impatient in love,
To my repute, say, "be thou less," for I have no power over patience.
Oh heart! I cannot complain of my fortune,
I cannot make myself the leader of the caravan.
Clamour not, and weep not over all that happens,
I cannot make myself the caravan's starting-bell.

[1] *Mulla Sahmi Bukhārī.* He also was with the Khān-i-Ā'azam. This couplet is his :—

The young moon of the 'Id would be like her eyebrow's arch,
If there had been a second new moon, joined to its side.

[2] *Mulla Niāzī Samarqandī.* After being in the service of H.M. Jinnat Ashiāni, he attained to the service of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi. He passed most of his life in [3] Sind, and died there. He knew the arts of versification well. He has written works on all the arts. These verses are his :—

'Tis not the crepuscle in the sky; 'tis my rosy wine.
A drunkard draining the dregs am I, and the sphere of the sky is my cup.
[4] As round that angry beauty I cannot revolve,
I have brought the thought of her into my sight, and round it I revolve.

and note 3 in that page, which mentions 5 or 6 Fahmīs. See also Badāonī III, Persian text, page 294, and English translation, page 405. Rāzī appears to be a mistake for Rāi or Tehrān.

[1] Not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 242-43, and English translation, pages 336-37, contains an account of him. In a short note in the translation, Haig says he is not mentioned in the Ain, or in the Tabaqāt. This is incorrect as regards the Tabaqāt.

[2] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī III, has accounts of him in Persian text, pages 362–64, and English translation, pages 496–98.

[3] Both MSS. have Sind. But the lith. ed. has Thatha. It is also Thatha in a translation of the account in the Tabaqāt given in a note to the English translation of Badāonī.

[4] This and the following couplets are in one MS. and in the lith. ed. but not in the other MS.

Her garments are not in motion from the morning breeze,
But they from the graciousness of her figure, have gained a life.

[1] *Mīr Huzni.* He was one of the most learned men of the age. He was coming from 'Irāq to serve (the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi), and died on the way.

Couplet:

I laugh at Huzni's simple-mindedness,
That he has loved, and for his mistress's faith he hopes.
From ignorance, my friend has made fruitless all my work,
And it is the more strange, that he thinks that I am much in debt to him.

[2] Amni. See note.

[3] *Mazhari Kashmiri.* He is one of the servants of the threshold. And these verses are his.

Verses:

The grandeur of thy beauty has thy affairs advanced,
Otherwise thou didst not know, what was best to be done.
I sacrifice myself to that mirror, which places my beloved,
Inside the house, and into the blossoming rose garden.

[1] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 565, and Badāonī III, Persian text, page 219, and English translation, page 304.

[2] The name of a poet called Amni is given here in the lith. ed., but not in either of the MSS. The lith. ed. says "he was for years in the service of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. He is a Bukhāri. He was skilled in letter-writing. He had written a *Masnawi* called *Shahrashūb*. He has a *diwān* of verses. For a long time he was in the service of the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī; and for some time he was a *waqa'anawis* (a news writer)." He may be identical with Mīr Amīnī a short account of whom (with specimens of his verses as given in the MSS.) is given below, between those of Kāmī and Sharif Sarmadi. There is also a poet called Mīr Amānī mentioned in the MSS. For an account of him see page 750.

[3] For accounts of him see Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 584, and Badāonī III, Persian text, page 344, and English translation, page 474.

[1] *Shaikh Chishti Dehlavi.* He had the name of [2] Hasan. He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Salīm. He wore the *Sufis'* garb, and passed his life in divine contemplation and absorption.

[3] Mīr Hāj Lang. See note.

[4] *Darwīsh Bahrām.* He wore the garb of a *Sūfī* and worked as a water-carrier, and gave water to people. He went away to [5] Sarandīp (Ceylon ?); and there passed away. He has a *diwān* of verses. These couplets are his.

Couplets:

The foundations of piety I broke down, to see what happens,
I sat in the market place of ignominy, let's see what happens.
To the fire worshipper's son, I have given my heart, and eke of my faith,
In this my old age, I have taken the belt of threads, let's see what happens.

[6] *Mulla Haidarī.* He came thrice to India from 'Irāq, and after partaking of the board of the favours of this threshold, finally went away. From his works are :—

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[1] He is not mentioned in the MSS., but is in the lith. ed.; but even the lith. ed. does not give any specimen of his verse. As note 3, page 297 of Badāonī III attributes an account of Chishti to the Tabaqāt, which agrees with that in the lith. ed., I have retained it. He is not mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari. Vol. I. Badāonī III has an account of him in Persian text, page 215, and English translation, pages 297-98.

[2] According to Badāonī the name was Husain.

[3] The lith. ed. has the name of a poet here called Mīr Hāj Lang. The account given of him is "He was for a long time with the Khān Zamān; and in the end by his good fortune he became one of the courtiers of His Majesty." As his name is not mentioned in either of the MSS., I have not included him in the text. No specimen of his poetry is given in the lith. ed.

[4] For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 581, and Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 243-44, and English translation, pages 338-40.

[5] The translator of Badāonī III says that as his tomb is in Burdwan, he probably died in Bengal, on his way to Ceylon.

[6] He is called Haidarī of Tabrīz both by Abul Fazl and Badāonī. For other accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 603, and Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 218-19, and English translation, pages 302-04.

Couplets:

Like the virtuous, Oh Haidari! go as far as thou canst;
To attain perfection, strive in this world of dust.
For to go away perfect from the world is like,
Coming out of an unclean bath.

[1] *Muhammad Sāleh Diwāna* (madman.) He has received the title of 'Āqil (wise). His father was well known as Mulla Kitābdār (librarian). He was the librarian of H.M. Jinnat Ashiānī. Muhammad Sāleh, from his youthful days, grew up in the service of H.M. the Khalifa-i-Ilāhi; and to-day he is in Kabul, happy and contented with a stipend and other gifts. He uses the poetical name of Fārighī, and these couplets are his.

Couplets:

As the madness for her curls are as fetters on my feet,
In this bargain (or madness) there is no plan for me, except to give up my life.
For infatuation of that form, I am kept insane,
With such an infatuation, oh wise ones! I am fettered fast.

[2] Sabūī Hājī Qāsim Kuhbar. See note.

[3] *Nishan 'Ali Ahmad*, seal engraver. He engraves seals beautifully with all kinds of letters; and composes fine verses; and he has various kinds of excellences. These couplets are his.

Couplets:

Every night when the robbers of sleep seize me, my eyes become wet.

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[1] He does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I. He is mentioned in Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 361-62, and English translation, pages 362-63.

[2] *Sabūī Hāji Qāsim Kuhbar.* He was for years in the service of Mīrza Hakīm, and in the end entered the service of his Majesty.

This appears in the lith. ed., but as this poet is not mentioned in either of the MSS., I have not inserted an account of him in the text.

[3] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as a poet, but is mentioned several times as an engraver. Badāonī III contains very full accounts of him in Persian text, pages 349-360, and English translation, pages 480-493. It is said in a note in page 480 that Nishān is not mentioned in the Ain, or in the Tabaqāt, as a poet. This statement is incorrect with regard to the Tabaqāt.

They keep my heart for anguish of thee awake, and turn again.
With the stone of my heart's catastrophy, my heart doth break;
For they have made my glass of diamond's bright.

[1] *Hāshim* (story-teller). His poetical name is Muhtarim. He was with Ḵẖān Ḵẖānān Mīrza Ḵẖān for a long time.

Verse:

Between my eye and my heart something last night happened.
My eye looked towards thee, and my heart from its place did go.

[2] Mulla Hātimī. See note.

[3] Mulla 'Ishrati. See note.

[4] *Mulla Baqāī*. He is a young man in his prime. He was with this *faqīr* for a long time. These verses are his.

Verse:

When Love, of the eye lashes of the fair ones, lancets made,
It made the blood to boil in my fibres and my veins.
Alas! that before I closed my eyes, the Turk of her thought,
Went into my eyes, and brought his head out of my heart.

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[1] He does not appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, or in Badāonī III.

[2] The lith. ed. gives the names of a poet called Mulla Hātimī, about whom it says that for thirty years he makes excellent seals and writes poetry.

As he is not mentioned in the MSS., I have not inserted the account of him in the text.

[3] The lith. ed. has here the name of a poet called Mulla 'Ishrati and gives the following short account of him. "He is in the service of the Ḵẖān Ḵẖānān."

As his name is not mentioned in either of the MSS., I have not included him in the text.

[4] He does not appear to be mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, but is mentioned in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 196-97, and English translation, page 273. The translator of Badāonī III says, in note 1, in page 273, that the Baqāi mentioned there must not be confounded with the Baqāi mentioned in the Tabaqāt. This is not correct so far as Mulla Baqāi is concerned, as the same lines are quoted from them; but it is correct as regards the Baqāi mentioned below, who was the son of Yādgār Hālati.

Instead of tears, pieces of my wounded heart drop from my eyes,
All the blood of my liver, from this fire-raining cloud doth fall.
When the bird of my heart became the prey of her hunting eye,
Every particular hair of my head flew up like a bird.

[1] *Kami.* He is a young man in the prime of life, and has skill in versification. This couplet is his:—

Couplet:

I would turn my whole body into blood, and drop from my eyes,
If I knew that my weeping would produce any effect.

[2] *Mulla Amīnī.* He is also a young man in his prime; and was with this *faqīr* for years.

I am one, who knows nought but to hoard up pain,
I am all fire, but to burn I do not know,
By the light of my heart, though the sun's face I can see
The lamp of my fortune I do not know how to light.

[3] *Sharīf Sarmadī.* He is from Ispahān. He is enlisted among the servants of this threshold. The following are from his writings.

When the sword of the coquetry of that fair one was lifted high,

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[1] His name and account follow those of Hāshim in one MS. and precedes those of Hāshim in the lith. ed. He does not appear to be mentioned in the other MS. In the Ain-i-Akbari, page 601, he is mentioned as Kāmī of Sabzawār; and in Bādaonī III, Persian text, page 318, and English translation, page 439. Blochmann says, Bādaonī wrongly calls him Kumi, and gives a full account of him in note 1, page 601.

[2] He is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. Badāonī also has no Amīni but he has a Mulla Ghani Amānī III, Persian text, pages 147-48 and English translation, pages 262-63. The verses ascribed to Amīni in the Tabaqāt are identical with those attributed to Amāni by Badāonī (with variations). The translator of Badāonī III says in note 2, page 262 that there is no Amāni mentioned in the Tabaqāt.

[3] See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 607, and Badāonī III, Persian text, page 245, and English translation, pp. 340-41.

A hundred necks of the spectators were raised from afar.
With wine in thy head, and roses under thy arm when thou comest into my house,
At sight of thee, even the grass in the house of pain of mine doth bloom.
When on the top of the two worlds I placed my foot,
Neither grief nor joy had any power over my heart.

[1] *Sharîf Fârsi.* He is a son of Khwâja 'Abd-us-samad Shîrîn-Qalam. He is a young man in his early prime, trained under the eye, which has the effect of turning things into gold, of H. M. the Khalifa-i-Ilâhî. He excels also in drawing and painting.

Verses:

With the auspiciousness of love, I have made peace with both worlds.
Become my enemy; and see how friendly I shall be.
The expanse of my breast has been so filled with friendship,
That with the greatest desire, it cannot by an atom be increased.
Love and ignominy have both become parts of my concern,
Alas to me! that I thought them to be my heaven-ward ascent.
Grace in our path of love, is for courage, no foothold,
We have recognised our friend in quite a different form.

These two couplets are also from him.

I have a sorrow to which all joys sacrifice themselves,
May God protect it from the evil eye.
When my heart into the fire entered like a moth,
It placed its reliance on its attachment and love.

[2] *Mulla Taqî-ud-dîn Muhammad Shustarî.* He is in the service of His Majesty the Khalîfa-i-Ilâhî. He has great knowledge of the

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[1] He is called Sharîf Fârsi in one MS. and in the lith. ed. and Sharîf Qâdiri in the other MS. He is mentioned as an *amîr* in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, 517, and as a poet under the name of Farsi in Badâonî III, Persian text, pp. 311-12, and English translation, pp. 429–32 under the name of Fârisi.

[2] An account of him is given in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, page 518, under the name of Taqi or Taqiya Mullah of Shustar, in the list of *amîrs*; and in

ratiocinative and traditional sciences, and writes good poetry. The following couplets are his.

Verse:

If she gives me not the power to cast a glance on her face,
Then at least with sugar shall I fill my mouth, with the thought of her lips.
While like herbage she has planted me on the dust,
Where are my hands and heart, that I shall place dust on my head.

[1] I am the slave of this custom, that in the cross-road of love,
To one who is not stricken down, does not his madness show.

[2] *Mīr Ghāzī Asīrī.* He was enlisted for years among the *Sipāhīs* in the service of His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī.

Couplets:

Wounded in heart am I, by the arrow of a boy into whose hand
Time has not placed yet a bow with which to play.
If I a bird become, and perch on the wall of his house,
The blast of despair, each moment, throws me down from the wall.

[3] Mulla Nūr-ud-dīn Tarkhān. See note.

[4] *Mulla Hālati, or Jāni or Khāni or Jāi.* He was with this *faqir* for a long time in Gujrat.

Badāonī III, as a poet, in Persian text, page 206, and English translation, pp. 285-86.

[1] This couplet is in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but not in the other MS.

[2] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 599, under the name of Asīrī of Rāi, and Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 182-83, and English translation, pp. 255-57, under the name of Amīr Qāzī Asīrī.

[3] The lith. ed. has here the name of a post called Mulla Nūr-ud-dīn Tarkhān about whom it says, "He was among the servants of H. M. Jinnat Ashīanī, and (later) became enlisted among the *amīrs* of H. M. the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī. He knew astrology and other sciences. It gives no specimens of his poetry. As he is not mentioned in the MSS., I have not inserted him in the text.

[4] The name is somewhat undecipherable, and may be any of the four I have in the text, in the MSS. and in the lith. ed. I cannot find any name that at all corresponds with any of these in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari or in Badāonī III, except Hālati; but Hālati Yādgār has been already noticed. One MS. has

The message of my friend makes fresh the scar on my liver,
It makes fresh the pain and the mark and the grief of travel.
The lover rubbed his face on thy door, and went away,
The moth opened its eye at the candle, and went away.
One night by a thousand devices, in the joy of meeting, he felt thy love,
And that love which he had for thee he showed, and he went away.

[1] *Mulla Wafqi*. For a long time he was with Ma'sūm, son of Khwāja Mū'īn Khān. This couplet is his.

Couplet:

Hopelessness has come to me to such a pass, that after this,
I recall hope only by shutting my eyes.

[2] *Muhammad Riza*. He was a young man, a student, and he also knew astrology. He was for a time in the service of Khān Khānān Mīrza Khān.

Couplets:

My intoxication is not from the rosy wine,
I am unconscious, on account of that, for which there is no name.
There is a special private meeting for my life with her lips,
Tell happiness "come not" for 'tis no public audience.

[3] *Maulāna Nazīrī*. He is not wanting in brightness of disposition; and has written witty verses. He was formerly in the service

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lines 3 and 4 of the couplet while the other and the lith. ed. have lines 3 and 6 and 5 and 4 as couplets.

[1] The name is differently written. One MS. has ملا وافقي, the other has ملا واقي while the lith. ed. has ملا وافي. I cannot find any one in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, or in Badāonī III, whose name at all agrees with, or resembles any of them.

[2] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 606, under the name of نوعي Nau'i of Mashhad and Badāonī III, Persian text, pp. 361-62, under the name of نوعي, and English translation, pp. 495-96, under the name of Nau'i.

[3] I cannot find any mention of him in the MSS., but the account given of him in the lith. ed. agrees with the account quoted from the Tabaqāt in Badāonī III, page 508, note 1. So I have kept it. For other accounts of him,

of the Khān Khānān; and is now gone to Mecca. The following couplets are his.

Couplets:

If thou destroyest the wares of my heart, thou once sufferest loss,
To me the capital of the world and of faith cease to exist.
If with my cage, thou wouldst not put thy foot under the rose bush,
Place it at a spot, where my cries may reach the rose garden.
To the beloved is sent the complaint of the pain of estrangement,
If the *Bulbul* warbles on a branch of the tree of paradise.

[1] *Baqāi, son of Yādgār Hālati.* Being accused of the murder of his father he was executed. The following is from him.

Couplet:

As thy blood spilling blandishments are the destroyers of life,
The eye of Death looks with longing from afar.

[2] *Masūm, son of Qāzī Abul Ma'āli.* The following is [3] from him.

Couplet:

The dead are disappointed, that moment, when thou carryest thy hand to the sword,
For this gift is the provision of him who is alive.

[4] *Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn, son of Qāzī Abul Ma'āli Ziaratgāhi.* From him are.

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see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, pages 579–81, and Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 376-77, and English translation, pp. 508–10.

[1] There is a Mullah Baqāī already mentioned in page 741. The man here described is mentioned in note 2, in page 595, of Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I. He is also mentioned in Badāonī III, page 308, in the account of his father Yādgār Hālatī.

[2] He is mentioned in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but not in the other MS. He does not also appear to be mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, or in Badāonī III.

[3] Instead of از وست ! in the lith. ed., the MSS. have زیارت گاهی*, *i.e.*, of the place of pilgrimage.

[4] The MS. which does not mention Ma'sūm, makes Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn, the son of Qāzī Abul Ma'ālī, and ascribes to him the couplet attributed by the other

Couplets :

The dead are disappointed, that moment, when thou carryest thy hand to thy sword,
For this gift is the provision of him who is alive.
One letter even by mistake my love to none did utter,
Although my sweet sleep with every story I burnt.

[1] *Wafāi Isfahānī*. He lives with Zain Khān Koka. The following couplets are his.

Couplets :

Knock at the door of the heart in the middle of the night, for when the day dawns,
All other doors are opened, but the door of the heart is closed.
[2] There is famine of faith in this, that the fair ones of the age,
Do not spread the table, and yet drink the heart-blood of the guest.

MS. and the lith. ed. to him, and also the couplet attributed by them to Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn. As regards Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn the latter MS. has no account at all, but only quotes one couplet. The lith. ed. simply says از وست, and then quotes the same couplet. Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn is not mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, or in Badāonī III; but in a note in Vol. I, page 589, Blochmann says, in respect of a couplet translated by him as from 'Itābī of Najaf, that the Tabaqāt ascribes it to a poet called Rukn-ud-dīn, but that couplet does not agree with either of the two couplets attributed in one MS. to Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn, or to the couplet ascribed to Ma'sūm, and that ascribed to Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn in the other MS. and in the lith. ed.

Mīr Rukn-ud dīn is also not mentioned in Badāonī III, but there is a poet without a name or a *Takhallus* in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 343, and English translation, page 472, who is said to have been the son of Qāzi Abul Ma'āli Ziāratgāhī, so he must be either Ma'sūm, or Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn. It should be noted also that the couplet attributed to Ma'sūm, or the first of the two couplets attributed to Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn is attributed by Badāonī to the nameless poet, which further proves their identity.

[1] For accounts of him see Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 592, and Badāonī III, Persian text, page 385, and English translation, page 520.

[2] This couplet is in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but not in the other MS. The last line as quoted in Bādaonī is خوانی نهند which gives quite a different meaning.

[1] *Mīrza Beg Sahrī.* He is a nephew of Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who had the title of Khwāja Jahān. He had a pleasant disposition and good manners. These couplets are his.

Couplets:

With a smile mitigate the poison of thy angry eye,
For an almond that is bitter, they with salt make sweet.
The life-giving ruby of thine, under the shadow of the black down,
Is like the water of [2] Khizr in the darkness of [3] Sikandar.
Thy disturbing eyes that deceive the devotee
Are the enchantment and magic, that succour lovers all.

[4] *Fanāī, Mulla Khurd Zargar.* (Goldsmith). He has spent all his life at this threshold. In the beginning, however, he was one of the servants of Mīrza 'Askarī. The following couplet is his.

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[1] The name is written as Sahri in one MS. and in the lith. ed., but as Sipahari in the other MS. Sahri is mentioned incidentally in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, page 424. Badāonī III gives an account of Sipahari in Persian text, page 241 and English translation, pages 334-35. The name is said there to have been Mirza Beg and that he was a son of Khwāja Jahān Amir of Hirat's brother; and that his *takhallus* was Sahri, so if Abul Fazl and Blochmann are correct, the name of the man was Mirza Beg Sahri. The translator of Badāonī says "Neither Shahri nor Sipahari is mentioned in the list of poets in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I or in the Tabaqāt. This latter statement is quite incorrect. It appears that Blochmann was mistaken in saying that Mirza Beg's *takhallus* was Shahri, because in a couplet which is quoted by Badāonī the *takhallus* is given as Sipahari; but I think the line would scan with Shahrī or Sahri just as well as with Sipahari; and seeing that his name is given as Sahri in one MS. and in the lith. ed., I am inclined to think that the correct *takhallus* of Mirza Beg was Sahri.

[2] *Vazīr* and general of an ancient king of Persia called Sikandar, (not Alexandar of Macedon) or Kai Qubād, who discovered and drank of the fountain of life, which was situated in the darkness near the extremity of the world.

[3] See the preceding note.

[4] Said to be identical with Shāh Fanāi, Amir No. 115. See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, page 426. The translator of Badāonī III says Blochmann is not quite positive. He says that the poet Fanāi who is mentioned in Badāonī III, 296, the Tabaqāt and the Mirāt-ul-'Alam appears to be the same. He does not say the poet is the same as Shāh Fanāi though probably he means it. Badāonī III has an account of Fanāi in Persian text, page 296, and English translation, page 407. The translator of Badāonī III is quite positive that the Fanāi des

Couplet:

I do not say that I have a house for thy noble footsteps fit,
I am poor, I am lowly, and I have a nook that's in ruins.

[1] *'Azīzī*, *Mīr 'Azīz-ul-lah*. He is one of the Saiyyads of Qazwīn. For a long time he was the [2] *diwān* of the *Sadārat*. But as he had no head for the duties of the *diwānī*, and did not work satisfactorily, he remained imprisoned for years. The "Kitāb Gul wa Mul" (a poem on roses and wine), and Wajah-ul-Qana'at (the reason of contentment), Risāla-i-Manzūm Ramal (a versified treatise on geomancy) and Sahifat-ul-'Ushshāq (book of lovers) and Shahr-Ashūb (disturbers of the city) are among his poetical works. He also has a collection of *qasīdas* and *ghazls* (long and short odes). These verses are his.

Verses:

There is not, to the lashes of the tearful eyes, that on all sides,
They throw the waves of tears on the lap of the humble ones.
[3] Her silver white figure appears above the dust of the garment,
As the jasmin in the fair garden appears on the verdant leaves.
As like dried grass I am fallen on the way of grief and pain
The breeze of thy kindness and grace will probably lift me up from the dust.

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cribed by Badāonī is identical with the Fanāi in the Tabaqāt, because the couplet attributed to him by Nizām-ud-dīn is the same as one of the couplets attributed to him by Badāonī; but the histories of the two men are so entirely different that I venture to doubt.

[1] Not mentioned among the poets in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, but is mentioned incidentally in page 373 as the *diwān* of Malwa. Badāonī III has accounts of him in Persian text, pages 279-80 and English translation, pages 386-87. The translator of Badāonī III says Mir Aziz-ul-lah is not mentioned in the Ain. This is not quite correct (see the first part of this note).

[2] Badāonī calls the office, the *diwān-i-sa'ādat*. The translator says the *diwān-i-sa'ādat* was clerk to the *sadr*, vide page 378, note 2. This note explains the great power and importance of the *sadr*, but says nothing about the *diwān-i-sa'ādat*.

[3] This verse is not quoted in one of the MSS., which quotes another which is not given in the other MS. and in the lith. ed. As the latter verse is one of those given by Badāonī also, I am inserting it here.

[1] Ibn 'Ali Wasiqi. See note.

[2] *Mīr Amānī*. He was for years in the service of the threshold of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī. The following couplets are his.

Couplets:

Thou art the king-falcon, and my heart-bird is thy pigeon,
Wonder! that the pigeon and the falcon are friends.

[3] The description of Amānī's condition is as the pigeon,
Ask the state of his heart from that pigeon-flier.

[4] *Mulla Ghurbati Bukhārī*. He has verses of all kinds, and has arranged a *diwān*. Having come to India, he attained to the service

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[1] The lith. ed. has here the name of a poet called ابن علي واثقي Ibn 'Ali Wāsiqi. It gives no account of him but only says, * شعر * از دست جز عشق تو کاری نبود پیشه پـــرورده در دست و رگ و ریشـــه which may be translated.

Verse:

Except thy love there was no deed, that my vocation was,
'Twas cherished in my hand and in my veins and my fibres all.

As his name is not in the MSS., I have not inserted this in the text.

[2] There is no Mīr Amānī in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I. There is an Amānī, Mulla Ghanī in the index of Badāonī III, English translation. In page 262 the name is Mulla Ghanī Amānī and in the Persian text, page 187 the name is امني, with the foot note امینی in نسخهٔ دیگر. The two couplets quoted under Mulla Ghanī Amni or Amāni are attributed in the Tabaqāt to Mulla Amīni. (See *ante*.) So it may be taken that there is no Mulla Amāni mentioned by Badāonī but Mulla Ghanī Amnī is identical with Mulla Amīnī.

[3] This couplet is not in the lith. ed., but it is in both MSS., with some variations; so I have quoted it.

[4] He is identical probably with Ghayūrī of Hisār; Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, page 609; and certainly with Ghurbatī of Hisār in Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 291-92 and English translation, pages 401-02, as the two couplets ascribed to him in the Tabaqāt are among those quoted from Ghurbatī of Hisār in Badāonī III. There is a kind of unintentional contention between Blochmann and Haig as to Hisār. Blochmann says that it was Hisār in Kabul, and not Hisār Firuza, and Haig asserts that it was Hisār Firuza in the Punjab. But it appears to me that Hisār is a mistake, probably in the case of Ghayūri and certainly in the case of Ghurbatī for Bukhāra. If Ghurbatī came from Hisār Firuza in the Punjab, then the statement ascribed by Badāonī to him about his presence at an assembly convened by Shaikh Husain of Khwārazm becomes very improbable, while it becomes quite probable if he came from

of His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī, and having been made happy by his gifts, he went back to Bukhāra. The following are from his works. See note.

Verses:

Why when I am apart from thee, fate does not shed my blood,
Perhaps it is not within the compass of the hand of fate.
By the path of thy love I did not at any station arrive,
That I did not find that the pain of love had not arrived before me.

[1] *Mulla Tālib Isfahānī.* It is nearly [2] twenty years that he has lived in Kashmīr, and is enlisted in the band of the servants of the threshold.

Verses:

Joyous is that feast which has not placed its head on the knees of despair,
Thou mayest say that the breeze opened the door, and the friend from inside came.

Quatrain:

Thou makest me taste the poison of thy separation, and askest what has happened;
Thou sheddest blood and shakest thy sleeve, and askest what has happened.
Oh thou who art careless, as to what the sword of thy separation has done,
Press down my dust, so that thou mayest know what has happened.

[3] *Mulla Pīrūz.* He was with Naurang Khān during the greater part of his life.

Bukhāra. Haig is wrong, as in some other cases, in asserting that Ghurbatī is not mentioned as a poet in the Tabaqāt.

The list of poets in the lith. ed. ends with Mulla Ghurbatī Bukhāri, but the MSS. contain the names of Mulla Talib and some others.

[1] Mulla Talib is mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, page 607 under the name of Bābā Tālib of Isfāhān, and in Badāonī III, Persian text, pages 265-66, and English translation, pages 367-68.

[2] Badāonī has eight years, and the Haft Iqlim has thirty years; but the twenty years in the Tabaqāt appears to be correct.

[3] The name is Mulla Pīrūz in one MS. and looks like Mulla Barodi in the

Couplet:

When do they give the wine of love to one who has suffered no pain?

To whom do they give the account of the love of the fair ones.

[1] *Qarārī*. He was a pupil of Mulla Qāsim Kāhī.

Couplet:

Come out of the garden, oh gardener! and at my cypress look,

The wooden cypress thou hast seen; at the silver-bodied cypress look.

Couplet:

[2] Learn the art of love, as you should, oh heart!

Learn the diving into the sea, from the fish!

From the bonds of age if thou wishest to be free,

Learn the art of freedom from Qāsim Kāhī.

[3] *Mulla Muhammad Lang*. He has good manners; and lives with Khān Khānān Mīrza Khān.

Couplet:

He has become such a seeker of pretexts for tyranny,

That if into her heart you enter, even that becomes a sin.

[4] *Ulfatī*. He stays with Zain Khān Koka.

Quatrain:

A hundred epistles contained the pain and anguish of my love,

On the way, a breeze of the early spring did blow.

Not one of them, owing to my bad luck, my beloved reached.

The breeze, thou mayest say, with my luck conspired.

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other. I cannot identify him with any poet in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, or in Badāonī III.

[1] This man is different from Qarārī Gilānī mentioned and described before. He does not appear to be mentioned either in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, or in Badāonī III.

[2] The last two couplets are in one MS. only.

[3] He is called Maumin Lang in one MS. He is apparently not mentioned in Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I, or in Badāonī III.

[4] The name looks like القي Alqi, or الفتى Ulfati in one MS. In the other it is clearly Ulfati. There are two Ulfatis in Badāonī III, one of 'Iraq, Persian

[1] *Wālihī.* He is from the village of Dāna (or Wāna) a dependency of Khurāsān. He wrote good poetry and he composed many witty verses in the rustic dialect of Khurāsān. He had a mimic nature and made curious movements. One day when H.M. the Khalifa-i-Ilāhī was playing *Chaugān* (polo), and a ball hitting the back of the nose of the poet Ulfati broke, Wālihī wrote the following on this matter.

Couplet:

Ulfati who wrote so much bad verse,
Was well-hit لواندانش باطن (the meaning of which I cannot make out)
The *Chaugān* ball broke by fate's decree, the back of his nose in place of his teeth.

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text, page 189, and English translation, page 265, and the other of Yezd, Persian text, page 189; and English translation, pp. 264-65, but neither of them can, I think, be identified with the Ulfati mentioned here.

[1] The name is indistinct in both MSS. but there was a poet who had the Takhallus of Wālihi, mentioned in Badāonī III, Persian text, page 222, who was the father of the poet Yādgār Hālati. I think the name as written in the MS. resembles والهی and I have adopted that name.

END OF VOLUME II.

INDEX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

TABAQĀT-I-AKBARI

[The number refer to the pages ; *n* means ' footnote '. When names occur twice or several times on a page, they have been entered only once in the Index.

The geographical names form a separate Index.]

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A

A'azam Khan, comes from Allahabad to meet Akbar at Ajmir, p. 454 ; summoned for Gujrat ; comes, p. 475 ; displeasure of Akbar ; resigns his office and secludes himself in his garden at Agra, p. 476 ; sent to governor of Behar, p. 532 ; Ma'sum Khan Farankhudi prays through him for the pardon of his offences, which is granted, p. 553 ; comes to Fathpur, reports the condition of Bengal to Akbar ; Amirs were sent with him, p. 554 ; he and Sadiq Khan ordered to destroy Asi Kabuli, p. 557 ; news of his having entered Tanda, p. 560 ; allowed to come to the threshold ; sends Shaikh Farid to Qutlu Khan Afghan, pp. 561–62 ; comes from Hajipur, p. 577 ; sent for conquering the Deccan, p. 584 ; hostility with Shahab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, p. 585 ; remained inactive at Hindia ; advances against Sh-A-Khan but 'Azd-ud-daula arranged matter ; leaves army at Nadarbar and goes to Ahmadabad, p. 586 ; goes to Nadarbar to get his men ready ; marches from Nadarbar to Malwa, p. 587 ; Akbar confers the government of Gujrat on him, p. 595 ; comes from Patna and Hajipur, p. 597 ; appointed to conquer the Dakin, p. 604 ; government of Gujrat bestowed on him, p. 628 ; campaign with the Jam and the sons of Amin Khan and his victory over them ; invades the territory of the Jam, the latter in concert with Daulat Khan son of Amin Khan Ghuri and other *zamindars* comes forward to meet him, p. 630 ; account of the battle ; victory, p. 631 ; remains at Ahmadabad ; marches quickly towards Junagarh, p. 635 ; advances to attack Khangar and devastate his country, p. 647 ; the head of Muzaffar Gujrati is brought to him and he sends it to the threshold ; having been absent from the court for 2 years he was summoned to the royal presence to receive royal favours but instead of complying with the order he goes with his family treasure on a pilgrimage to the sacred places, p. 648.

'Abd-ul 'Aziz, Amir, one of the *amirs* deputed by Babar to take charge of the treasures of the fort of Milwat, p. 13.

'Abd-ul-Lah Kahn Uzbek, entertains Akbar at Kalpi; sent by Akbar to regain possession of Malwa, pp. 261-62; takes up his residence at Mandu, p. 262; takes flight towards Gujrat at the approach of Akbar; Muqim Khan sent to bring him back, p. 283; continues his flight; troops sent to block his way; takes refuge in the country of *'Ali* on the border of Gujrat, p. 284; takes refuge with Chengiz Khan in Gujrat, p. 285; a rumour of his taking possession of Badakhshan, p. 597; when he attacked Badakhshan Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Shahrukh were unable to withstand him, p. 601; left his *amirs* in Badakhshan and went back to Bukhara, p. 602; Mirza Sulaiman attacks and defeats them; 'Abd-ul-lah sends a large army to attack him and he retires towards Kabul and the country of Badakhshan was seized by the Uzbeks, p. 603; his ambassador Mir Quraish comes with some presents; one of his *amirs* being aggrieved with him, come to Akbar with his sons, p. 611; on the day of Nauruz Akbar allows his emissary to render homage, p. 613; he is then permitted to leave with letter of condolence on the death of his father Iskandar Khan, p. 618.

'Abd-ul-Lah Niazi Shaikh, becomes a disciple of Shaikh Salim Chishti; adopts practices of *Mahdism*, p. 192; starts on a journey to the Hijaz but comes back to Bianah; summoned by Salim Khan, p. 193; Makhdum-ul-mulk gives a *fatwa* for his death; dispute between him and some learned men; Salim Khan (Shah) orders him to be banished to Hindia but the governor there becomes his disciple; is again summoned to the capital, p. 194; Salim Khan sends him to Shaikh Badh Tabib Danishmand; attacked by pestilence and becomes very weak; Salim Shah orders him to recant, and on his refusal orders him to be scourged and he dies, p. 195.

'Abd-ul-Latif Mir Qazwini, becomes Akbar's tutor, p. 233.

'Abd-ul-Matlab Khan, sent by Akbar to destroy Jalala Tariki, p. 620.

'Abd-ur-Rahman Beg, receives Aram Jan from Shaham Beg but the latter demands her back, and on his refusal he is bound and she is taken away by force, p. 227.

Abul Fazl Shaikh, author of the Akbarnama, etc., p. 1.

Abul Ma'ali Shah, sent by Humayun after his return against the Afghans, p. 132; interferes with the fiefs of *amirs* sent with him, and misappropriates imperial money; Bairam Khan orders him to go to Hisar Firoza, p. 136; being a Saiyad-zada of Tarmuz and having been held in regard by Humayun becomes vain and proud and rebels; Bairam Khan wants to crush him; Akbar makes him over to Gulgaz Kotwal and sends him to Lahore, but he escapes, p. 210; treats Akbar with disrespect, is arrested, p. 242; goes to Mecca; on his return from Mecca meets Mirza Sharf-ud-din Husain and conspires with him to create disturbances; arranges that Shah Abul Ma'āli should go and attack the family and retainers of Husain Quli Khan at *Hajipur* and

then go to Kabul to bring Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Hindustan, while Sharf-ud-din Husain should create disturbances in Hindustan; learns that Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg, relatives of Husain Quli Khan have come to attack him, p. 274; goes to Narnaul and seizes the treasure there; pursued, retires to the Punjab, p. 274: Akbar sends Shah Bidagh Khan and others in pursuit of him, p. 275; goes to Kabul and is received courteously by Mah Chuchak Begam, who gives her daughter to him in marriage, p. 276; enters into a conspiracy with some men who were hostile to Mah Chuchak Begam and kills her and takes charge of affairs at Kabul, killing Haidar Qasim Kohbar the minister, p. 277; fights with the servants of Mah Chuchak Begam and drives them out, pp. 277-278; goes to meet Mirza Sulaiman at Kabul taking Mirza Muhammad Hakim with him; is defeated, p. 278; flies but is seized and taken to Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Muhammad Hakim who order him to be put to death, p. 279.

Abul Qasim Beg, surrenders Gwaliar to Shir Shah, p. 168.

Abul Qasim Namki, sent by Raja Todar Mal to attack Junaid, is defeated and taken to flight, p. 461.

Abu Sa'id Mirza—(Sultan), grandfather of Babar, p. 1.

Abyssinian Chiefs, in Gujarat Akbar keeps them under guard, p. 375.

'Adali, Sultan Muhammad, was Mubariz Khan, brother of Bibi Bai, wife of Salim Shah Sur; murders Firuz Khan the 10 or 12 years old son of Salim Shah within three days of the latter's accession and assumes the title of Sultan Muhammad 'Adali, p. 196; distributes money to the people, p. 197; quarrel over distribution of *jagirs* in his court, p. 189; Taj Khan Karani escapes towards Bangala, p. 200; starts for Chunar and sends an army against the Karanians; Ibrahim Khan, husband of one of his sisters rebels, p. 201; sends 'Isa Khan against him, and also sets forth to attack him; goes towards Chunar; Ahmad Khan Sur, husband of another of his sisters rebels and assumes the title of Sultan Sikandar, p. 202; sends Himun Baqal towards Agra and Dehli, p. 204; defeats Muhammad Khan Kuria at Kalpi, p. 206; is slain in a battle with Khizr Khan, Muhammad Khan Kuria's son assumes the title of Sultan Bahadur, p. 207.

Adam Khan (Gakkhar), also called Sultan Adam Gakkhar; Mirza Kamran takes shelter with him; but he surrenders him to Humayun, p. 128; succeeds Sultan Sarang as head of the Gakkhar tribe, p. 266; loyal to the Mughal dynasty, p. 266; refuses to make over half the Kahkar country to Kamal Khan Kahkar; the whole of the country was then made over to Kamal Khan by order of the emperor, and Adam Khan was also made over to him and was kept in prison till he died, p. 268.

Adham Khan, son of Maham Anka, speaks against Bairam Khan to Akbar, but with no effect, p. 236; sent to Sarangpur for the conquest of Malwa, then in the possession of Baz Bahadur, p. 251; keeps Baz Bahadur's seraglio; Akbar's displeasure towards him, p. 253; meets Akbar, p. 254; surrenders all the plunder to Akbar, p. 255; returns from Malwa, p. 257; kills

Khan-i-A'azam in the audience hall at the instigation of Shahab-ud-din Ahmad Khan and Mun'im Khan and others, p. 263; is thrown from the terrace of the *harem* by Akbar and killed, p. 264.

'Adil Khan, son of Shir Shah; Salim Shah's message to him; writes to the *amirs* and asks for a guarantee of his safety before meeting Salim Shah, p. 177; comes towards Fathpur Sikri; interview with Salim Shah at Singarpur; Salim Shah wishing to act treacherously towards him directed that only two men should enter the fort of Agra with him, but his men enter it in large numbers, p. 178; seats Salim Shah on the throne; sent to Biana which is declared to be his fief by Salim Shah; but after two months Salim Shah sends Ghazi Mahali to seize and imprison him. Goes to Khawas Khan and complains of Salim Shah's breach of faith, p. 179; Khuwas Khan marches with him towards Agra; is delayed at Fathpur Sikri and does not reach Agra till the time of the morning meal, p. 180; fights with Salim Shah before the city of Agra and is defeated, p. 182.

'Adil Khan Dakhini (of Bijapur), Hakim 'Ali sent by Akbar with his ambassador, p. 519.

'Adil Muhammad Qandahari, dies in protecting Akbar from the attack of a lion, pp. 349-350.

'Adil Shah, see Shah Wali Beg Atka.

Aghrwar Khan, removed from the government of Hirat by Shah Tahmasp, p. 48; brings Sam Mirza brother of Shah Tahmasp to Qandahar, p. 49; they besiege Khwaja Kalan Beg governor of Qandahar under Kamran Mirza; the latter marches from Lahore; defeats Sam Mirza; Aghawar Khan is taken prisoner and slain, p. 49.

Ahmad Khan Sur, husband of one of the sisters of 'Adali; rebels and assumes the title of Sultan Sikandar, p. 202; his armies meet Ibrahim Khan's army; asks for peace; Ibrahim Khan rejects his prayer, but is defeated; takes possession of Agra and Delhi, p. 203; news of Humayun's arrival at Lahore; advances to Lahore, p. 204; for further accounts of him, see under Sikandar Afghan.

Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, welcomes Humayun in Sistan, p. 96.

Akbar Mirza, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad, birth at Amarkot, pp. 80-90; controversy about the correct name of the place (see note 2, p. 88), and about the correct date of the birth (see note 4, p. 89) left behind when his parents start in great haste for Irāq; Mirza 'Askari takes him to Qandahār, p. 95; brought to Humāyūn on the latter's entry into Kabul, p. 106; is exposed by Kāmrān in the battlements of Kabul to cannon and musket shots, p. 113; sent to Ghaznīn, p. 130; receives the news of Humayun's death at Kalānūr; placed on the throne by Bairām Khān, p. 208; rebellion of Shāh 'Abul Ma'āli, p. 209; measures against Sikandar Afghān, p. 210; Tardi Beg Khān proclaims his accession, p. 211; sends Muhammad Quli Khān and other *amirs* to bring the royal ladies from Kabul; directs the noblemen to hasten there, p. 212; makes 'Ali Quli Khan, Khān-i-Zamān and sends him to Sambal to put down Shādī Khan Afghān, p. 213; marches to Dehli leaving Khwāja Khizr Khān to carry on the war with Sikandar,

p. 215 ; the Mughals defeat Hīmūn's artillery on its arrival at Panipat. Great battle of Panipat, p. 217 ; news of Khwāja Khizr Khān's defeat by Iskandar or Sikandar Khān Afghān ; Akbar marches to Lahore and pursues Sikandar to the Siwalik hills, p. 221 ; arrival of Mariam Makānī and other ladies from Kabul. Leaves the camp to meet them. Sikandar surrenders, p. 222 ; return to Lahore, pp. 222-23 ; arranges for a fight between two elephants near Mānkot. The elephants go near Bairām Khān's tent, and he believes that this was arranged by Akbar and his immediate attendants, p. 224 ; Akbar arrives at Dehli ; Khān Zamān's infatuation with Shāham Beg, p. 225 ; orders Khān Zamān to send Shāham Beg back, p. 226 ; Musāhib Beg is put to death by order of Bairām Khān, p. 228 (see also note 2, p. 228) ; accident to Akbar when riding an elephant called Lakhna ; arrival at Agra, p. 230 ; great pomp of Shaikh Gadāi p. 232 ; capture of the fort of Gwaliar, p. 233 ; sends Khān Zamān to conquer, and he conquers Jaunpur ; sends Habīb 'Ali Khān to conquer Ranthambhor, he besieges it but being unable to seize it, ravages the country around, and goes back to his *jāigīr* ; Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus comes to Agra, p. 234 ; Adham Khān and his mother Māham Ānka always speak to Akbar against Bairām Khān but without effect. Akbar goes on a hunting expedition, leaving Bairām Khān at Agra, p. 236 ; Māham Anka arranges that Akbar should go to Dehli, where Mariam Makānī was at the time, to carry out her plans in conjunction with Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, p. 236 ; hearing news of the illness of Mariam Makānī Akbar goes to see her, p. 237. (Abul Fazl's and Badāonī's views in the intrigue against Bairām Khān, note 2, p. 237) ; Māham Anka and Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān poison Akbar's mind against Bairām Khān and pray to be allowed to go to Mecca, pretending fear of Bairām Khān ; Akbar's message to Bairām Khān ; Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān takes charge of affairs, p. 238 ; Bairām Khān sends Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Mahmūd, Hājī Muhammad Sistāni and Tarsūn Beg to him, pp. 238-39 ; Akbar pays no attention to Bairām Khān's message and does not permit the messengers to return, p. 239 ; Māham Ānka and Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān tell Akbar that Bairām Khān had started to conquer the Punjab ; Akbar sends message to Bairām Khān telling him that he wanted to manage the affairs of the state himself, and that he should go to Mecca, and that an ample *jaigir* should be bestowed on him, p. 241 ; starts for the Punjab ; Shāh Abul Ma'āli's rudeness to Akbar and he is placed under arrest. Akbar sends Pīr Muhammad Khān in pursuit of Bairām Khān ; sends for Mun'im Khān from Kabul, p. 243 ; sends Sh. M. Khan Atka towards the Punjab, p. 245 ; advances towards the Punjab, p. 246 ; makes Mun'im Khān vakīl and Khān Khānān ; marches towards the Siwaliks in pursuit of Bairām Khān who fortifies himself at Talwara ; Skirmish at Talwara ; Sultan Husain Jalāir's martyrdom, p. 247 ; Bairām Khān

sends message for pardon; Akbar sends Maulāna 'Abd-ul-lah Sultanpuri to bring him, p. 248; Bairām Khān is brought and receives favour and permission to go to the sacred places; Bairām Khān goes towards Gujrat, p. 249; Akbar goes to Hisar Firoza for hunting and then goes to Dehli, p. 250; sends Adham Khān to Sarangpur to conquer Malwa then in the possession of of Bāz Bahādur, p. 251; Bāz Bahādur comes out and entrenches himself, is defeated and escapes, p. 252; Akbar is displeased with Adham Khān and leaves for Malwa, p. 253; surrender of Gagraun; arrives near Sārangpur; Adham Khān meets him, p. 254; Akbar slays a tiger with his sword at Narwar; arrives at Agra; Shīr Khān, son of Muhammad Khān Bangālī advances to conquer Jaunpur, p. 255; Akbar hears of Khān Zamān's insubordination, and starts for Jaunpur; is honoured by 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek at Kalpi, p. 256; returns to Agra; Shams-ud-din Muhammad Khan Atka comes from the Punjab and is made minister, p. 257; starts on pilgrimage to Ajmir; Raja Behāri Mal father of Bhagwān Dās enters his service; sends Mirza Sharf-ud-dīn Husain to conquer Mirtha and returns to Agra, p. 258; Jaimal surrenders Mirtha; Deo Das Rajput fights, and is killed fighting bravely; Mirtha seized, pp. 259-260; ultimate submission of Bāz Bahadur, p. 262; Shāh Tahmāsp sends Saiyyad Beg as ambassador; Akbar receives him with great honour and after two months permits him to go back; Adham Khān kills Khan-i-A'zam in the audience hall at the instigation of Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and Mun'im Khān and others, p. 263; Akbar kills Adham Khān by throwing him down from the terrace of the *harem*; Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān Nishapuri conceals himself, p. 264; Akbar sends Ashraf Khān to re-assure Mun'im Khān and Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and Qāsim 'Ali Khān; in spite of which Shams-ud-dīn, Mun'im Khān and Qāsim 'Ali Khān start for Kabul, but are seized by Qāsim 'Ali a servant of Mir Mahmūd and are sent to Akbar; he pardons them, p. 265; conquest for the Kahkars or Gakhars and their country, p. 265; their loyalty from the time of Babar, p. 266; Akbar grants Mirza Sharf-ud-din Husain's *jāigīr* to Husain Quli Beg, p. 273; sends Shāh Bidāgh Khān and others in pursuit of Shah Abul Ma'āli; comes from Mathura to Dehli; attempt at Dehli on his life by Kuka Fulad, a slave of Sharf-ud-din Husain's father, pp. 275-76; wound only grazed the skin (but see note 1, p. 276); after some days leaves for Agra in a royal litter; Khwāja Muzaffar 'Ali Tarbati made minister of finance, pp. 279-80; surrender of the fort of Chunar by Fattu, a salve of 'Adil Khān to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and Asaf Khān, conquest of Garha; heroic death of Rānī Durgavati, p. 280; Akbar marches towards Narwar to capture elephants, p. 282; marches to Malwa, Rābūd and Sārangpūr; welcomed by Muhammad Qāsim Khān Naishāpūri; arrives at Mandū; 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek takes flight towards Gujrat; sends Mun'im Khān to bring him back, p. 283; arrives at Mandū, p. 285; appoints Qara Bahādur Khān governor of Mandū; returns towards

Agra; halts at Ujjain, Sārangpūr, Khirār and Sipri; goes out hunting on receiving news of a herd of elephants, p. 286; captures elephants and comes to Agra; twin sons born to him but both die after a month; builds Nagar-chain in the village of Kerani (see notes 1 and 2); account of Khwāja Mu'azzam his uncle, p. 287; he wants to kill his wife; Akbar sends Tahir Muhammad Khān but the Khwāja puts the woman to death; punishes the Khwāja and imprisons him at Gwalior, where he dies, p. 289; orders the feudatories of the Punjab to proceed to help Mīrza Muhammad Hakīm and they march towards Kabul, p. 290; Khān Kalān submits a representation; goes to Narwar and Garha to capture elephants and going alone drives a whole herd into a stockade; drives others towards the fort of Panānu, p. 292; returns to Agra; foundation of the fort of Agra; fort completed in 4 years; description, p. 293; rebellion of 'Ali Quli Khān Zamān; Akbar prejudiced against the Uzbeks on account of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek's misdeeds; sends Ashraf Khān to Iskandar Khān to bring him to the court, p. 294; sends Mun'im Khān against the rebels; crosses the Jumna; Mun'im Khān receives Akbar at Kanouj; halt of 10 days for crossing the river; marches rapidly towards Lucknow to attack Iskandar Khān, p. 297; he escapes and joins Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān who retire to Jaunpur but again advances and encamps near Narhan (see note 2, p. 298), p. 298; Akbar takes up his quarters in Jaunpur; Asaf Khān ordered to cross the river at Narhan and halt there and await orders; sends Hājī Muhammad Khān Sistānī to Sulaimān Karrāni Afghān to forbid him to help Khān Zamān, p. 299; flight of Asaf Khān, p. 300; Mun'im Khān sent to take his place, and Shujā'at Khān sent in pursuit of him; fight between Shujā'at Khān and Asaf Khān at the bank of the river near Manikpur, p. 301; Qulij Khān sent to Rhotas, p. 302; proposal of Fath Khān to surrender the fort of Rhotas, p. 302; Hasan Khān submits a petition that somebody should be sent to him to receive the keys of the fort; Fath Khān's refusal to make them over; further account of Khān Zamān and the rebels, p. 303; sends Shāh Bidāgh Khān and 'Abd-ul-Matlab Khān against Khān Zamān, pp. 303-4; it was arranged that Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān should take the mother of 'Ali Quli Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān to Akbar and pray for the pardon of Khān Zamān; Khān Zamān sends his mother and Ibrāhīm Khān and Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān to bring them to Akbar; news comes of the defeat of Mu'izz-ul-Mulk by Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān, p. 305; Akbar forgives the offences of Khān Zamān and others and order their *jāigīrs* to be restored to them, on their *vakils* obtaining fresh *farmāns* but Khān Zamān was not to cross the river as long as the imperial army remained there, p. 309; news comes of the defeat of Mu'izz-ul-Mulk; Akbar orders that the pardon should hold good; goes from Jaunpur to Benares and then to Chunar, p. 310; Khān Zamān crosses the river against Akbar's orders and

sends men to take possession of Ghazipur and Jaunpur, pp. 310-311; Akbar sends Ashraf Khān to Jaunpur to seize Khān Zamān's mother, p. 311; marches to attack Sikandar Khān and Bahādur Khān who fled towards Narhan, p. 312; arrives at Jaunpur and lays the foundation of a great palace, p. 313; Khān Khānān and others pray for the pardon of the offences of Khān Zamān and Akbar again pardons him and returns from Jaunpur to Agra, p. 314; Akbar's great delight in playing *Chaugān*, p. 315; Asaf Khān sends petition to go to Mecca, p. 316; pardons the offences of Vazīr Khān and Asaf Khān, p. 317; Mirza Sulaimān's fourth attack on Kabul, p. 318; petition of Bāqī Qāqshāl; sends Faridūn to help Mirza Muhammad Hakīm before the receipt of the petition, p. 321; sends presents by Khush Khabar Khān to Mirza Muhammad Hakīm; the latter receives him with sincerity and fealty, but later Faridūn leads him astray, and tells him that he can easily conquer Lahore; the royal standards march towards the Punjab; Mirza Muhammad Hakīm retires, p. 322; Akbar marches towards Lahore; leaves Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān at Agra; arrives at Delhi; news of the flight of Mirza Muhammad Hakīm, p. 323; sends Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Kamāl Khān Gakhar in pursuit of him, p. 324; arrives at Lahore; Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān complains against Sultan Mahmūd, of the latter's interfering with his territories, p. 325; sends *farmān* to Sultan Mahmūd; Mun'im Khān sends representation of the revolt of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza and the other Mirzas and their going away towards Mandū, p. 326; Qamargha hunt near Lahore; arrives at Lahore, p. 328; story of Hamīd Bakari; Muzaffar Khān comes with Vazīr Khān and obtains the pardon of Asaf Khān and Vazīr Khān; Asaf Khān and Majnun Khān Qāqshāl posted at Karā and Mānikpūr, p. 329; news of 'Ali Quli Khān (Khān Zamān), Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān's breaking their engagements; Mirza Mirak Razavi placed in charge of Khān Bāqī; Akbar starts for Agra; at Thanesar sees *jogis* and *sannasis* assembled at Kurukhet, at the Hindu festival of the eclipse, p. 330; complaints of the *jogis* and the *sannasis*; they fight; *jogis* defeated; Mirza Mirak Razvi escapes; Muhammad Amīn Diwāna escapes from Lahore and takes shelter with Shahab-ud-din Khān and later goes to the rebels, pp. 331-32; Akbar learns that Khān Zamān was besieging Shirgarh (Kanouj); marches towards Jaunpur; Khān Zamān raises the siege of Shirgarh and retires towards Mānikpūr, p. 332; Akbar sends an army to attack Iskandar at Audh; starts for Karā and Mānikpūr; hears that Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān want to go away to Kālpī and starts for Mānikpūr; Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān spend the night in drunken debauchery; Akbar appears in battle array, p. 333; battle; Bahādur Khān taken prisoner, p. 334; Khān Zamān killed; Bahādur Khān put to death, pp. 335-336; Akbar halts at Josi and Piyak; goes to Benares and Jaunpur and crosses the Ganges at Karā and Mānikpūr, p. 337; Mun'im

Khān, Khān Khānān, arrives from Agra, and the *jāgīrs* of Khān Zamān all transferred to him; returns to Agra, p. 338; Muhammad Quli Khān Birlās and Muzaffar Khān sent towards Audh and besiege Iskandar Khān there; Iskandar Khān escapes after crossing the Sarayu and sends a message; Muhammad Quli Khān Birlās, etc., meet Iskandar on the river, pp. 338-39; after Iskandar Khān gets promises of pardon he goes away from the river; Muhammad Quli Khān Birlās starts in pursuit but he returns as the country was held by Afghāns, p. 340; Akbar wants to conquer Chitor as Rānā Udai Singh did not acknowledge allegiance to him; as a preparatory step transfers Bianah from Hājī Muhammad Khān Sistānī to Asaf Khān who is instructed to arrange the army; goes to the town of Bārī with the avowed intention of hunting, p. 341; passes through Mumaidāna and arrives at Sui Supar which is evacuated by the servants of Rai Sarjan of Ranthambor, and is made over to Nazr Bahādur; arrives at Kolah which is made over to Shāh Muhammad Qandahārī; then at Kakraun or Gagraun; then transfers *jāgīrs* in Sarkār Mandū to Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, Shāh Bidāgh Khān, Muhammad Murād Khān and Hājī Muhammad Sistānī and directs them to attack the Mirzas; they arrive at Ujjain and find that the Mirzas had gone away to Gujrat and take possession of the country, p. 342; Rānā Udai Singh leaves Chitor in charge of Jai Mal, and takes shelter in the hills; Asaf Khān sent to Rāmpūr (see note 3) conquers the fort, and devastates the country; Husain Quli Khān sent to Udaipūr and Kambalmīr and ravages the country, p. 343; siege of Chitor prolonged, p. 344; Jai Mal slain when superintending the repair of a breach, by a bullet from Akbar's musket; garrison give up the idea of fighting and perform *Jauhar*, p. 346; the whole night passed in fighting; Akbar enters the fort and orders general slaughter, p. 347 (see note 1, p. 247); Akbar goes on pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishti Sanjari at Ajmir, p. 348; returns to Agra; adventures with lions and tigers; 'Adil Muhammad Qandahāri dies in protecting him from the lion, pp. 349-350; arrives in Alwar and directing the army to proceed to Alwar, goes to Nārnaul; interview with Shāh Nizām Nārnauli and joins the army; resolves to conquer Ranthambor; sends Ashraf Khān and Sādiq Khān there; news comes of the disturbances caused by the Mirzas in Malwa where they were besieging Ujjain; Qulīj Khān and others orders to attack them, p. 350; at Serohi Shahab-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān joins them, p. 350; Shāh Bidāgh Khān joins them at Sārangpur; the Mirzas raise the siege of Ujjain and advance towards Mandū; Muhammad Murād Khān and Mirza 'Azīz-ul-lah who had been besieged at Ujjain join the other *amīrs*; the Mirzas cross the Narbada in great confusion; and go to Gujrat where there is great confusion owing to Jhajar Khān having slain Chenghīz Khān; the *amīrs* sent in pursuit of the Mirzas return; the Mirzas seize Champānīr and Bahroch and slay Rustam Khān Rūmī treacherously,

p. 351; Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān, Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Kamāl Khān Kakhar summoned from their *jāgīrs* in the Punjab, which are transferred to Husain Quli Khān; he attends Akbar in the march to Ranthambor; returns from Ranthambor and halts at Dehli, p. 352; *Qamargha* hunt at Pālam; arrives at Ranthambor and besieges it, p. 553; siege of Ranthambor continued; fortifications breached in several places by cannon shots, p. 354; Sarjan Singh sends his sons—Duda and Bhoj to seek protection; Akbar sends Husain Quli Khān (Khān Jahān) to bring Sarjan who comes and surrenders the fort; Akbar goes on pilgrimage to Ajmir and then goes to Agra, p. 355; as his sons die in their infancy, he lays the foundation of Fathpur Sikri to be near Shaikh Salīm Chishti, and takes one of his consorts there, p. 355; Raja Ram Chand sends the keys of the fort of Kālinjar which is placed in charge of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl: birth of Sultan Salīm Mirza, p. 357; goes on pilgrimage to Ajmir on foot from Agra; returns to Delhi, p. 359; birth of Shāhzāda Shāh Murād in the house of Shaikh Salīm, p. 360; pilgrimage to Ajmir, p. 361; encamps at Nāgor; Chandar Sen son of Raja Māl Deo comes and becomes a loyal servant; so also does Raja Kalyān Mal the Raja of Bikanir and his son Rāy Singh; marries Rāy Kalyān Mal's daughter (see note 3), p. 362; hunts *gurkhars*, shoots 13 of them; comes to Ajodhan, p. 363; pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Shakarganj; marches to Lahore; at Dibālpūr Mirza 'Azīz Kokaltāsh ('Azam Khān Mirza Kuka) entertains him with great pomp and makes valuable presents, p. 364; marches from Dibālpur to Lahore; entertained by Husain Quli Khān at Lahore; goes to Hisar Firoza; the mother of Nāhid Begam widow of Mirza 'Isa Khān Turkhān at variance with Muhammad Bāqi Tarkhān her step-son comes to him and complains against the latter, p. 366: Akbar sends Muhibb 'Ali Khān and his grandson Mujāhid to Sind, p. 367; war continued for three years; sickness and pestilence in the fort; Sultān Mahmūd dies; Bakar seized; Mu'nim Khān prays for pardon of Sikandar Khān and Lakhnow is granted to him as his *jāgīrs*, p. 368; invasion of Gujrat where there is great misrule, pp. 369-370; starts for Ajmir; Mīr Muhammad Khān Atka sent in advance; Akbar arrives at Mirtha; news of the wounding of Mīr Muhammad Khān in the neighbourhood of Sirohi, p. 371; Rajputs in Sirohi slain; Akbar adopts measure for guarding the road, p. 372; Akbar goes from Sirohi to Pattan Nahrwala; at Disa news comes that the sons of Shīr Khān Fūlādī had fled towards Idar; Akbar sends Raja Mān Singh in pursuit of them; arrives at Pattan, p. 373; makes Saiyyad Ahmad Khān Bārha, governor of Pattan; Rājā Mān Singh rejoins the camp; advances towards Ahmadabād; Shīr Khān Fūlādī who was besieging 'Itmād Khān fled; Sultan Mahmūd Gujrati comes in and renders homage; 'Itmād Khān and others also do so; keys of Ahmadabad presented by 'Itmād Khān, p. 374; suspecting treachery, places the Abyssinian chiefs under guard (see also note 2,

p. 375); Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhāri Dehlavi bring the ladies of the *harem* to Akbar (see also note 3, p. 375), p. 375; Akbar determines to drive out Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza and Muhammad Husain Mirza who had taken possession of Baroch, Baroda and Surat, and marches towards Kambāyat; Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk leaves Ahmadābād, and flies towards Ahmadnagar and Idar; 'Imād Khān placed under custody; arrives at Kambayat and then at Baroda and makes over the government of Gujrat to Mirza 'Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash (Khan-i-'Azam); seige of Surat; Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha and others sent in advance, p, 376; Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza puts Rustam Khān Rumi to death, and marches past close to the imperial camp; Akbar marches in pursuit, leaving prince Sultan Salīm with some *amīrs* in the camp; pursuit continued during the night and the greater part of the day; at night arrives at the bank of the river Mahindri (Mahi), p. 377; places Kunwar Mān Singh in charge of the van-guard; crosses the river on his horse and arrives at the gate of the fort of Sarnāl, p. 378; the Mirza's men oppose him; Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza leaves Sarnāl; Akbar issues order for pursuing him; Akbar fights side by side with Raja Bhagwān Dās and defeats the Mirzas, p. 379; returns to the camp; marches to conquer Surat, p. 382; further proceedings for the conquest of Surat; sends Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and Sādiq Khān to reconnoitre the fort, and prevent anybody from getting out of it, p. 383; sends Raja Todar Mal, and he submits a report; arrives near Surat and the siege commences, p. 384; garrison reduced to great straits; Maulāna Nizām-ud-dīn Lārī is sent to pray for quarter, p. 385; Maulāna Nizām-ud-dīn Lārī is allowed to render homage and to depart; sends Qāsim 'Ali Khān and Khwāja Daulat Nāzir to give the garrison the assurance of safety, p. 386; gives orders for the repair of the fort, p. 387; story of some great mortars and cannon; orders the mortars to be sent to Agra; command of the fort entrusted to Qulīj Muhammad Khān, p. 388; Raja Bahārjiu of Baglāna sends Sharf-ud-dīn Husain Mirza, who had rebelled 10 years ago and he is placed in custody; returns to Ahmadābād; at Bahroj the mother of Chenghīz Khān complains against Jhujār Khān Habshi and the latter was killed by being trampled upon by an elephant, p. 389; the Mirzas decide that Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza should go to Hindustan for creating disturbances there, and that Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shāh Mirza should get Shīr Khān Fūlādī to join them and besiege Pattan; Akbar sends Saiyyad Muhammad Khān Bārha to repair the fort and sends Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khān, etc., to attack the Mirzas in concert with A'azam Khān, p. 390; Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shīr Khān Fūlādī defeat the van-guard and the right wing of the imperial army, but Khan-i-A'azam and Shāh Bidāgh Khān attack the enemy when they were dispersed in search of booty, and defeat them, p. 391; Akbar arrives at Ahmadābād from Surat, p. 392; leaves Ahmadābād, arrives at Sitāpur and proceeds via Jālor

to Fathpur, p. 394; arrives at Ajmir, p. 397; leaves the camp at Sangānīr and comes by forced marches to Bajūna; stays there for three days for an auspicious moment; arrives at the capital, and thence at Fathpur; sends Husain Quli Khān to Nagorkot, p. 398; Bidhichand, son of Raja Jaichand rebels; confers Nagarkot on Birbar and orders Husain Quli Khān to make it over to him, p. 399; conquest of Nagarkot; news received by Akbar of the approach of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza, p. 401; Sa'īd Khān produces the head of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza; news of fresh disturbances in Gujrat, p. 403; Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk intends attacking Ahmadābād; Muhammad Husain Mirza intends reconquering Surat but fails on account of Qulīj Khān's advance; Khān A'azam sends Naurang Khān and Hamīd Bukhāri to meet Muhammad Husain Mirza, and himself advances to crush Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk, p. 404; Akbar decides to march to Gujrat; grants allowances and rewards to the soldiers, p. 406; sending the *amīrs* and troops in advance; sends back Husain Quli Khān after conferring on him the title of Khān Jahān to the Punjab, p. 407; directs Mirza Yusuf Khān and Muhammad Zamān to accompany him and starts on a she camel; arrives at Tuda (70 miles from Agra and 50 from Fathpur Sikri, see note 3) next day at Hans Mahal; at Mu'izzabad on the night of the 3rd day, p. 404; arrives at Ajmir; leaves Ajmir and marches all night, p. 409; arrives at Disa, p. 410; sends for Mīr Muhammad Khān to come and join him at Bālisāna; Mīr Muhammad Khān and others come, p. 411; inspects the troops and arranges the army; advances towards Ahmadābād, p. 412; arrives at Kari, and then within three *karohs* of Ahmadābād, p. 413; nine days to come from Fathpur to Ahmadābād; refuses to make surprise attack on enemy, p. 414; issues orders to cross the river; hand to hand fight, p. 415; army in distress; attacks in person, p. 416; Muhammad Husain Mirza is brought before him, p. 417; goes to Ahmadābād; sends Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān and Naurang Khān towards Bahroj and Champānīr and Raja Bhagwān Dās, etc. to Idar; grants government of Pattan to Mīr Muhammad Khān and Dulqa and Danduqa to Vazīr Khān, p. 420; returns via Mahmūdābād, Dulqa, Kāri, Sitpur, Sirohi and Ajmir, p. 421; performs usual pilgrimage; then goes to Huba; sends Raja Todar Mal to test the assessments of Gujrat; marches via Tuda and Bajuna, p. 422; arrives at Fathpur; circumcision of the princes, p. 423; appoints Muzaffar Khān prime-minister; orders the debts of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhāri and Saif Khān Koka to be paid from the imperial treasury, p. 424; sends Rājā Todar Mal to serve under Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān in Bengal; makes a second pilgrimage to Ajmir in the course of the year as he might not be able to make another next year, on account of the expedition to conquer Bang (Bengal), pp. 425-26; reception of Khwāja 'Abd-ush-Shahīd grandson of Khwaja Nāsir-ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-lah Ahrār (see note 2), p. 426; passes orders for the protection of cultivated lands near the imperial camp, and for giving

compensation for all damages; arrives at Ajmir, p. 427; takes Shāhzāda Sultan Salīm with him and the latter pays reverence to the shrine; weighing ceremony of Sultan Salīm; return journey to the capital; arrival at Fathpur; Sulaimān Karrāni dies when Akbar was besieging Surat, p. 429; Bayezid his eldest son was put to death by the *amīrs*; orders Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān to chastise Dāūd who was at Hājīpūr, and to conquer Behar, p. 430; sends the army by road under Mirza Yusuf Khān Rizvi, and leaves Agra in the charge of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān Naishāpūrī and starts in a boat, p. 434; the story of an incestuous Brahman, p. 436; Akbar's repulsive punishment, p. 437; arrives at Ilāhabās; great crowd of pilgrims, p. 438; arrival at Benares; at Kori near the confluence of the Kudi (the Gomati or Gumti) and the Ganges, decides that the ladies and the princes should be left at Jaunpur; at Yehyapur gets petition from Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān to come quickly; leaves ladies and princes at Jaunpur and starts for Bengal, p. 439; receives news of the death of Sultan Mahmūd Khān and of the acquisition of the fort of Bakkar; starts again by boat and army goes side by side by land; elephants cross the river at the ford of Khwājagipūr, p. 440; deer hunt by *chitas* taken as an omen of Dāūd's fate; halts at Gangdāspūr; orders Mirak Isfahāni to examine *Jafar*, p. 441; encamps at Chausa and then at Domni, p. 442; arrives near Patna; military conference; decides on the capture of Hājīpūr first; orders Khān-i-'Ālam to attack Hājīpūr; Raja Gajpati supports Khān-i-'Ālam, p. 443; description of the battle; Dāūd's army defeated, p. 444; reconnoitres the fort of Patna; flight of Dāūd, p. 445; Sridhar Bangāli (Raja Bikramājit) follows Dāūd with the treasures and Gujar Khān Karrāni with the elephants; enters Patna with Khān Khānān; captures 56 elephants left behind by Dāūd, p. 446; pursues Gujar Khān; crosses the Punpun on horse back; *Amīrs* capture about 400 elephants (see note 2) at Daryāpur; sends Shahbāz Khān Mīr Bakhshi, etc., in pursuit of Gujar Khān, p. 447; starts for Daryāpur on the return journey; arrives at Ghiāspūr, p. 448; army sent back under Mirza Yusuf Khān; starts back and halts between Daryāpūr and Ghiāspūr; sends Muzaffar Khān and Farhat Khān to capture Rhotas; arrives at Patna and then at Fathpur Bihta (see note 3), p. 449; arrives at Jaunpur, leaves Mirza Yusuf Khān and Sādiq Muhammad Khān in charge of the army, p. 450; leaves Jaunpur; halts at Khānpūr; Qāzī Nizām Badakhshi enters his service, p. 451; receives petition from the Khān Khānān containing the news of the capture of Garhi, p. 452; arrives at Iskandarpur and receives news of the capture of Tānda; Dāūd abandons Tānda and the Khān Khānān enters it; goes to Dehli, p. 453; from Dehli goes towards Ajmir; Khān Jahān comes to wait on him, and the Khān A'azam comes from Ahmadābād; at Ajmir does the usual pilgrimage, p. 454; sends army against Chandar Sen, son of Māl Deo; leaves Ajmir for the capital, p. 455; attempts to extend

cultivation; *Karoris* appointed to be in charge of areas which might yield one *karor* of *Tangas* to bring the land under cultivation in 3 years; *Amīrs* also ordered to appoint *Karoris*, p. 456; sends Shāh Quli Khān Mahram, etc. to conquer the fort of Siwāna which was in the possession of descendants of Māldeo; afterwards sends Shahbāz Khān Kambu; who obtained possession of it in a short time; gets petition from *vakīls* of Sultan Mahmūd of Bakar to report the latter's death, and to say that they had no faith in Muhibb 'Ali Khān and Mujāhid Khān; but would make over the fort to any one else whom Akbar would send; sends Mīr Gesu Bakāwalbegi, to whom the fort was surrendered; pestilence and famine in Gujrat, p. 457; war of Khān Khānān with Dāūd Khān Afghān and the defeat of the latter; Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān sends Rājā Todarmal in pursuit of Dāūd, and appoints Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl to govern Ghoraghāt; Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl defeats Sulaimān Mangli, p. 459; Akbar's preference for the Society of learned and wise men; orders the foundation of the 'Ibādat Khāna, p. 470; passes his time there on Fridays, etc. in the companionship of pious men; his gifts of gold and silver (see note 2, p. 470), p. 471; from the time of the conquest of Gujrat he granted help to pilgrims every year from Hindustan, Māwarā-un-Nahr and Khurāsān, p. 472; coming of Mirza Sulaiman, p. 473; he sends petition; sends him money, etc. and sends Rājā Bhagwān Dās to welcome him and to bring him to the presence; A'azam Khān summoned for Gujrat, p. 475; Akbar displeased with him, about the branding of horses, etc. and the latter resigns his office and secludes himself in his garden at Agra, p. 476; orders Khān Jahān to reconquer Badakhshan, p. 478; Khān Khānān takes no warning, of the pestilence at *Gaur*, his death; Shāham Khān Jalāir becomes temporary head of government, p. 479; Khān Jahān made governor of Bengal, p. 480; owing to his being sent to Bengal the order about his going to Badakhshan remained in abeyance; Akbar goes to Ajmir, p. 481; performs the usual pilgrimage, p. 483; Dāūd attacks Tānda; the *amīrs* abandon Tānda, and retire to Hajipur, Patna; orders Khān Jāhān to take the *amīrs* at Hajipur, Patna with him, and attack Dāūd Khān; he advances and defeats the Afghāns left to defend Garhi; Akbar sends Mān Singh to attack Rānā Kika, p. 484; returns to Fathpur, p. 485; battle near Ak Mahal; Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah sallies out and is killed; orders Muzaffar Khān to join Khān Jahān, p. 486; Khān Jahān reports a victory; Rājā Mān Singh reports a victory over Rānā Kika, p. 487; battle of Ghati Haldeo (Haldighat) (Badaoni was present, see note 2), p. 488; defeat of Rānā Kikā; war of Khān Jahān against Dāūd, p. 489; rebellion of Gajpati, attacks Farhat Khān and his son Mirak Radāi who are both slain, p. 490; moves out of Fathpur to start for Behar, but Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lah Khān brings the head of Dāūd; account of the battle, p. 491; starts on his annual pilgrimage to Ajmir; Rānā Kikā takes shelter in mountains and woods; great distress

among the troops for want of provisions and Kunar Mān Singh's prohibition of plunder; Akbar displeased with the latter; advances from Ajmir towards the Rānā's territory, p. 493; appoints Khwāja Shāh Mansur as Diwān, p. 494; appoints Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, Qulīj Khān and Asaf Khān as guides of the caravans of pilgrims to pass through Rānā Kikā's territory, and orders them to devastate it and to attack Rānā Kikā if they find him; orders Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Rājā Bhagwān Dās to halt at Kokandah and Qulīj Khān to accompany the pilgrims, p. 495; arranges to attack Rānā Kikā; sends 'Ali Murād to bring Qulīj Khān; receives a report from Sultan Khwāja from Surat that the pilgrim ships were being held up by the Firangis and requesting that Qulij Khān might be sent to Surat, p. 496; arrives near Banswala (Banswara) and Dungarpur; Rājā Todar Mal comes from Bengal and brings elephants and other booty; Qulīj Khān comes and is sent to Surat to arrange for the ships leaving for the Hijaz, p. 497; sends a number of great *amīrs* under Shahāb Khān to attack Rājā 'Ali Khān the ruler of Asīr and Burhānpur as he had not carried out the duty of submission; sends Rājā Todar Mal to check the revenue assessment and to settle the affairs of Gujrat, p. 498; returns to Fathpur; new disturbance in Gujrat, created by Muzaffar Husain Mirza, son of Gulrukh Begam under the guidance of Mihr 'Ali, pp. 500-501; Muzaffar Husain Mirza and Rājā Todar Mal come to him, p. 502; army under Shahāb Khān invades Asīr and Burhānpūr; Rājā 'Ali Khān shuts himself up and then makes his submission; Qutb-ud-dīn Husain Khān separates himself from the other *amīrs* and goes away to his *jagirs*, p. 503; starts for pilgrimage to Ajmir; Mīr Abu Turāb and Rājā Todar Mal arrive at Tūda; return journey, p. 504; orders a fort to be built at Ambirsar finished within 20 days, pp. 504-505; named Manoharnagar after the name of the son of Rai Lonkarn owner of the land in which it was built; appearance of Zu Zuaba, p. 506; goes to Nārnaul; visits Shaikh Nizām Nārnauli; goes to Dehli; goes on pilgrimage to his father's tomb and to those of the great Shaikhs and then to Sarāi Bauli, where Haji Habīb-ul-lah produces before his eyes the articles he had brought from Goa (see note 5, pp. 507-508), where he had been sent, and then at Pālam where he rested in the house of the head man who was exempted from the payment of all rent or revenue, pp. 507-508; news of Muzaffar Husain Mirza being seized by Rāja 'Ali Khan; orders the latter to send him; horscope of Akbar by Qāzī Ghiās-ud-dīn Jāmi produced by 'Ali Akbar Mashhadi; Q. Gh. Jāmī rewarded, p. 509; arrives at Pattan-i-Shaikh Farīd, p. 510; stops rain by blowing on a mirror (see note 1); his *qamargha* hunt at Nandna Rhotas, p. 511; *qamargha* stopped; usual gifts to *faqīrs*; shaves off his head; starts from the place; Mariam Makani comes from Agra to see him, treats her with honour and affection, p. 512; returns to Agra; from Sallanpur goes by boat and arrives at Dehli;

from Dehli starts on pilgrimage to Ajmir, p. 513; performs pilgrimage on the anniversary day of the death of the Khwāja and returns to Fathpur; the building of the 'Ibadat Khānā; passes Friday nights without sleep; makes gifts and offerings; sends Ma'sūm Khān, Koka of Mirza Hakīm, who came from Kabul, to Behar and also promotes him after he defeats Kālā Pahār, p. 514; appoints Mulla Taib as *diwān* of Behar and Hajīpur, Purkhotam as *Bakhshi*, Mulla Majdi as *amīn* and Shamshir Khān Khwāja Sarā as the superintendent of exchequer (see note 1), p. 515; Maqsūd Jauhari brings Mirza Muzaffar Husain Khān from Rājā 'Ali Khān; sends Shahbāz Khān and others against Rānā Kikā, p. 516; appoints Khwāja Muhammad Yehya to be Mīr Haj and sends him to Mecca; appoints Muzaffar Khān governor of Bengal in place of Khān Jahān, deceased, and Rizvi Khān and others to be Bakhshi, etc. p. 517; sends Mulla 'Ishqi to Kashmir; 'Ali Khān the ruler of Kashmir receives him with honour and sends him back with tribute; pardons Muzaffar Husain Mirza and grants favours to him, p. 518; orders that some hungry persons should be fed every day with the food prepared for him and then it should be served to him; sends Hakīm 'Ali to Bijāpur to 'Adil Khan Dakhini, p. 519; Mīr Nizām comes as ambassador from Mirza Shāhrukh; convenes Majlis-i-'urus; decides on reading the public prayers on Fridays and 'ids following the example of Muhammad the Prophet and does so on Friday the 18th Jamadi-ul-awwal; (see note 2), p. 520; sends Mirza Fulād and Khwāja Khatīb as ambassadors to Abdullah Khān Uzbek laying stress on the importance of their alliance and co-operation; discussion as to whom "*ijtihād*" and "*mujtahid*" should be applied, p. 523; decides that he is the *mujtahid*; starts on the annual pilgrimage to Ajmir, p. 524; story of the man whom a tiger refrains from attacking on being adjured by Akbar's name; arrival at Ajmir; returns to the capital, p. 525; orders the abolition of the *tamagha* and *Zakāt* (see note 3, p. 526), p. 526; rebellion in Bengal, p. 527; Muzaffar Khān's harsh proceedings towards Bābū Khān and Khaldi Khān, p. 528; orders Muzaffar Khān to put Raushan Beg to death (see note 2, p. 529); order carried out; the Qaqshals resolve to rebel, p. 529; sends *farman* to conciliate them, they return outwardly their allegiance and ask that Rizvi Khān and Patar Das should be sent to them; Baba Khān seizes Rizvi Khān and Mir Abul Ishaq sends money to meet the expenses of the army, p. 531; Humayun Quli Farmuli and Tarkhan Diwana desert from his army; the siege of Gour lasts for 4 months; great scarcity in the rebel army, p. 536; appoints Sharif Khān Atka, governor of Malwa and Khān A'zam, governor of Behar; sends Shahbaz Khān Kambu to reinforce the army of Bengal, p. 538; goes to the house of Sharif Khān Atka on his appointment as governor of Malwa, he arranges a grand entertainment (see note 3, pp. 538-539), p. 539; Hakim-ul-mulk sent as Mir Haji; report from Rājā Todar Mal that Khwaja Shah Mansur had written harsh letters to Muhammad Ma'sum

Farankhudi about sums due from him and to Tarsun Muhammad Khān, pp. 539-40; deprives Khwāja Shah Mansur of his office for a few days, and places him in the custody of Shāh Qūli Khān; appoints Vazīr Khān *Diwan-i-Kul*; story of a man without ears who could hear (see note 1, p. 540), could not go on his annual pilgrimage to Agra, and so Shahzada Danial was sent, p. 540; Ma'sum Farankhudi went to Jaunpur and began rebellion; sends Peshrau Khān to assure him and grants Audh to him as *jagir* and Jaunpur to Tarsun Muhammad Khān, p. 541; Niyabāt Khān rebels in Prayag and attacks the fort of Kara which was in the *jagir* of Isma'el Qūlī Khān the latter's servant fought and was killed; Niyabār Khan then besieges Kara and devastates the neighbouring country; sends Isma'el Quli Khān and others to put him down, p. 542; advances towards the Punjab leaving Shahzāda Danial in the capital city of Fathpur, p. 544; passes through Lahore; Mirza Muhammad Hakim arrives in Lahore; Mahdi Qasim Khān, Man Singh and Sa'id Khān and Rājā Bhagwan Das shut themselves up in the fort of Lahore; arrives at Panipat; Malik Sani Kabuli alias Vazīr Khān the *diwan* of Mirza Muhammad Hakim takes up his quarters in the house of Khwāja Shāh Mansur who renders homage to him; Akbar's suspicions; puts Khwāja Shah Mansur into prison, p. 545; orders his execution, p. 547; has a *qamargha* hunt and then marches to the Nilab and there lays the foundation of a great fort which he names Atak (Attock) Benares; orders Man Singh and others to cross the Nilab; they take possession of Purshur; Shahzāda Shāh Murād and Qulīj Khān and others sent to conquer Kabul, p. 548; Khwāja Abul Fazl brings petition from Mirza Muhammad Hakim for the pardon of his offences; sends Haji Habib-ul-lah with them offering certain conditions; crosses the Sind and sends Nizam-ud-din to Shahzada Shāh Murad to enquire of the *amīrs* whether they would be able to go to Kabul if he (Akbar) did not go otherwise how he (Akbar) should come; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad takes the message to Shahzada Shah Murad at Jalalabād, p. 549; proceeds towards Purshur leaving Shahzada Sultan Salim in the camp; Haji Muhammad Khān Ahadi brings false news of Shahzada Shah Murad's defeat at Surkhab, p. 550; continues the march and the news of the victory comes the next day; enters the fort of Kabul; hears that Mirza Muhammad Hakim wanted to go to the Uzbeks and sends Latif Khwāja to him at Ghurband; Mirza Muhammad Hakim makes protestation of loyalty before Latif Khwāja, Akbar bestows Kabul on Mirza Muhammad Hakim and retires to the camp at Jalālābād; a detachment was sent from Jalālābād to ravage the hilly country of the Kafirs of Kanur, p. 551; his army crosses the river by the bridge built by Muhammad Qāsim Khān; arrives at Lahore and bestows the government of the Punjab to Sa'id Khān, Rājā Bhagwan Das and Kunar Man Singh and then returns to the capital city of Fathpur, p. 552; makes enquiries into the matter of Khwāja Shah Mansur

when in Kabul, p. 553 ; found that Karam-ul-lah brother of Shahbaz Khān had fabricated the *farmans* and had brought about the punishment of Khwāja Shah Mansur ; occupies himself in Fathpur in munificent charity ; the news of the death of Haji Begam one of the wives of Humayun comes ; A'azam Khān, governor of Hajipur and Patna reported the condition of Bengal and *amīrs* are sent to Bengal ; description of the *Nauruz* festivities, p. 555 ; rebellion of certain *amīrs* in Bengal in the absence of Khān-i-A'azam ; defeat and death of Khabisa, p. 556 ; news of the return of Gulbadan Begam and Salima Sultan Begam from the Hijaz and they arrive at Ajmir ; Shahzada Sultan Salim sent to welcome them and also to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'in-ud-din ; the Begams arrive at Fathpur and are receives with honour by Akbar ; Muhammad Sadiq Khān arrives from Bihar and is sent back with some other *amīrs* to destroy 'Asi Kabuli ; Mir Abu Turab and I'tmad Khān return from Ka'aba, p. 557 ; Mir Abu Turāb brings a stone said to have an imprint of the prophets foot ; weighing ceremony of Shahzada Sultan Salim ; usual *Nauruz* festivities, p. 559 ; news from Bengal to the effect that Khān-i-A'azam had entered Tanda and Khāldi Khān and Jabbar Bardi and Mirza Beg Qaqshāl had separated from 'Asi Kabuli who had fled to 'Isa, a zamindar and Bengal had come again under the imperial government ; Government of Gujrat is bestowed upon I'tmad Khān in order to ameliorate the condition of the country, p. 560 ; appointment of various officers in Gujrat in different posts, p. 561 ; Shāhbaz Khān sent to Bengal in succession to A'azam Khān to make over the whole country to military *jāgīrdārs* to extirpate 'Asi Kabuli ; Mahabharat ordered to be translated into Persian as the *Razm-nāma* ; news comes that Khān A'azam had sent Shaikh Farid to Qatlu Khān Afghan in order to negotiate a peace ; Qatlu Khān offers to serve him but enmity arises between Shaikh Farid and Bahādur Kurfarah and Bahādur blocks Shaikh Farid's way and an engagement takes place in which many of Shaikh Farid's followers are slain but he escapes p. 562 ; arrival of Burhan-ul-mulk ; a false Burhan-ul-mulk had come and received a *jāgīr* but was caught and imprisoned when the right Burhan-ul-mulk came ; I'tmad Khān ordered to take away Sirohi, p. 563 ; sends Mirza Khān and Qulij Khān to Gujrat ; they join Shahāb Khān at Pattan ; the fort of Pattan is repaired, p. 567 ; Shīr Khān Fulādi sent by Muzaffar to attack Pattan ; Nizam-ud-din defeats Shir Khān ; Mirza Khān and the *jāgīrdārs* of Ajmir sent to fight Muzaffar Gujrati and Qutb-ud-din Khān and the *jāgīrdārs* of Mālwa ; the latter on hearing of Qutb-ud-din Khān's death halted at Sultanpur, pp. 570-571 ; founded the city of Ilahabas at Jusi Pyak ; returns to Agra and Fathpur on hearing of the slaying of Qutb-ud-din Khān but at Itawah hears the news of the victory, p. 577 ; news comes of Akbar's march towards Kabul and his intention to conquer Badakhshan, p. 588 ; Jām and Amin Khān make fresh declaration of

loyalty, p. 595; confers the government of Gujrat on A'azam Khān and sends for Nizam-ud-din to attend on himself, p. 595; at Fathpur Zain Khān Koka and Rājā Ram Chand waited on the 30th year of the Ilahi era; usual *Nauruz* festivals, p. 596; A'azam Khān comes from Patna and Hajipur to wait upon; representation comes from Mirza Muhammad Hakim that 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek had seized Badakhshan and Mirza Shahrukh and Mirza Sulaiman were coming to Hindustan; representation of Kunar Man Singh, p. 597; approves the representation of Kunar Man Singh; report of Rājā Bhagwan Das, p. 598; marriage festival of Shahzada Sultan Salīm with a daughter of Rājā Bhagwan Das; description of the ceremony (see note 2), p. 599; 31st year of the Ilahi era; Mir Murtaza and Khudāwand Khān *amīrs* of the Dakhins arrive at the threshold; favours the Dakhin *amīrs* on the day of the Nauruz, p. 600; honours Amīr Fath-ul-lah Shirāzi with the title of 'Azd-ud-daula; representation came from Kabul with the effect that Mirza Sulaimān had obtained possession of Badakhshan, p. 601; report from Kunar Man Singh and Khwāja Shams-uddin Muhammad that Faridun had started for Khaibar pass and had been defeated by the Afghans, etc., p. 602; news of the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim; Akbar's kindness to Mirza Muhammad Hakim in spite of his hostile behaviour; performs the rites of mourning, p. 603; takes measures for the protection of Kabul and Ghazni; wants to grant Kabul to the sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim but the *amīrs* pointed out that they would not be able to govern the country owing to their youth (see note 1, p. 604) and the Uzbek army had seized Badakhshan and wanted to attack Kabul; Akbar decides to march to the Punjab; sends the Khān Khānān (Mirza Khān) to Gujrat and A'azam Khān having been appointed to conquer the Dakhin, Azd-ud-daula was sent to arrange the affairs of Dakhin, p. 604; arrives at Dehli; starts forward and arrives on the bank of the Sutlej; here news came that Kunar Man Singh has sent men to Peshawar and Shāh Beg, a servant of Mirza Muhammad Hakim had fled to Kabul; representation from Kunar Man Singh, p. 605; report of Muhammad 'Ali Khazanchi, p. 606; favours the sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and the *amīrs*; sent Rājā Bhagwān Dās and others to conquer Kashmir and Ismail Qulī Khān to attack the Beluchis and Zain Khān Koka against the Afghans of Swad and Bajaur, pp. 607, 608; sent Rājā Todar Mal with a great army to redress the disaster, p. 610; arrival of Nazr Be Uzbek with the sons of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek; sends Farid Badakhshi and others to bring them to the Khaibar pass; the Tārikis tried to obstruct them but were defeated; events of the 32nd year of the Ilahi era; Nauruz ceremony at Atak, pp. 611-612; displeased with *amīrs* for collecting revenues from the manufacture of shawals, etc.; on the day of *Nauruz* allows the emissaries of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek and Nazr Be Uzbek to render homage, p. 613; starts for Lahore, appoints Isma'el Quli Khān with a

large army to attack the Afghans, p. 614; orders Kunar Man Singh to go to Kabul on Isma'el Quli Khān's arrival; orders Saiyyad Hamid Bukhari to reinforce Isma'el Quli Khān and to remain at Peshawar; arrives at Lahore; head of 'Arab Bahadur brought; weighing ceremony, p. 615; marriage of Shahzada Salīm with the daughter of Rai Singh, p. 616; dissension amongst the Kashmiris; troops enters Kashmir; Ya'qub escapes to the mountain; the troops take possession of Kashmir and the officers were sent to all the *parganas*, p. 617; honours Muhammad Quli Khān; defeat of Ya'qūb who afterwards joins the imperial troops; sent Hakim Abul Fath as ambassador; sent Mir Sadr Jahan to offer condolences for the death of Iskandar Khān, p. 618; news of the attack by the Tarikis on Saiyyad Hamid Bukhari at Peshawar and that Saiyyad Hamid Bukhari was killed; sends Zain Khan Koka and Shah Quli Khān Mahram and other *amīrs* to extirpate the Tarikis, p. 619; events of the 33rd year of the Ilahi era; Nauruz festival as usual; Jalala Tariki having fled towards Bangash; sent 'Abd-ul-Matlab Khān and others to destroy him, p. 620; affairs connected with Sadiq Khān Jani Beg, etc., p. 621; events of the 34th year of the Ilahi era; starts on a visit to Kashmir and Kabul and arrives at Bhimbar, p. 623; leaves the inmates of the *harem* with prince Shāh Murad; arrives at Srinagar, p. 624; felt sorrow; Faizi's elegy on the death of Amīr Fath-ul-lah, p. 625; starts for Atak by the route of Pakhli with the object of visiting Kabul, p. 626; crosses the Nilab and arrives at Kabul; stays in Kabul for 2 months, p. 627; news of the death of Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Rājā Todar Mal; starts on the return journey; the government of Kabul was conferred on Muhammad Qāsim Khān and the government of Gujrat was bestowed on Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash, p. 628; the *nauruz* ceremony on the 35th year celebrated at Lahore, p. 629; the court being at Lahore most of the rulers of those parts came and did homage; Jani Beg however did not come, p. 631; Mirza Khān Khānān who was governor of Multan and Bhakkar was ordered to conquer Sind and the latter advanced with a number of *amīrs* for the conquest; events of the 36th year of the Ilahi era, p. 632; sent money and grain to Khān Khānan and also sent Rai Rai Singh by way of Jaisalmir to help him; events of the 37th year of the Ilahi era, p. 637; starts on a hunting expedition to Kashmir; leaves Sultān Salim in the great camp and advances rapidly to the Chinab; hears that Yadgār nephew and *naib* of Yusuf Khān Rizawi in Kashmir had risen in revolt and Qazi 'Ali the *diwān* of Kashmir and Husain Beg Shaikh 'Umari the *tahsildār* had fought with him. Qazi 'Ali was slain and Husain Beg had fled to Rajauri, pp. 638-39; sends Shaikh Farid Bakhshi, etc. against Yadgar and himself crosses the Chinab; news comes that the Khān Khānān has besieged Jani Beg for 2 months, p. 639; defeats of Jani Beg and his submission; Akbar marches towards Kashmir; near Bhimbar news comes that a body of Yadgār's men, etc. are blocking

the path of the imperial troops at the pass of Kartal but have fled on being defeated, pp. 641-642 ; leaves the inmates of the *harem* in charge of Shāhzādā Danial and marches rapidly towards Kashmir ; Nizam-ud-din accompanies him ; directs the prince to wait on the fort of Rhotas, p. 643 ; arrives at Kashmir, i.e. Srinagar and remains there for 28 days and enjoys himself by going about in boats and shooting water fowls ; confers the government of Kashmir again on Mirzā Yusuf Khān Rizavi ; he starts on the return journey in a boat for Baramula ; he traversed the Zain-lanka on Ular lake (see also note 3), p. 644 ; from Baramula Akbar travels by road to Pakhli and then marches rapidly to Rhotas, p. 645 ; then marches towards Lahore and after travelling for 20 days arrives there ; news of Rājā Man Singh had fought a great battle with the son and brothers of Qutlu Afghan who after the latter's death had been in possession of Orissa and had annexed that country ; events of the 38th year of the Ilahi era, p. 646 ; the festivities of the Nauruz-i-Sultani, p. 647 ; sends a pavilion, etc. to Mirzā Rustam on his arrival on the bank of the Chinab to meet him and their presents, pp. 649-50 ; turns his attention to the conquest of the Deccan and appoints Shāhzādā Danial to be the commander of the army ; comes to the river of Sultanpur (the Bias) to hunt and sends for the Khān Khānān p. 651 ; the Khān Khānān waits on him at Shaikhupur ; honours Khān Khānān, p. 652 ;

Alai Shaikh, see Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah, Niazi.

'Alam Khān, Governor of Kalpi ; brought by Humāyun to submit to Babar, p. 35.

'Alam Khān (Ludi) (1), sent to Babar by Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān, p. 5 ; Babar sends some amīrs with him, they arrive at Lahore ; he orders them to advance to Dehli ; they refuse, p. 5 ; besieges Dehli, p. 6 ; proclaims himself as Sultān 'Ala-ud-din and fights with Sultān Ibrahim, p. 7 ; his confederates disperse in search of plunder, p. 8 ; Sultan Ibrahim defeats the few followers that remain with him, p. 8 ; takes shelter in Kinkuta, p. 8 ; comes and makes his submission to Babar, p. 9 ; sent by Babar to Badakhshan ; escapes from Qila' Zafar, afterwards finds his way to Gujrat and joins Sultān Bahadur ; when the latter escapes from Mandu he and Sadr Khān were seized ; had his sinews cut (paiburīdand) (note 1, p. 52).

'Ali Khān, ruler of Asir and Burhanpur ; Faizi sent to him as ambassador, p. 633.

'Ali Murād, sent by Akbar to bring Qulīj Khān from Idar so that he might arrange for the starting of the pilgrim ships, p. 496.

'Ali Qulī Khān, receives the title of Khān-i-Zaman and is sent to Sambal to put down Shadi Khān Afghan, one of the *amīrs* of Sultān Muhammad 'Adali, p. 213 ; sends detachment to keep watch over the enemy ; is defeated and many of his men are slain ; summoned by Tardi Beg Khān to meet Himun near Dehli, arrives after the battle, p. 213 ; infatuation for Shaham Beg, p. 225 ; sends Burj Ali to Dehli, p. 226 ; sends to conquer Jaunpūr, conquers it, p. 234 ;

rebels, p. 294 ; guards Ashraf Khān who was sent by Akbar to Iskandar Khān and whom the latter takes to Khān Zamān to Kara and Manikpur, p. 295 ; plunders the country round, p. 296 ; defeats Shāhbāz Khān and Shaham Khān ; Majnun Khān Qaqshal and Asaf Khān prepare to withstand him ; Akbar advances to attack him, and then marches with great rapidity to attack Iskandar Khān at Lucknow ; Iskandar flies and joins Khān Zamān ; the latter then retires to Jaunpūr ; Akbar marches to Jaunpūr, p. 298 ; further accounts of the rebellion ; sends Bahadur Khān and Iskandar Khān to Sarwar, p. 303 ; negotiations prolonged to 4 or 5 months, p. 304 ; on Akbar's marching towards Jaunpur raises the siege of Shirgarh and retires towards Manikpur, p. 332 ; Akbar starts for Karra and Manikpur and hears that 'Ali Quli Khān and Bahadur Khān want to go away to Kalpi and starts for Manikpur ; 'Ali Quli Khān spends the night in drunken debauchery, p. 333 ; battle, p. 334 ; killed, p. 335 ; his followers seized and made over to the guards, p. 337.

'Ali Quli Khān Sheibāni attacks, defeats and puts Qambar Diwana to death, p. 136.

'Ali Quli Sistāni, sends by Humāyun to defeat the Afghans, p. 132.

Amin Khān, Governor of Junagarh ; Shīr Khān Fuladi comes to him, p. 391.

Amin Khān Ghuri, ruler of Surat ; receives presents from Muzaffar Gujrati, p. 578 ; but does not join him, p. 579 ; sends his son to Mirzā Khān (Khān Khānān), p. 580 ; Muzaffar Gujrati comes forward to attack him ; shuts himself up at Amreli, p. 582 ; Nizām-ud-din Ahmad sends some troops to help him to raid Kathiawara and to attack Muzaffar from behind ; sent his son to Nizām-ud-din, p. 583 ; his son revolts against him and brings Muzaffar Gujrati to attack him ; makes fresh declarations of loyalty, p. 593 ; A'azam Khān attacks him, p. 630.

Amin Muhammad Diwana, one of the loyal *amīrs* who blocked the path of Khān Zamān on the latter's march from Lucknow to Karra Manikpur, and fought with him ; was taken prisoner, p. 296.

Amin-ud-Din Khwāja Mahmud carries message to Akbar from Bairām Khān but is not allowed to return, pp. 238-39.

Amīrs, pp. 653–684 (see the contents also).

Amīr Ahmad Barwanji, ordered with other *amīrs* by Babar to pursue the fugitives after the capture of Kinkuta, p. 10 ; ordered with certain other *amīrs* to take charge of the treasures in the fort of Milwat, p. 13.

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Amīr Muhammad Kokaltash, one of the *amīrs* ordered by Babar to guard the neighbourhood of Milwat, p. 10; also deputed to take charge of the treasures of Milwat, p. 13; one of the amīrs sent to take possession of Agra, p. 24.

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Asaf Khān, sent by Akbar to capture the fort of Chunar; kills Ghazi Khān who was creating a disturbance in the district of Karra in a battle, p. 280; invades Garha; the Rāni meets him in battle and is killed; seizes Chauragarh, p. 281; takes possession of the treasures found there, p. 282; summoned by Majnun Khān Qaqshal; distributes most of the treasures of Chauragarh among his soldiers and helps Majnun Khān with a part, p. 296; ordered to cross the Ganges at Narhan and await orders there, p. 299; insinuations against him about the misappropriation of the treasures of Chauragarh, p. 301; when sent against Khān Zamān he escapes and with his brother Vazir Khān goes towards Gadha; Shuja'at Khān pursues him; fight with Shuja'at Khān at the bank of the river near Manikpur; flight, p. 301; Akbar sends Mahdi Qasim Khān to seize him; sends a petition to Akbar to be allowed to go to Mecca; writes letters to Khān Zamān and goes to him with his brother Vazīr Khān to Jaunpūr; sent by Khān Zamān with his brother Bahadur Khān to conquer certain countries held by the Afghans, p. 316; Vazir Khān sends a man to him asking him to leave Khān Zamān; leaves; escapes towards Karra Manikpur; Bahadur Khān overtakes him and taken him prisoner; he is rescued by his brother Vazir Khān from being murdered; Vazir Khān afterwards procures his pardon, p. 317; obtains his pardon through Muzaffar Khān; posted at Karra and Manikpur, p. 329; Bianah is transferred to him from Haji Muhammad Khān Sistani so that he may arrange the army for the conquest of Chitor, p. 341; sent to Rampur, a town belonging to the Rana of Chitor; conquers the fort and devastates the country, p. 343; ordered to attack Rānā Kika, pp. 494-95; defeats the Rājā of Idar and others who had collected together to aid Rānā Kika, p. 499; sent to punish the Afghans of Swad and Bajor and to exterminate Jalala Tariki, returns after finishing the work, p. 649.

Ashraf Khān, Mir Munshi; ordered to reassure Mun'im Khān, Shahāb-ud-Din Ahmad Khān and Qasim Khān, p. 265; sent to Iskandar Khān to bring Ali Quli Khān to the court, p. 294; taken by Iskandar Khān to Ibrahim Khān and Khān Zamān

and placed under guard, p. 295; sent by Akbar to seize the mother of Khān Zamān, p. 311; seized by Bahadūr Khān, p. 312; sent with a large army by Akbar to conquer Ranthambor, p. 350.

'Asi Kabuli, see Ma'sum Kabuli.

Ataliq Bahadūr, flies from the imperial army and joins Mirzā Khān, p. 575.

'Azad-ud-Daula, see *amīr* Fath-ul-lah Shirazi.

'Azam Humāyun Niazi, sends Qutb Khān (who takes shelter with him) to Salim Khān, p. 183; disputes with Khawās Khān about the appointment of a successor to Salim Khān, p. 184; defeats the army left to attack him; Salīm Khān sends a large army against him; goes to Dinkot, p. 186; his mother and children are taken prisoner; the Gakhars being exhausted he retires to Kashmir, p. 187; slain in a fight with the Kashmiri troops, p. 188.

B

Baba Khān, harsh proceedings of Muzaffar Khān towards him, p. 528.

Baba Khān Qaqshal, determines to rebel, p. 529; seizes Rizavi Khān and Mir Abul Ishaq and Patar Das and goes on with the rebellion, p. 531; seriously ill at Tanda, p. 536.

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Babar Badshāh Ghazi Zahir-ud-din, sends *amīrs* with 'Alam Khān to reconnoitre, p. 1; starts for Kabul; Humāyun Mirzā joins him with army of Badakhshan; Khwāja Kalān Beg joins him; arrives on the bank of the Sind; total strength of his army (see also note 2, p. 2), p. 2; Daulat Khān and Ghazi Khān break their promises and engagements p. 3; arrives at Kajhkot, p. 3; Daulat Khān and Ghazi Khān intend to give battle, p. 4; orders fort to be built at Bahlolpur, pp. 4 and 5; orders the transfer of the inhabitants of Sialkot to Bahlolpur, p. 5; news of battle between 'Alam Khān and Sultān Ibrahim; *amīrs*' refusal to join 'Alam Khān, p. 5; Dilawar Khān joins him, p. 8; submission of 'Alam Khān, p. 9; encamps at Kalanur, p. 10; encamps near Milwat, p. 11; Daulat Khān surrenders, p. 11; sends Tardi Beg for the capture of Ghazi Khān, p. 13; marches to punish Ghazi Khān, p. 13; sends presents to students of Balkh and Kabul; arrives at Sarhind and then at Sanur and then at Samanah and Sunam; receives report of Sultān Ibrahim's march; sends *amīrs* to reconnoitre Sultān Ibrahim's army, p. 14; arrival of his army at Panipat, p. 19; skirmishes, p. 20; abortive night attack on Sultān Ibrahim, p. 20; see also note 3 on pp. 20-21; battle of Panipat, p. 22; defeat and death of Sultān Ibrahim, p. 23; see also note 1, p. 23; proclaimed emperor; sends Humāyun Mirzā towards Agra; makes gifts and benefactions, p. 24; attempts to pacify the country; fails owing to there being independent and refractory chiefs, p. 26; owing to great heat allows army to take rest at Agra, p. 27; many of the chiefs gradually submit, p. 27; grants fiefs; Sambal taken from Qāsim Sambali and given to Humāyun, p. 28; Bianah taken from Nizām Khān, p. 29; conference as to whether they should attack the Luhanis or Rānā Sanka; Rānā

Sanka takes Kandar; determines to march against the Luhanis, p. 30; Humāyun asks to be allowed to command the expedition; collects the *amīrs* at Jalesar; marches towards the east and takes up his abode at Jaunpur; Rānā Sanka marches to attack the imperial dominions; Nizām Khān of Bianah sends petition, p. 31; submission of Mir Saiyad Rafi'ud-din, pp. 31-32; Tatar Khān Sarang Khani agrees to surrender Gwaliar; sends Khwāja Rahim-dad to take over Gwaliar; Tatar Khān declines to surrender Gwaliar, p. 32, but is induced by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus to allow a body of troops to enter the fort which was then taken, p. 33; Muhammad Zaitun surrenders Dhulpur; Rānā Sanka's advance towards Agra, p. 34; Humāyun punishes Nasir Khān of Ghazipur and brings 'Alam Khān of Kalpi under his control; Babar prepares to meet Rānā Sanka, p. 35; camps at Kol and Sikri; conference of *amīrs* and their advice, p. 36; defeats Rānā Sanka, p. 38; his illness and death; certain characteristics of his, pp. 39-40; see also note 1, p. 39; directs Mir Khalifa; to watch Shīr Khān, p. 151.

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Bahadur (Bahadur Shah), son of Sa'id Badakhshi; rebels in Tirhut and assumes the title of Bahadur Shāh but is seized and put to death, p. 552.

Bahadur Khān, brother of Khān Zamān; sent to conquer Malwa then under the rule of Baz Bahadur, son of Shuja'at Khān, p. 235; comes with Khān Zamān from Jaunpūr to Karra to salute Akbar, p. 257; with Khān Zamān plunders the country round Nimkhar, p. 296; sends men to Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk for the pardon of his offence; Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk rejects his prayer; interviewed with Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk who again rejects his prayer, p. 306; proposes a settlement with Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk but the latter again rejects it, p. 307; Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk defeated, p. 308; Akbar pardon his offence and orders the restoration of *jāgīr*; sends elephants and other presents to Akbar, p. 309; goes to Jaunpūr and releases his mother and seizes Ashraf Khān; flies towards Narhan hearing the news of Akbar's arrival, p. 312; overtakes Ashraf Khān and takes him prisoner, p. 317; breaks engagements made with Akbar, p. 330; wants to go away before the battle to Kalpi; spends the night in drunken debauchery, p. 333; battle; fighting bravely is thrown from his horse and is taken prisoner, 334; produced before Akbar and put to death, p. 336.

Bahadur Kurfarah, blocks Shaikh Farid's way on his return and has an engagement with him on which many of his followers were slain but he escapes unhurt, p. 562.

Bahar Khān, shuts himself up in Patna and opposes 'Arab Bahadur and other rebels, p. 536.

Bahram Mirzā, brother of Shāh Tahmasp; pain caused to him resulting in his hostility to Humāyun, p. 99 (see also note 1).

Bairām Khān, climbs up a precipitous hill with Humāyun to attack the fort of Champanir, p. 55; joins

Humāyun when the latter determines to go to Qandahar, p. 93; Hawali Uzbek comes to him and informs him of the approach of Mirzā 'Askari, p. 94; sent to Shāh Tahmasp at Bilaq Surliq by Humāyun, p. 99; sent to Mirzā Kamran at Kabul; Mirzā Kamran sends Khānzada Begam with him, p. 101; arrives at Ghaznin; takes Hāji Muhammad Khān to Kabul, p. 126; Humāyun marches towards Qandahar on hearing of his hostility but he welcomes Humāyun lovally; appointed governor of Qandahar p. 130; joins Humāyun and crosses the Indus, p. 131; sent as guardian of Akbar, p. 136; places Akbar on the throne, p. 208; orders the arrest of Shāh Abul Ma'ali, p. 210; puts Tardi Beg Khān to death, p. 215 (see also note 1); slays Himun with his own hand, p. 220 (see also note 1, p. 220); elephant fight arranged by Akbar; the elephants approach his tent; his suspicion against Akbar and Maham Anka; sends a message to Maham Anka and on his arrival at Lahore accuses Shams-ud-din Muhammad Atkah of inciting Akbar to be hostile to him; Shāhāb-ud-din Muhammad Atkah tries to remove this impression from his mind; his marriage with Salīma Sultān Begam at Jalandhar, p. 224; Musahib Beg to put to death by his order, p. 228 (see also note 2, p. 228); goes to see Pir Muhammad Khān during the latter's illness and is told to wait, p. 230; Pir Muhammad Khān tenders apologies, p. 231; Adham Khān and his mother Maham Anka always speak against him to Akbar but without effect; Akbar goes on a hunting expedition leaving him at Agra; Maham Anka arranges that Akbar should go to Dehli, where Mariam Makani was at the time, to carry out her plans, p. 236; Maham Anka and Shahab-ud-din Ahmad Khān poison Akbar's mind against him; Akbar's message to him; sends Khwāja Amin-ud-din Mahmud, etc. with message to Akbar; Akbar pays no attention to the message and does not permit the messengers to return, p. 239 (see also note 1, p. 239); people begin to separate from him, p. 239; contemplates pilgrimage to Mecca; sends the *amīrs* to Akbar and leaves Agra for Nagor, p. 240; Maham Anka and Shams-ud-din Ahmad Khān tell Akbar that he had started to conquer the Punjab; Akbar sends message to him that he (Akbar) wanted to manage the affairs of the State and he (Bairām Khān) should go to Mecca and an ample *jāgīr* would be bestowed on him; arrives at Nagor and divests himself of the emblems of his rank, pp. 241-242; Pir Muhammad Khān is sent in pursuit of him to make him go to Mecca, p. 242; delays in order to avoid Maldeo, Rājā of Jodhpur; arrives at Bikanir; rests there; becomes despondent on hearing of Pir Muhammad Khān being sent after him; some men lead him astray and make him resolve on hostility; turns towards the Punjab; arrives at Tabarhinda, p. 243; leaves his son Mirzā Khān with Shīr Muhammad Diwana there; starts for Jalandhar, p. 244; his path blocked, p. 244; having no other alternative but to fight does so, is defeated and retires into the Siwalik country, p. 246; sends message for pardon to Akbar,

p. 248 ; brought to the presence of Akbar ; receives favour and permission to go to the sacred places ; takes the road to Gujrat and stays at Pattan ; goes to Sahas-ling temple and is assassinated by Mubarak Khān, a Nuhani Afghan, p. 249.

Baluchis, Shīr Shāh sends Haibat Khān to recover Multan from them and he does so, p. 169.

Baqi Muhammad Khān, son of Maham Anka ; death, p. 597.

Baqi Qaqshāl, dissuades Mirzā Muhammad Hakim from going to Khurram Begam p. 319 ; brings Mirzā Muhammad Hakim to the Nilab and sent a petition to Akbar, p. 321.

Baqir, son of Tahīr Khān ; sent with others by Akbar to put down the rebellion in Bengal and Behar, p. 534.

Bayazid, comes with Sultān Mahmud to meet Babar, p. 159 (see also note 1 in that page) ; eldest son of Sulaiman Karrani put to death by the *amīrs* of Akbar, p. 430.

Baz Bahadur, ruler of Malwa ; Ibrahim Khān summoned by Miāni Afghān of Raisin to be their leader in their fight with him, p. 205 ; Bahadur Khān advances towards Malwa to conquer it, p. 235 ; Adham Khān sent to conquer Malwa ; Baz Bahadur's misrule, p. 251 ; comes out and entrenches himself ; unrivalled in Hindu music ; is defeated and escapes, p. 252 ; attacks Pir Muhammad Khān ; regains possession of Malwa, p. 261 ; has to abandon it, and take shelter with Rānā Udaya Sinha of Mārwar and then in Gujrat and finally submits to Akbar, p. 262 ; son of Sharif Khān defeated by Muzaffar Husain Mirzā in Nadarbar, p. 501.

Behari Mal Rāja enters the service of Akbar and gives his daughter in marriage to him, p. 258.

Bhagwan Das Rāja, son of Rāja Behari Mal enters with his father into Akbar's service, p. 258 ; fights side by side with Akbar at Sarnaul, p. 379 ; he and others sent to Idar that they might march through the territories of Rānā Udai Singh and devastate them, p. 420 ; sent to welcome Mirzā Sulaiman and bring him to the presence of Akbar, p. 475 ; ordered to halt at Kokandah to watch Rānā Kika, p. 495 ; shuts himself up in the fort of Lahore, p. 545 ; left in attendance on Shāhzādā Sultān Salīm, p. 550 ; Akbar bestows the government of the Punjab, p. 552 ; ordered to go to and take possession of Kabul, p. 584 ; reports the arrival of Mirzā Shāhrukh at the threshold, p. 598 ; marriage of his daughter with Shāhzādā Sultān Salīm, p. 599 ; sent to conquer Kashmir, p. 607 ; arrives at the pass of Bhimbas, p. 612 ; news of the death, p. 628.

Bhoj, son of Rai Sarjan, p. 355.

Bhokials, one of the tribes connected with the Kahkars, p. 265.

Bhīmi Chand, son of Rāja Jaichand rebelled against Akbar, p. 399.

Bihār Khān, assumes the title of Sultān Muhammad ; Farid takes service under him, p. 146.

Birana, a powerful zamindar, p. 129.

Birbar (Kab Rai), Akbar confers Nagarkot to him, p. 399.

Burhan-ul-Mulk, fled from his brother Murtazā Nizām-ul-Mulk and came to Qutb-ud-din Khān and then to Akbar ; tribute sent by him not considered suitable, p. 650.

Burj 'Ali, sent to Dehli by Khān Zamān to the court to put matters about Shaham Beg's right; put to death by Pir Muhammad Khān, p. 226.

C

Chaghatai Khān, sent with others against Salabat Khān, p. 585.

Chakar 'Ali Beg Kulabi, raids the neighbourhood of Kabul; defeats Mirz 'Askari, p. 122.

Chandar Sen, son of Rāja Mal Deo comes and becomes a loyal servant of Akbar, p. 362; army sent against him by Akbar, p. 455.

Charkas Rumi, Muzaffar Gujrati makes Bahroj over to Nasir and Charkas, p. 572.

Chengiz Khān, 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, governor of Mandu takes refuge with him, p. 285; ruler of Gujrat slain by Jhajar Khān, p. 351; his mother complains to Akbar against Jhajar Khān who is ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant, p. 389.

D

Darbar Khān, a witty attendant of Akbar, dies, p. 355.

Dāud, younger son of Sulaiman Karrani; succeeds Bayezid and assumes the title of Badshāh and destroys the fort of Zamania; chastized by Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān, p. 430; Ludi his amir-ul-umra rebels against him at Rohtas, p. 431; at the instigation of Qatlu Luhani and tempted by Sridhar Bengali seized Ludi and makes him over to the latter; Ludi's message to him from prison, p. 432; puts Ludi to death, pp. 432-33; marches to Patna which he fortifies, p. 433; Akbar's imagination about his fate, p. 441; army defeated, p. 444; flight, p. 445; Sridhar who takes the title of Rāja Bikramajit follows with the treasures and Sujar Khān Karrani with the elephants, p. 446; flies from Patna leaving some troops there and goes on to Tanda, p. 452; abandons Tanda, p. 453; fights with Khān Khānān and is defeated; Khān Khānān sends Rāja Todarmal in pursuit of him, p. 459; news of his collecting troops at Din Kasari; takes up a position at Dharpur, p. 460; arrangement of his army for a battle with Khān Khānān, p. 463; description of the battle; Afghans victorious at the beginning, p. 464; in the end defeated and flies, p. 465; makes treaty with Khān Khānān; Rāja Todar Mal, etc. sent in pursuit of him, p. 466; Khān Khānān arrives near Katak; sends an emissary to the Khān Khānān to sue for peace, p. 467; Khān Khānān receives him in great darbar; conditions of peace agreed to, p. 468; Orissa granted to him, subject to Akbar's approval, pp. 469, 478; attacks Tanda; Khān Khānān is ordered to attack him; defeat of the Afghans, p. 484, posts himself at Ak Mahal (see note 2), p. 485; Khān Jahan's war against him, p. 489; seized and killed, p. 491.

Dāud Khān, one of Sultān Ibrahim's *amīrs* advances with 5,000 or 6,000 men 3 or 4 *karohs* in front of the latter; Babar sends a number of his *amīrs* to destroy him; they drive him back to the Sultān's camp, p. 17 (also note 3, p. 17).

Daulat Khān, sends 'Alam Khān Ludi to Babar, p. 1; breaks promises and engagements, p. 3; seizes Kalanur and wants to fight with the *amīrs*, p. 3; intends to give

battle to Babar, p. 4; surrenders to Babar, p. 11; Khwāja Mīr Mirān protects his family and children, p. 12; death, p. 13.

Daulat Khān, an amīr of Sultān Ibrahim; Farid (afterwards Shīr Khān) enters his service at Agra, p. 144; asks him to get his father's *parganas* to be made over to him, and his brother; Daulat Khān represents this to Sultān Ibrahim but the latter refuses to grant the prayer; after the death of Hasan (Farid's father) the *parganas* are transferred to Farid and his brother, p. 145.

Daulat Khān, son of Amin Khān Ghuri, ruler of Junagarh, advances with the Jam to meet A'azam Khān, p. 630; is defeated, p. 631; news of his death received, p. 635.

Daulat Khān Ludi, goes with Nizām ud-din to relieve Radhanpur, p. 592.

Daulat Khwāja, one of the three men whom Humāyun is said to have met in the course of a walk, and whose names became an omen of his success, p. 130.

Darvesh Muhammad Uzbek, sent by Bairām Khān with Khwāja Muzaffar 'Ali Turbati to expostulate with Shīr Muhammad Diwana, p. 244.

Deo Das Rajput, after the surrender of Mirtha by Jai Mal, fights with the imperial troops, p. 259; is killed after fighting bravely, p. 260.

Dilawar Khān, kept in imprisonment by Ghazi Khān; escapes and comes to Lahore, p. 6; joins Babar after the capture of Milwat by him, p. 8.

Duda, son of Rai Sarjan; sent by the latter to make his submission to Akbar, p. 355.

Dudu, takes charge of the affairs of the government of Behar after the death of her husband Sultān Muhammad, and appoints Shīr Khān to be the guardian of her son Jalāl Khān, but dies shortly after, pp. 152-153.

Durgawati (Rāni), fights with Asaf Khān; her heroic death; description of the battle and death, p. 281.

Durmush Khān, one of Sultān Ibrahim's *amīrs*; sends Shāh 'Imad-ud-din Shirazi with petition to Babar to come to Dehli, p. 12.

F

Farhat Khān, sent by Akbar to capture Rhotas, p. 449; attacked and killed by Gajpati, p. 490.

Farid Shaikh, sent by A'azam Khān to negotiate with Qutlu Afghan; hostility of Bahadur Kurfara to him; the latter blocks his way, an engagement takes place, many of his men are slain, but he escapes unhurt, p. 562.

Faridun, sent to help Mirzā Muhammad Hakim by Akbar, p. 321; advises him to conquer Lahore and to seize Khūsh Khabar Khān but he refuses, p. 322; advises Mirzā Muhammad Hakim to invade the Punjab, p. 544; attacks the rear of Shāhzāda Shāh Murad's army and carries away much booty and slays many men, p. 550; defeated by Afghans; obtained release and started by another route for Kabul, p. 602.

Farrukh Khān, pursues Ibrahim Husain Mirzā, p. 395.

Fath Khān Tibati, in possession of the fort of Rhotas; considers the arrival of Qulij Khān a great boon; sends his brother Hasan Khān to the court of Akbar and says he would surrender Rhotas as soon as the royal army would reach Jaunpur, p. 302; collects provision for the garrison and tells his brother

to return; refuses to make the key over to Qulij Khān, p. 303.

Fattu, a slave of Sultān Muhammad 'Adali; surrenders the fort of Chunar to Akbar, p. 280.

Fazāel Beg, deserts Kamran and joins Humāyun, p. 102; seized and blinded by Kamran when he occupies Kabul during Humāyun's absence in Badakhshān, p. 110.

Fazilat Qazi, appointed by Shīr Shāh to be judge of Bengal, p. 167.

Firdus-Makani, title of Babar, p. 1.

Firuz Khān, submits to Babar, p. 27.

Firuz Khān, son of Salim Khān; in his 10th or 12th year raised to the throne at Gwaliar; slain by his uncle Mubariz Khān who becomes Sultān 'Adali within three days, p. 196.

G

Gadai Shaikh, is made chief justice, his great influence, p. 232; ill-feeling towards Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus whom he deprives of the favour of Bairam Khān, p. 235.

Gajpati, Zamindar; rebels; attacks Farhat Khān and his son Mirak Radai who are both slain, p. 490.

Gakkhars (or Kahkars), the Niazis take shelter with them, p. 187; Mirza Kamran retires into the Gakkhar country, p. 188; this tribe and other cognate tribes inhabit the hilly country of the Siwaliks from the Nilab to the boundary of Kashmir, p. 265.

Ghani Khān, appointed governor of Kabul by Mun'im Khān, his father; the people of Kabul and Mah Chuchak Begam, mother of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim drive him out of Kabul; his misdeeds; seizes and imprisons Tulak Khān Qulchin, pp. 269-70; is seized and imprisoned by Tulak Khān; is released on certain conditions, but breaks them and attacks Tulak Khān; goes out of Kabul and finds the gates closed against him; turns his face towards Agra, p. 270.

Ghazanfar, Foster brother of Mirzā 'Askari; satirical remark to Mirzā 'Askari; imprisoned, escapes and goes to Sultān Bahadur, p. 59.

Ghazi Khān, sends 'Alam Khān to Babar, p. 1; breaks engagement made with Babar; seizes Kalanur and wants to fight with the *amīrs* sent by Babar, p. 3; arrives at Sialkot, p. 4; intends to fight against Babar, p. 4; his flight, p. 10; Babar sends Tardi Beg for his capture, p. 13 (see also note 4 in p. 13).

Ghazni Khān, Mirzā Khān Khān Khānān orders his imprisonment, p. 583.

Ghazi Khān Sur, governor of Bianah and Hindwan; father of Ibrahim Khān, pp. 201-2; creates disturbance in the district of Karra but is defeated and killed in a battle by Asaf Khān, p. 280.

Ghazi Mahali, sent by Salīm Khān with golden fetters to seize and imprison 'Adil Khān; Khāwas Khān puts the fetters in his legs, p. 179.

Gonha, one of the great *amīrs* of Maldeo, tries to convince the latter of Shīr Khān's deceit, but failing attacks the latter's army but is defeated and slain after a great struggle, p. 172.

Gujar Khān Karrani, follows Daud with the elephants; crosses the Punpun river, p. 446; pursuit by Akbar and then by Shāhbāz Khān Mir Bakhshi and others, p. 447; struck down by an arrow, p. 464.

Gulbadan Begam, goes to the Hijāz, p. 472; she and Salima Begam return

from the Hījāz; arrive at Ajmir and are warmly received there by Shāhzāda Sultān Salim and on arrival at Fathpur by Akbar, p. 557.

Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Mirzā Kamran; wife of Mirzā Ibrāhim Husain tries to escape from the fort of Surat with her son, Muzaffar Husain, but is caught and again escapes, p. 383.

H

Habib 'Ali Khān, sent to conquer Ranthambor; besieges it and after a time ravages the country round and goes away to his own *jāgīr*, p. 234.

Habib Shaikh, submits to Babar, p. 27 (see also note 1).

Haibat Khān, Afghans under Tatar Khān and Haibat Khān advance to meet Humāyun on his return, p. 132; sent by Shīr Shāh; after his victory defeats the Baluchis and takes Multan, p. 169.

Haidar Muhammad Khān Akhta Begi, appointed governor of Kabul by Mun'im Khān; dismissed by the latter for his bad behaviour, p. 269.

Hājī Begam, one of the wives of Humāyun; death, p. 554.

Hājī Habib-ul-lah, produces before Akbar the articles which he brought from Goa where he had been sent, pp. 507-508 (see also note 5, pp. 507-508); sent by Akbar to Kabul with certain instructions about Mirzā Muhammad Hakim; returns from Kabul, p. 549; returns to Akbar, p. 550.

Hājī Khān, takes shelter in the fort of Kinkuta, p. 8; made governor of Malwah by Shīr Khān, p. 168.

Hājī Muhammad Khān Ahadi, brings false news of Shāhzāda Shāh Murad's defeat to Akbar at Surkhab, p. 550.

Haji Muhammad Khān Sistāni, Bianah is transferred from him to Asaf Khān, p. 341; *jāgīrs* conferred on him by Akbar, p. 342; carries message to Akbar from Bairām Khān but is not allowed to return, pp. 238-39; sent by Akbar to Sulaiman Karrani Afghan to forbid him to help Khān Zamān, p. 299.

Hakims, pp. 710–714 (see the contents also).

Hakim Abul Fath, appointed as judge, p. 517; sent against the Qaqshals by Muzaffar Khān, p. 530; he and Zain Khān defeated by the Tarikis and reach Atak after much hardship, p. 610; dies at Dhantaur and is buried at Hasan Abdal, p. 625.

Hakim 'Ali, sent to Bijapur, p. 519.

Hakim Haman, brother of Hakim Abul Fath; sent as an ambassador to Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, p. 618; returns and renders homage, p. 627.

Hakim-ul-mulk Gilani, sent as Mir Hājī, p. 539.

Hamid Bakari, his story, p. 329.

Hamid Bukhari, sent to put down Ikhtiar-ul-mulk, p. 404.

Hamid Khān, Khasah Khail of Sultān Ibrahim; Maumin 'Ali Atkah sent to reconnoitre his army and on his advancing further, Humāyun, who was sent to attack him, defeated him, pp. 15-16.

Hamida Banu Begam, mother of Akbar, usually styled Mariam Makani (see under Mariam Makani).

Hasan Sur, father of Farid (Shīr Khān or Shīr Shāh), spent his life in the service of Jamāl Khān, governor of Jaunpur who granted him Sahasaram, Hajipur and Tanda as his *jāgīrs*; had 8 sons; he had not much love for Farid's mother, and loved one of his slave wives;

asks Jamāl Khān to send Farid back from Jaunpūr, p. 141; on Farid's refusal comes to Jaunpūr; reconciliation between father and son; places Farid in charge of the *Jāgīr*, p. 142; comes to the *jāgīr*, is pleased with Farid's arrangements, p. 143; Sulaiman's mother claims the management of the *jāgīr* for her sons; he hesitates; makes it over to Sulaiman and Ahmad, p. 144; death, p. 145.

Hawali Uzbek, sent by Mirzā 'Askari to watch Humāyun's movements; goes to Bairām Khān and gives him information of Mirzā 'Askari's approach, p. 94.

Hazaras, Yadgar Nasir and Hindal suffer great hardship from them, when coming to Humāyun, p. 105; they plunder Mirzā Kamran, p. 114.

Himun Baqāl, a grocer and market superintendent; rises to power under Muhammad 'Adali, p. 198; defeats the Karanians, p. 201; sent towards Agra and Dehli; defeats Ibrahim Khān's army and besieges him in Bianah; sent against Muhammad Khān Sur; attacked by Ibrahim but defeated him, p. 204; defeats Muhammad Khān Kuria at Kalpi; goes to Agra and Dehli to meet the army of Akbar; Tardi Beg receives news of his arrival with large army and many elephants; defeats Tardi Beg Khān but is wounded by an arrow at Panipat, p. 206; another account of Himun's defeat and death at Panipat; story about Bairām Khān's asking Akbar to slay the wounded man, p. 213.

Humāyun Mirzā Shāzādah Muhammad (later Humāyun Badshāh), joins Babar with army of Badakhshan, p. 2; is sent to attack Hamid Khān, p. 15; receives reward, p. 16; is sent towards Agra, p. 24; grant of a fief to him by Babar, p. 28; alleged plot of amīr Nizam-ud-dīn to supplant him (see also note 2) p. 41; his accession; Mirzā Hindal's arrival from Badakhshan, p. 44; gifts and *jāgīrs* to his brothers and others; marches towards Kalinjar; the Rāja submits, p. 45; Muhammad Zamān Mirzā rebels, but is taken prisoner, and is sent to Bianah, but escapes and taken shelter with Sultān Bahadur Gujrati; the latter refuses to surrender him; marches towards Gwaliar but returns after two months to Agra, p. 47; Sultān Bahadur besieges Chitor and carries on war with Rānā Sanka; and sends Tatar Khān to seize Bianah and the neighbouring country and takes possession of Bianah; Humāyun sends Mirzā Hindal to attack Tatar Khān; most of Tatar Khān's army desert, but Tatar Khān with those who were left attack Hindāl's troops but is defeated and slain; Humāyun marches to attack Sultān Bahadur, p. 48; refrains from attacking him while he is attacking Chitor, p. 49; his army meets Sultān Bahadur and defeats its vanguard, p. 50; blockades Bahadur's camp and makes grain and fodder scarce for the army; Bahadur escapes from the camp; Humāyun pursues; attacks Sadr Khān; continues and pursues Bahadur as far as Mandu, p. 51; besieges the fort of Mandu and enters it; Bahadur escapes from Mandu; Sultān 'Alam and Sadr Khān surrender, p. 52; advances towards Gujrat; starts in pursuit of Bahadur; arrives at Kambayat; the people attack his camp, p. 53;

(see also note 5, pp. 53-54) ; advances to and besieges Champanir ; scales a precipice and takes the garrison by surprise, p. 54 ; seizes Champanir, p. 56 ; Imdād-ul-mulk on behalf of Sultān Bahadur collects an army and encamps in front of Ahmadabad and collects revenue : Humāyun places Champanir in the hand of Tardi Beg and advances towards Ahamadabad ; battle between Imdād-ul-mulk and Mirzā Askari, p. 57 ; Humāyun grants *jāgīrs* to his *amīrs* ; returns to Burhanpur and thence to Māndu ; one of Sultān Bahādur's *amīrs* takes possession of Nausari and advances to Broach, p. 58 ; Amīr Hindu Beg persuades Mirzā 'Askari to rebel but the latter refuses to do so, but he and others leave Ahmadabad and encamp behind Asawal, p. 60 ; Tardi Beg shuts himself up in Champanir and sends intimation to Humāyun of Mirzā 'Askari's hostility ; Humāyun starts from Mandu for Agra ; Bahadur takes possession of Champanir from Tardi Beg ; Humāyun passes a year in Agra in pleasure, p. 61 ; marches against Shīr Khān Afghan who had taken possession of Bihar, Jaunpur and the fortress of Chunar ; orders Rumi Khān to capture Chunar who finds it impregnable on the land side and erects battering rams on boats in the river (see also note 1, p. 61), p. 62 ; the garrison finding their position untenable evacuate the fort and Rūmī Khān was waging war with the ruler of Bengal, p. 64 (see also note 3, p. 64) ; Humāyun marches towards Bengal ; Shīr Khān sends Jalāl Khān and Khāwās Khān to defend ; Jahangir Beg Mughal is sent to attack Garhi ; sends Hindal Mirzā to Agra to put down Muhammad Sultān Mirzā and Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, p. 65 ; advances against Shīr Khān, besieges and seizes Chunar, pp. 62–64 ; defeats Jalāl Khān and Khawās Khān and takes Garhi ; remains in Bengal for three months and gives the name of Jinnatabad to Gaur, p. 66 ; returns towards Agra leaving Jahāngir Beg with 5,000 troops to govern Bengal ; army arrives in Chausa in great disorder ; Shīr Khān comes to meet him and the two armies confront each other for three months ; Humāyun in great distress hearing Hindal's and Kamran's proceedings, p. 67 ; Shīr Khān sends Shaikh Khalil to him, p. 68 ; terms of peace with Shīr Khān ; Shīr Khān attacks and defeats him ; crosses the river with the help of a water carrier and goes towards Agra, p. 69 ; Shīr Khān advances and sends an army against Kalpi and Itawah under his son Qutb Khān who is killed ; Humāyun advances to the Ganges and crossing it at Kanauj sits down in front of Shīr Khān's army, p. 72 ; many desert from the imperial army and the camp is flooded ; Shīr Khān attacks and defeats him, p. 73 ; crosses the river and is helped by Shams-ud-din Muhammad Ghuznavi who afterwards became Akbar's preceptor ; starts towards Lahore, p. 74 ; finds agreement among his brothers and the *amīrs* impossible ; sends Mirzā Haidar towards Kashmir, p. 75 ; Shīr Khān crosses the Bias and arrives within 30 *karohs* of Lahore ; Humāyun crosses the Ravi ; Kamran and 'Askari separate from him and go away towards Kabul ; Humāyun returns

towards Sind; Hindal and Yadgar Nasir separate from him but return; Bakhshu Lankah sends boats filled with grain; Hindal goes to Patar, p. 76; unfruitful negotiations with Shāh Husain Arghun; goes to Patar, p. 77; marries Hamida Banu Begam at Hindal's camp at Patar; goes back to Hindal; starts for Qandahar, p. 78; advances against Thatha; marches to Sehwan, p. 79; besieges Sehwan, but without success; summons Yadgar Nasir to come to his help, p. 80; Yadgar Nasir remains at Bhakkar; Mirzā Shāh Husain deceives Yadgar Nasir and makes him hostile to Humāyun; Shāh Husain seizes his boats, p. 81; goes back towards Bhakkar but is unable to cross the river; two zamindars supply him with boats and he crosses over; Yadgar Nasir rejoins him, p. 82; Shāh Husain again takes Yadgar Nasir to his side and the latter seizes the boats supplied by the Zamindars and sends them to Shāh Husain; men begin to desert from him and go over to Yadgar Nasir; compelled to start towards the territory of Maldeo (Jodhpur), p. 83; passage blocked by the ruler of Jaisalmir; his followers defeat the opposing force and he arrives in Maldeo's country, p. 84; warned by Atka Khān whom he had sent to Maldeo that Maldeo intended treachery; marches away towards Amarkot, pp. 85-86; skirmish between his followers and Maldeo's troops, p. 87; arrives at Amarkot after much suffering, p. 88; birth of Akbar, pp. 89–91; deserted by his men, p. 92; determines to go to Qandahar; Shāh Husain sends boats to him and he crosses the river and starts for Qandahar; 'Askari at the instance of Kamran attempts to seize him when he arrives at Shal (Quetta), p. 94; Hawali Uzbek sent by 'Askari to watch Humāyun's movements informs Bairām Khān and the latter informs Humāyun, p. 94; starts for 'Iraq taking Mariam Makani with him but leaves the prince behind; 'Askari takes Akbar to Qandahar and makes him over to Sultān Begam, p. 95; marches to Qila Baba Hājī; Khwāja Jalal-ud-din Mahmūd who had come to collect revenue on behalf of 'Askari comes and does homage to him; having no other asylum he proceeds towards Khurasan and 'Iraq; is received by Ahmad Sultān Shamlu, governor of Sistan, p. 96; goes to Herat; Muhammad Khān Sharf-ud-din Ughli Taklu Atāliq of Sultān Muhammad Mirzā, eldest son of Shāh Tahmasp sends one of his amīrs to welcome him; the Shāhzādā of Iran welcomes him, pp. 96-97; starts for Mashhad; Shāh Qūlī Sultān Istajlu, governor of Mashhad and other governors make offerings, p. 98; Bairam Khān is sent to Shāh Tahmasp at Bilaq Surliq, his summer residence; meets Shāh Tahmasp; disagreement with Bahram Mirzā, brother of Shāh Tahmasp which causes hostility to be shown to him, p. 99; Shāh Tahmasp's sister, Sultāna and Qāzi Jahān Qazwini and Hakim Nur-ud-din Muhammad are friendly to him; Shāh Tahmasp appoints his son, Shāhzādā Murād to help him; goes to Tabriz and Ardabil, p. 100; arrives near the forts of the Garmsir; besieges Qandahar with the help of the Qazlbash army; sends Bairām Khān to Kamran at Kabul;

Kamran sends Khānzāda Begam with Bairām Khān, p. 101 ; Qazlbash army depressed, p. 102 ; Qandahar evacuated and occupied by the Qazlbash, p. 103 ; many Qazlbash nobles return to 'Iraq and when winter comes he asks for shelter in Qandahar, p. 104 ; permits to Badagh Khān to return to 'Iraq ; Hindal and Yadgar Nasir join him, p. 105 ; Kamran sends some Shaikhs to him and asks for pardon but again takes shelter in the citadel of Kabul ; enters the city of Kabul ; sees Akbar, p. 106 ; advances towards Badakhshan, p. 107 ; Yadgar Nasir shows hostility is imprisoned and then put to death, pp. 107-108 ; battle with Mirzā Sulaimān who is defeated and retires ; becomes ill ; recovers, p. 108 ; Shīr 'Ali sallies out from Kabul to seize some horses which had come with a caravan but Humāyun blocks the way when he tries to enter the fort, p. 111 ; many join him ; Kamran sues for peace, p. 112 ; but escapes with the connivance of some of Humāyun's followers, p. 113 ; Qaracha Khān and others conspire against him and march towards Badakhshan, p. 115 ; pursues the insurgent *amīrs* ; returns to Kabul ; conspirators go to Kamran leaving Tamar 'Ali Shighāli at Panjshīr ; Mirza Ibrahim attacks Tamar 'Ali Shighāli and slays him and joins Humāyun at Kabul ; p. 116 ; arrives immediately after Hindal's defeat and Kamran flies to Taliqan ; besieges Taliqan, p. 117 ; Mirzā Sulaiman joins him, pp. 117-118 ; Kamran asks permission to go to Mecca ; is treated kindly ; Kulab is granted to him as fief, pp. 118-119 ; returns to Kabul ; starts for the conquest of Balkh ; Kamran and 'Askari again become hostile, p. 119 ; arrives at the fort of Aibak and besieges it ; the Uzbeks surrender it ; advances towards Balkh in spite of the warning of the *amīrs* that Kamran might make an attempt on Kabul, p. 119 ; fights a battle in the vicinity of Balkh ; another battle next day ; Pir Muhammad Khān turns back and enters Balkh ; at the entreaty of the amīrs Humāyun returns towards Darra-Ghazi, p. 120 ; Uzbeks become emboldened and the vanguard of his army is defeated ; battle continues and he and others perform brave deeds, p. 121 ; returns to Kabul, p. 122 ; sends some *amīrs* to attack Kamran ; they send message to Kamran that he should come by way to Qibchaq when they would join him ; Humāyun is defeated and goes towards Zuhaq and Bāmiān, p. 123 ; goes towards Badakhshan and sends some men to collect information, but only one of them returns, pp. 123-24 ; Sulaiman Mirzā, Ibrahim Mirzā and Mirzā Hindal join him and after 40 days he advances towards Kabul ; Kamran and Qaracha Khān come out to oppose him, p. 124 ; enters Kabul ; advances against Kamran who flies towards Sindh, p. 125 ; Haji Muhammad Khān intends treacherously to surrender Ghaznin to Kamran but before the latter could reach Ghaznin, Bairam Khān arrives there and takes Haji Muhammad Khān to Kabul ; Haji Muhammad Khān escapes and comes to Ghaznin ; Bairām Khān again takes him to Kabul, p. 126 ; Kamran makes a night attack on Humāyun's camp ; Mirzā Hindal is slain, p. 127 ; advances towards the Indus and

crosses it; Kamran flies to the Sivalik hilly country; Sultān Adam Gakkhar surrenders him to Humāyun; Kamran blinded, p. 128; arrives at the foot of the fort of Rhotas; determines to conquer Kashmir; the *amīrs* fear that Birana a powerful zamindar might oppose them; starts for Kashmir; news comes of the approach of Salīm Khān Afghan; his officers start for Kabul and he has also to do so, p. 129; crosses the Indus; orders the building of the fort of Bikram (Peshawar, see note 1) and appoints Iskandar Khān Uzbek to be the governor; comes to Kabul; sends Akbar to Ghaznin; news comes of the death of Salīm Khān; proceeds towards Qandahar; receives report of Bairām Khān's hostile intentions but he receives him loyally; wants to appoint Mun'im Khān to Qandahar; Mun'im Khān suggests that this should not be done; Bairām Khān is left at Qandahar; returns to Kabul and makes preparation for the invasion of Hindustan, p. 130; story of his meeting three men of the names of Daulat, Murād and Sa'adat and taking this as a happy omen, pp. 130-131 (see also note 3, p. 130); advances to Peshawar; Bairām Khān joins him; crosses the Indus; he and others are sent as advance guard; Tatar Khān Kashi, governor of Rhotas runs away; advances to Lahore; the Afghans run away, p. 131; enters Lahore; the advance guard march towards Jalandhar and Sarhind; the Afghans assemble under Shāhbāz Khān and Nasir Khān at Dibalpur; sends Mir 'Abul Ma'ali and Ali Qūlī Sistani; they defeat the Afghans; Iskandar Afghan sends 30,000 soldiers under Tatar Khān and Haibat Khān to attack his advance guard; the latter cross the Satlej; battle, p. 132; defeat of Iskandar Khān Afghan; the latter sends another army to Sarhind and they entrench and erects fortifications there; the Mughal advance guard joins him; battle; after skirmishes for some days; the Mughals became victorious, p. 134; sends Sikandar Khān Uzbek towards Dehli; the camp advances by Samana; Dehli occupied; Mir 'Abul Ma'ali sent towards Lahore to crush Sikandar Khān; Humāyun arrives at Dehli; his followers are rewarded, p. 135; accident to death of Humāyun, pp. 136-37; characterization of Humāyun, pp. 137-38; (see also note 1, p. 138, from Abul Fazl's description of his inventions).

Humāyun Qulī Farmuli, deserts from the imperial army, p. 536.

Husain Beg Shaikh 'Umri, collector of the tribute of Kashmir fights against and is defeated by Yadgar, p. 639.

Husain Khān Karkaraq, abandons Kambayat, p. 404.

Husain Khān Mirzā, deserts Kamran and joins Humāyun, p. 102.

Husain Qulī Khān, sent to Udaipur and Kombalmir and ravages the country, p. 343; the *jāgīrs* in the Punjab of Muhammad Khān Kalan, etc. were conferred upon him by Akbar; attended Akbar in the march to Ranthambhor and after the conquest of Ranthambhor went to the Punjab, p. 352; had the title of Khān Jahān conferred on him; was sent by Akbar into the fort of Ranthambhor to comfort Sarjan Ray, p. 355; sent on expedition to

Nagarkot, ordered to make Nagarkot over to Birbar; starts for Nagarkot, p. 398; passes through Damhari; bestows robes on the vakils, p. 399; conquers the fort of Kotla and makes it over to the Raja of Gwaliar; the troops captured the citadel of Bhul, p. 400; desecrates the temple of Mahamai, p. 401; accepts proposal of peace; turns to attack Ibrahim Husain Mirzā, p. 402; brings Musa'ud Husain Mirzā before Akbar, p. 403; Akbar sends him back after conferring on him the title of Khān Jahān to the Punjab, p. 407.

Husain Sultān Jalair, slain in a skirmish at Talwara with Bairām Khān's men, p. 247.

I

Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā, revolts against Akbar, p. 326; Akbar determines to drive him out of Baroch, Baroda and Surat, pp. 375-376; puts Rustam Khān Rumi to death and goes near Akbar's camp; Akbar pursues him, p. 377; halts at the town of Sarnal on the opposite bank of the river, p. 378; his men oppose Akbar; leaves Sarnal and Akbar orders his pursuit; severe fight, p. 379; takes to flight and goes by way of Ahmadnagar towards Sirohi, p. 380; departs towards Hindustan for creating disturbances there, pp. 390-91; his adventures; plunders a caravan, p. 394; at Nagor plunders some horses; marches to Narnol; escapes when pursued by Rai Ram and Rai Singh and Farrukh Khān; unsuccessfully attacks the royal troops, p. 395; goes to the *pargana* of A'azampur in Sambal; then marches to the Punjab and sacks Panipat, Sonhat and Karnal, p. 396; news of his approach reaches Husain Qūlī Khān who turns to attack him, p. 402; Sa'id Khān produces his head before Akbar, p. 403.

Ibrāhim Khān, husband of one of Muhammad 'Adali's sisters; rebels and goes to his father, p. 201; defeats 'Isa Khān Niazi whom 'Adali sent in pursuit of him, near Kalpi, p. 202; takes possession of Agra and the country round; has the *khutba* read in his own name; 'Adali sets forth to attack him; Ibrahim Khān gets some *amīrs* to join him and recommence hostilities, p. 202; his army meets Sultān Sikandar's; the latter asks for peace, he rejects the prayer, but is defeated; Sultān Sikandar takes possession of Agra and Dehli, p. 203; advances towards Kalpi; is defeated by Himun Baqqal, p. 204; retires to Behar; is defeated but is treated with honour by the victorious Rājā, p. 204; is invited by the Miani Afghans of Raisin to fight against Baz Bahadur but is unable to do anything; goes to Orissa where he is treacherously put to death by Sulaiman Karani, pp. 205-206.

Ibrāhim Khān, the king of Bengal sends him to attack Shīr Khān, p. 154; killed in a battle with Shīr Khān, p. 155.

Ibrāhim Khān Uzbek, Iskandar Khān takes Ashraf Khān to him at Sarwar, then they all go to Jaunpur to consult Khān Zaman; they place Ashraf Khān under guard, and he and Iskandar go to Lucknow with the object of rebelling against Akbar, p. 295.

Ibrāhim Mirzā, joins Humāyun, p. 124.

Ikhtiyar-ul-mulk, leaves Ahmadabad and flies towards Ahmadnagar,

p. 376; intends to attack Ahmadabad; Khān A'azam comes to crush him, p. 404; Muhammad Husain Mirzā joins him; collects men and begins hostilities, p. 405; sent to intercept Khān A'azam, p. 415; arrives with his army but is attacked and turns round and flies in great haste, p. 418; killed, p. 419.

Iliyās Khān, servant of Husain Qūlī Khān in charge of the fort of Kara; killed in a fight with Niyābat Khān, p. 542.

'Imad-ul-mulk, slave of Sultān Bahādur collects an army and encamps in front of Ahmadabad and begins to collect the revenue; fights a battle with Mirzā 'Askari in which he is defeated, p. 57.

'Isa, Asi Kabuli takes shelter with him, p. 560.

'Isa Khān Hujjāb, *Hajib* or *Tambuldar* dissuades Salīm Khān from sending Qutb Khān and others to 'Adil Khān and to fly to Chunar, p. 181.

'Isa Khān Niazi, 'Adil Khān wants that Salīm Khān should send him and three other *amīrs* to him; Salīm Khān sends them and they assure him that he should have a fief at any place which he might choose, p. 270; when Bianah was granted to him 'Isa Khān and Khawās Khān were sent there with him; afterwards Salīm Khān had sent Ghazi Mahali to bring 'Adil Khān with golden fetters on his feet and 'Adil Khān and Khawās Khān come towards Agra; 'Isa Khān and Qutb Khān wanted to join them but 'Adil Khān and Khawās Khān were delayed at Fathpur Sikri, so Qutb Khān and 'Isa Khān could not join them in broad day, p. 181; Salīm Khān sends an army against Khawās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niazi; the army was defeated by Khawās Khān and 'Isa Khān returned to the Kumaun hills, p. 182.

Iskandar Afghan, sends 3,000 Afghans under Tatar Khān and Haibat Khān to Sarhind to attack Humāyun's advance guard, p. 132.

Iskandar Khān, proposes a settlement with Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk but the latter rejects it, p. 307; pardon of his offence and the restoration of *jāgīrs* by Akbar; sends elephants and other presents to Akbar, p. 309; after getting the promises of pardon goes away from the river; his *jāgīr* is transferred to Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlas, p. 340; Mun'im Khān prays for his pardon to Akbar at Fathpur, p. 368; falls ill and dies, p. 369; Mir Sadr is sent to offer condolence for the death of Iskandar Khān, father of 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek, p. 618.

Iskandar Khān Uzbek, receives Ashraf Khān sent by Akbar with all honour, but afterwards takes him to Ibrahim Khān at Sarwar; also wants to consult Khān Zamān, p. 295 (see also note 3, pp. 295-96); Akbar's march to attack him, p. 297; flies and escapes and joins Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān who retire to Jaunpur but again advance and encamp near Narhan (see also note 2), p. 298.

Islām Shāh or (Salīm Shāh), see Jalāl Khān.

Isma'el Qulī Khān, Niyābat Khān comes and attacks the fort of Kara; sent to put down Niyābat Khān, p. 542; sent to attack the Beluchis, p. 607; appointed with a large army to attack the Afghans by Akbar, p. 614; arrangement with Kunar Man Singh, p. 615; sent to

Gujrat in place of Qulij Khān, p. 622 ; sent as the vakil of Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, where he was made governor of Malwa, p. 634.

I'timad Khān, besieged by Shīr Khān Fuladi ; renders homage to Akbar ; presents the keys of Ahmadabad to Akbar, p. 374 ; places under custody by Akbar, p. 376 ; returns from Ka'aba, p. 557 ; made governor of Gujrat, p. 560 ; ordered to take away Sirohi from Sarnal Deora and to make it over to Jakmal, the brother of the Rānā ; arrives at Bijapur, p. 563 ; enters Ahmadabād and finds that a large body of the servants of Shahab Khān had separated from him, and had gone away to Kathiwara to summon Muzaffar Gujrati with the intention of creating rebellion ; sends Nizam-ud-din Ahmad to consult Shahab-ud-din Ahmad Khān who declines to do anything ; I'tmad Khān tries to conciliate him but he goes away, p. 565 ; I'tmad Khān goes and brings him back ; mollifies him and then starts for Ahmadabad, p. 566 ; news of the capture of the fort by Muzaffar Gujrati and halt at 'Usmanpur ; flies to Nahrwala, p. 567.

J

Jabbar Bardi, separates from 'Asi Kabuli, p. 560.

Jabbari, son of Majnun Qaqshal goes to Tanda, p. 536.

Jafar Beg, sent to extirpate Jalala Tariki (see note 5), p. 637.

Jafar Khān wants to attack and seizes Ghazipur on 'Ali Qulī Khān's men evacuating it, p. 311.

Jahāngir Beg Mughal, also called Jahāngir Qulī Beg, sent by Humāyun to attack Garhi, p. 65 ; left in charge of the affairs in Bengal with 5,000 selected troops, p. 67 ; completely defeated by Shīr Khān, p. 165.

Jai Mal, surrenders Mirtha to Mirzā Sharf-ud-din Husain and other amīrs sent by Akbar, p. 259 ; famous for his bravery and high spirit ; Rānā Udai Singh leaves him in charge of Chitor, p. 343 ; killed by a bullet from Akbar's musket while superintending the repairs of the breaches in the fort, p. 346.

Jalāl Khān (Salim Shāh), son of Shīr Khān (afterwards called Islām Shāh or Salīm Shāh) sent by Shīr Khān to defend Garhi, p. 65 ; sent by Shīr Khān to conquer Bengal ; after the death of Shīr Shāh proclaims as Islām Shāh or Salīm Shāh, p. 176 ; his message to 'Adil Khān ; advances towards Agra ; interview with 'Adil Khān at Singarpur ; wants to act treacherously towards 'Adil Khān, the plan is frustrated, p. 178 ; 'Adil Khān seats him on the throne ; sends 'Adil Khān to Bianah which is given to him as his *jāgīr*, after two months sends Ghazi Mahali to seize and bring 'Adil Khān with golden fetters on his feet, p. 179 ; 'Adil Khān and Khawās Khān advance to Agra but are delayed at Fathpur Sikri ; speaks to Qutb Khān in great distress and he promises to put down the disturbance ; gives permission to Qutb Khān and others to go to 'Adil Khān and wants to go himself to Chunar, p. 181 ; battle with 'Adil Khān before the city of Agra ; 'Adil Khān, Khawās Khān and 'Isa Khān retire to the Kumaun hills ; sends an army in pursuit of them, p. 182 ; goes to Chunar and takes the treasure from there and

sends it to Gwaliar and then takes up his residence in Agra; A'zam Humāyun sends Qutb Khān to him and he imprisons him and sends him to Gwaliar, p. 183; marches to Lahore; A'zam Humāyun, Khawās Khān and others engage him near Ambala; dispute between A'zam Humāyun and Khawās Khān about the appointment of a ruler, in his place, p. 184; Sa'id Khān, brother of A'zam Humāyun attempts to kill him but is recognized and is wounded but escapes; leaves an army to attack the Niazis and return to Agra and then goes to Gwaliar; pursues Shujā Khān as far as Mandu; leaves an army at Ujjain and goes away, p. 186; comes with a large army to put down the Niazis, p. 187; news of Humāyun's arrival at the Nilab river, p. 188; starts immediately to meet Humāyun taking cannon with him dragged by men, but as Humāyun had gone back, comes to Gwaliar (see also note 2, p. 189); attempts on his life; conspirators punished, p. 189; taken ill and dies, p. 190; incident connected with Shaikh 'Alai, pp. 190-191; opposes the *fatwa* for the death of Shaikh 'Alai but orders his banishment to Hindia, p. 194; orders the death of Shaikh 'Alai, p. 195.

Jalāl Khān, son of Dariya Khān Luhāni who had given himself the title of Sultān Muhammad in Behar; Shīr Khān appointed by Sultān Muhammad to be his vakil and *ataliq*, p. 147; after the death of Sultān Muhammad and his widow Dudu the government of Behar devolved nominally on Jalāl Khān, but was carried on by Shīr Khān, pp. 152-153; the Luhāni amīrs conspire against Shīr Khān and consult Jalāl Khān; Shīr Khān separates from him, p. 154; Jalāl Khān leaves Shīr Khān to oppose the Mughals and himself enters the service of the ruler of Bengal; the latter sends an army against Shīr Khān, p. 154; Shīr Khān defeats it, p. 155.

Jalāl Khān Qurchi, sent to conquer the fort of Siwana, p. 457.

Jalāl-ud-din Khwāja Mahmūd, came to collect revenue on behalf of Mirzā 'Askari near Qila Baba Haji, does homage to Humāyun, p. 96.

Jalāl-ud-din Sur, his sons commenced a war with Majnun Khān Qaqshal when Khān Khānān was in Orissa; they defeated him and took possession of Gaur; on hearing of Khān Khānān's return they dispersed, p. 469.

Jalāla Tariki, fled towards Bangash, Akbar sends 'Abd-ul-matlab Khān and others to destroy him; makes them careless, and attacks them but defeated, p. 620; Zain Khān and Asaf Khān wipe out the majority of the Tarikis and took him prisoner, p. 649.

Jamāl Khān, governor of Jaunpur; asked by Hasan to send Farid (afterwards Shīr Shāh) back, p. 141.

Jam Satarsal, Rājā of Jhalawar; moves forward with the object of marching to Ahmadabad, p. 579; proposes to lead the Khān Khānān's army to the place where Muzaffar Gujrati was; his men lead the Khān Khānān to the hilly country where Muzaffar was, p. 580; the Jam having been found not to have acted honestly the Khān Khānān advances to attack him, and he also comes forward to meet him, but when the Khān Khānān arrives

within 7 *karohs* he sends ambassador with excuses and his son with some presents; his excuses are accepted, p. 582; sends his son to Nizam-ud-din Ahmad with his excuses, p. 590; makes fresh declaration of loyalty, p. 594; his son fights A'zam Khān in concert with Daulat Khān, son of Amin Khān Ghuri and other *zamindars*, p. 630; is defeated, p. 631.

Jani Beg, ruler of Thatha, came forward with humility and sends ambassadors to the threshold, they were allowed to retire, p. 621; did not come to render homage to Akbar, p. 631; opposes Khān Khānān Mirzā Khān; fights and is defeated, p. 636; raises an entrenchment round his army, p. 637; besieged by Khān Khānān for 2 months, p. 639; goes forward to attack the men; severe fight; goes further down the river and again makes an entrenchment round his force, p. 640; attacked by the imperial troops from two sides and he was reduced to great straits and sued for peace and agreed to go and render homage and asked for 3 months' time to travel to the capital to render homage; agreed to surrender Sehwan, p. 641; arrives, renders homage to and receives favours from Akbar, p. 647.

Januhas, one of the tribes living in the Gakhar country, p. 265 (see also note 4 in that page).

Janunu, custodian of Damhari; sends his vakils and undertakes to guard the road to Nagarkot, p. 399.

Jaries, one of the tribes living in the Gakkhar country, p. 265 (see also note 4 in that page).

Jarkas Rumi, was put to death, p. 577.

Jauhar, the *aftabchi* or ewer bearer of Humāyun and the author of *Tazkirat-ul-waqiat*; gives a date of the birth of Akbar different from that given by Abul Fazl and other historians; Mr. Vincent Smith wrongly thinks that the date given by him is the correct date (see note 4), p. 89.

Jhujar Khān Habshi, slays Chenghiz Khān, p. 351; on a complaint against him by the mother of Chenghiz Khān to Akbar he was put to death by being trampled upon by an elephant, p. 389; decides to attack Ahmadabad with the help of others, p. 405.

Jogis, fight with the Sanasis and defeat, p. 331.

Junaid, son of Daud's uncle; wants to join Daud; Abul Qasim Namki and Nazr Bahadur are sent to attack him; he defeats them and made them fly; Rājā Todar Mal advances to attack him and he takes shelter in jungles, p. 461.

Junaid Birlas Sultān, one of the *amīrs* sent by Babar to take charge of the treasure in Milwat, p. 13; Governor of Karra Manikpur; Shīr Khān enters his service, p. 149; arrival of Shīr Khān at Karra; takes Shīr Khān to Agra, p. 150.

K

Kafirs, detachment sent from Jalālābād to ravage their country, p. 551 (see note 4).

Kahkars, same as the Gakkhars (which see p. 265).

Kala Pahar, defeated by Ma'sum Khān, p. 515.

Kamal Khān, escapes when Salīm Khān blows up a room in which he and other were confined; Salīm Khān then releases him and administers an oath of allegiance to himself to him and appoints him to conquer the Gakhar country; is treated with favour and receives a *jāgīr* in Karra Manikpur by Akbar; fights bravely under 'Ali Qulī Khān Zamān, p. 267; asks for a grant of his father's country; receives an order for half the country, the other half to belong to Adam Khān.

Kamal Khān Gakhar, sent by Akbar in pursuit of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 324; *jāgīrs* taken back by Akbar, p. 352.

Karam-ul-lāh, brother of Shāhbāz Khān believed to have fabricated the *farmāns* which led to the execution of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, p. 553.

(The) Karanians, 'Adali sends an army against them under Himun and he defeats them, p. 201.

Karori, a revenue officer appointed by Akbar, p. 456.

Khabisa, a servant of Ma'sum Kabuli; rebels in Behar, but is defeated by Muhammad Sadiq Khān and Muhibb 'Alī Khān and slain, p. 556.

Khakhars, same as Gakkhars (which see p. 265), Babar advances to the neighbourhood of their country, p. 3.

Khaldi Khān, harsh proceedings of Muzaffar Khān towards him, p. 528; separates from 'Asi Kabuli, p. 560.

Khalifa-i-Ilahi, title of Akbar, p. 355.

Khalil Shaikh, Shīr Khān considered him his religious preceptor and sent him to Humāyun at Chausa with certain proposals, p. 164 (see also note 1).

Khān-I-'Alam, ordered by Akbar to attack Hajipur, p. 443; Rājā Gajapati supports him, p. 443.

Khān A'zam, see A'azam Khān.

Khān Baqi Khān, Mirzā Mirak Razavi placed in charge of him, p. 330.

Khangar, *Zamindar* of Kach, A'azam Khān advances to attack him and devastates his country; makes his submission and arranges that Muzaffar Gujrati should fall into the hands of the imperial officers, p. 647.

Khān Jahan, comes from Lahore to wait on Akbar at Narnaul, p. 454; made governor of Bengal and sent there by Akbar, p. 481; ordered to take the *amīrs* at Hajipur Patna and attack Daud, p. 484; arrives near Tanda, p. 485; Akbar orders Muzaffar Khān to join him, p. 486; reports a victory, p. 486; war against Daud, p. 489; his death, p. 517.

Khān Kalan, appointed *ataliq* of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, remains in Kabul when the other *amīrs* go back to their *jāgīrs*, p. 291 (but see also note 1); when Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi takes the management of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim's affairs into his own hands comes back to Lahore and submits a representation to Akbar, p. 292.

Khān Khānān, see Mirzā Khān.

Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān, arrangement that he and Khwāja Jāhān should take the mother of Khān Zamān and Ibrahim Khān to Akbar and pray for the pardon of Khān.

Zamān, p. 305; intercedes for them, p. 309; succeeds in getting the pardon of the offences of Bahadur Khān and Iskandar Khān and the restoration of their *jāgīrs*, p. 309; Khān Zamān sends Mirzā Mirak Razvi to him, p. 313; prays for the pardon of the offence of Khān Zamān to Akbar, p. 314; Rāja Todar Mal is sent to serve under him, p. 425; ordered by Akbar to chastise Daud and to conquer Behar, p. 430; on hearing the news of the death of Ludi determines to conquer Bengal and Lakhnauti and advances towards Patna and Hajipur, p. 433; proceeds to besiege Patna, p. 434; sends petition to Akbar to come quickly, p. 439; Akbar appoints him to the van, p. 446; comes to Daryapur and receives the government of Bengal, p. 448; his petition to Akbar containing the news of the capture of Garhi, p. 452; enters Tanda after Daud had abandoned it, p. 453; further engagements with him and his defeat; sends Rāja Todar Mal in pursuit of Daud and appointed Majnun Khān Qaqshāl to govern Ghoraghat, p. 459; sends reinforcement to Rāja Todar Mal; arranges his troops for a battle (see note 2), p. 463; description of the battle; Afghans victorious in the beginning but are defeated at the end, p. 464; Khān Khānān arrives and marches to the Mahanadi; Daud sends an emissary to him to see to sue for peace; accepts the proposal conditionally, p. 467; receives Daud in great Darbar; conditions of peace agreed to, p. 468; Orissa granted to Daud subject to Akbar's approval; returns to Tanda, p. 469; determines to remove the government from Tanda to Gaur causing much suffering to the people, p. 478; appearance of various diseases at Gaur; great mortality; takes no warning; falls ill and dies after 10 days (see A. F.'s account, note 1), p. 479.

Khānzāda Begam, Mirzā Kamran sends her to Humāyun at Qandahar with Bairām Khān so that she might bring about an amicable arrangement, p. 101.

Khān Zamān (Ali Qūlī Khān), peace negotiation; meets the parties in boats on the river; it is arranged that Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān should take the mother of 'Ali Qulī Khān and Ibrāhim Khān to Akbar and pray for Khān Zamān's pardon after which Khān Zamān and Ibrāhim Khān should go to the presence; sends his mother and Ibrāhim Khān, and Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān take them to Akbar, p. 305; Akbar pardons his offences and orders the restoration of his *jāgīrs* on condition that he must not cross the river so long as the imperial army is there, p. 309; but he crosses the river against this and sends men to take possession of Ghazipur and Jaunpur, pp. 310-311; Akbar sends Ashraf Khān to seize his mother, p. 311; Akbar marches to crush him; flies in great confusion and takes shelter in the Siwalik hills, p. 312; sends Mirzā Mirak Razvi to the Khān Khānān, p. 313; Khān Khānān prays for his pardon; Akbar again pardons him, p. 314; Asaf Khān writes letter to him and meets him and his brother Vazir Khān at Jaunpur; sends Asaf Khān and Bahadur Khān to conquer some countries (east of Jaunpur) held by the

Afghans and keeps Vazir Khān with himself, pp. 316-317; raises the seige and retires towards Manikpur, p. 332; Akbar arrives there to attack the rebel army; Bahādur Khān taken prisoner and put to death; Khān Zamān killed, pp. 335-336; Khān Khānān arrives from Agra and the *jāgīrs* of Khān Zamān are transferred to him, p. 338.

Khattries, one of the tribes inhabiting the Gakkhar country, p. 265 (see also note 4).

Khawās Khān, sent by Shīr Khān to defend Garhi, p. 65; defeats Jahāngir Beg, pp. 65-66; sent by Shīr Khān to conquer Bengal, p. 162; 'Adil Khān comes to him and complains of Salīm Khān's breach of faith; puts the fetters sent by Salīm Shāh for 'Adil Khān on Ghazi Mahali's legs, p. 179; marches towards Agra; delayed at Fathpur Sikri and reaches Agra at the time of the morning meal, p. 180 (see also note 2); defeated by Salīm Khān, p. 182; dispute with A'zam Humāyun about the appointment of a successor to Salīm Khān; stands aloof in the battle and the Niazis are defeated, p. 185.

Khizr Khān Hazara, one of the *amīrs* sent by Akbar to bring the Begams from Kabul; on receipt of the news of the siege of Kabul by Mirzā Sulaiman, directed to advance rapidly to Kabul to release it from the siege, p. 212.

Khizr Khān Turk, Shīr Khān's Governor of Bengal; behaves like a Sultān; put into prison by Shīr Khān, p. 167.

Khojam Bardi, servant of Mirzā Khān; defeats Saiyyad Daulat, p. 575.

Khudawand Khān, opposed by Firangis when building the fort of Surat; pp. 381-382; ruler of Berar; invades Ahmadnagar, p. 584; sent to settle matters, p. 585; arrives at the threshold, p. 600.

Khurram Begam, sent to Ghurband by Mirzā Sulaimān, her husband to deceive and seize Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 318; comes to Ghurband and invites Mirzā Muhammad Hakim to come to her, he agrees to come to her at Qarabagh after receiving assurance from her through some men whom he had sent; sends information to Mirzā Sulaimān and asks him to come and to remain in ambush, p. 319; the plot is accidentally discovered and frustrated, p. 320.

Khush Khabar Khān, Akbar sends presents through him to Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 321; received by the latter with sincerity and fealty; Faridun wants to act treacherously but he is secretly informed by Mirzā Mahammad Hakim, p. 322; drowned, p. 329.

Khwāja 'Abd-ul-lah, sallies out of his battery during the siege of Ak Mahal and is killed, p. 486.

Khwāja 'Abd-us-Samad Mansur, deserts Mirzā Kamran, p. 124.

Khwāja 'Abd-ush-Shahid, grandson of Khwāja Nasir-ud-din 'Abd-ul-lāh Ahrar offers his prayer; Akbar's behaviour towards him, p. 426 (see note 2).

Khwāja Abul Qasim, appointed *Diwan*, p. 561.

Khwāja Amin-ud-Din, p. 633.

Khwāja Amin-ud-Din Mahmūd (Khwāja Jahān), arranges that he and Khān Khānān should take the mother of 'Ali Qūlī Khān and Ibrāhim Khān to Akbar and pray

for the pardon of 'Ali Qulī Khān, p. 305; dies at Lucknow, p. 457.

Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi, married a sister of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim and was in charge of his offices, p. 319; wanted to take Mirzā Muhammad Hakim to Pir Muhammad Khān but Baqi Qaqshal brought him to the Nilab and sent a petition to Akbar, p. 321.

Khwāja Jahān, see Khwāja Amin-ud-din Mahmūd.

Khwāja Kalan Beg, joins Babar, p. 2; Governor of Qandahar under Kamran Mirzā, p. 48; is besieged by Sam Mirzā, and Aghrwar Khān; Kamran marches from Lahore and he and Khwāja Kalan Beg defeat Sam Mirzā and Aghrwar Khān, p. 49; Shāh Tahmasp attacks Qandahar, Khwāja Kalan Beg evacuates it and comes to Lahore, p. 61; Kamran sends him in advance to Lahore after the defeat of Humāyun by Shīr Shāh, p. 71; goes to Sialkot, p. 75; Mirzā Kamran in concert with him goes away to Kabul, p. 76.

Khwāja Khatib, sent as an ambassador to 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek, p. 523.

Khwāja Muhammad Rafi, sent by Nizam-ud-din to summon Qulīj Khān to reinforce him in the battle near Nadot, p. 576; he and others go with Nizam-ud-din to redress the matter of Rai Singh, 590.

Khwāja Muhammad Yahya, appointed to be the Mīr Hāj and is sent to Mecca, p. 517.

Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti Sanjari, Akbar goes on a pilgrimage to his tomb, p. 348; his tomb again visited by Akbar, p. 355; Akbar goes on a pilgrimage to his tomb, p. 359.

Khwāja Shāh Mansur, antecedents; appointed Diwan, p. 494; writes harsh letters to Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi about the revenue due from him, p. 539; deprived of his office for a few days and placed in the custody of Shāh Qulī Khān, p. 540; released from imprisonment and reinstated, p. 542; renders homage to Akbar; put into prison, p. 545; the *farmān* of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim which implicates him shown to him he takes oath about his innocence but it was of no avail, p. 546; found guilty and executed (see note 3, p. 546), p. 547; Akbar makes enquiry into his matter and repents for the deeds, p. 553.

Khwāja Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Khafi, sent to defend Garhi by Muzaffar Khān but is defeated by Ma'sum or 'Asi Kabuli, p. 533; reports the illness of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 602; left with Kunar Man Singh's son and others at Kabul when Kunar Man Singh returns to the threshold, p. 606.

Kuka Fulād, servant of Sharf-ud-din Husain; makes an attempt on the life of Akbar at Dehli, p. 275.

Kunar Man Singh, placed in charge of the vanguard in the attack of Sarnal; enters the town by a route different from that taken by Akbar, p. 378; sent to attack Rānā Kika by Akbar, p. 484; reports a victory over Rānā Kika; battle with Rānā Kika, p. 487; prohibits of plunder; Akbar's displeasure towards him, p. 439; son of Rāja Bhagwān Das attacks and kills Shadman, servant of Mirzā Muhammad, p. 544; sends the *farmān* to Akbar; shuts himself up in the fort of Lahore, p. 545; Akbar bestows the government of the Punjab on him, p. 552;

ordered to go to and take possession of Kabul, p. 584 ; makes representation to Akbar, p. 597 ; representation approved, p. 598 ; reports about the illness of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 602 ; news of his sending men to Peshāwar ; reports about the loyalty of the people of Kabul, p. 605 ; brings the sons of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim and his *amīrs* to wait on Akbar at Rawalpindi and they receive favours, p. 607 ; kills a large number of Tarikis, p. 611 ; helps the ambassador of 'Abd-ul-lah Khān Uzbek and Nazr Be Uzbek and brings them through the pass, p. 612 ; at the conclusion of *nauruz* leaves for his government, p. 614 ; ordered to go to Kabul on Isma'el Qulī Khān's arrival, p. 615 ; came from Kabul to the Khaibar and defeated the Tarikis in a great battle and slew a large number of them ; Madho Singh his brother came from the *amīrs* of Ohind to reinforce him, pp. 619-620 ; summoned by Akbar ; was honoured with the government of the country of Bihar and Hajipur, p. 622 ; made Rāja in place of Rāja Bhagwān Das his father, p. 630 ; also Rāja Man Singh ; news of his fighting a great battle with the son and brothers of Qutlu Afghan and after the latter's death annexed that country, p. 646.

L

Lad Mulk, favourite wife of Taj Khān, governor of Chunar under Sultān Ibrāhim, p. 155 ; his sons by other wives plan to kill her ; she is slightly wounded by one of them ; Taj Khān attacks him and is killed by him ; marries Shīr Khān who thus gets possession of Chunar and the treasure in it, p. 156.

Lakhna, an elephant which Akbar was riding stumbles into a pit and Akbar is in great danger but is rescued, p. 230.

Lashkar Khān, joins the army against Bahādur Khān and Iskandar Khān, p. 306 ; after the defeat retires towards Kanouj, p. 308.

Lashkari, son of Adam Khān Kahkar ; put to death under order of Kamal Khān Kahkar, p. 268.

Latif Khwāja, sent to Mirzā Muhammad Hakim by Akbar, p. 551.

Learned Men, pp. 648–700 (see the contents also).

Ludi, Amir-ul-Umra of Daud ; rebels against Daud at Rohtas ; makes treaty with Khān Khānān, p. 431 ; seized by Daud and handed over to Sridhar Bengali at the instigation of Qutb Luhani ; message to Daud from the prison, p. 432 ; put to death by Daud, pp. 432-433.

(The) Luhanis, an Afghan tribe ; Babar decides on crushing them as they were 50,000 strong near Kanouj ; Humāyun at his own request was sent against them, p. 30 ; the Luhanis and Jalāl Khān jealous of Shīr Khān's power, p. 153 ; they persuade Jalāl Khān to enter the service of the ruler of Bengal and leave Shīr Khān to withstand the Mughals, p. 154 ; they and the Bengal army defeated by Shīr Khān, p. 155.

M

Madhkar, *zamindar* of Undjha, p. 634 ; battle with Shāhzāda Shāh Murād ; fled ; country ravaged, etc., p. 635.

Madho Singh, brother of Kunar Man Singh ; comes from the *thānā* of Ohind to reinforce him, pp. 619–629.

Mahābhārat, translated into Persian under the title of 'Razm-nāmā', p. 562.

Maham Anka, foster mother of Akbar; protects him with her own body when Kāmrān orders him to be exposed on the battlements of the fort of Kabul, p. 113; Bairām Khān sends a message to her enquiring what fault he had committed so that she and her adherents were trying to create trouble between Akbar and him, p. 224; speaks against Bairām Khān to Akbar but with no effect, p. 236; poisons Akbar's mind against Bairām Khān and prays to be allowed to go to Mecca as she was afraid of Bairām Khān, p. 238; tells Akbar that Bairām Khān had started to conquer the Punjab, p. 241; Adham Khān, her son, kills the Khān A'zam and is slain by Akbar, p. 262; her grief at her son's death, and her death, p. 264.

Mahammad Ma'sum, comes out of Jaunpur and joins Todar Mal and other *amīrs* and offers to send reinforcement but his wits and words show his disloyalty, p. 534.

Mah Chuchak Begam, mother of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim; drives Ghani Khān out of Kabul, p. 269; takes charge of the affairs of Kabul, p. 270; receives Shāh Abul Ma'ali courteously and gives her daughter in marriage to him, p. 276; killed by Shāh Abul Ma'ali, p. 277.

Mahdi Qasim, Khānsent to Garha as governor and to seize Asaf Khān by Akbar; goes in pursuit of Asaf Khān, p. 316, p. 545.

Majnun Khān Qaqshal, retires to the fort of Manikpur and summons Asaf Khān, governor of Gadha, to his aid, p. 296; distributes treasures supplied by Asaf Khān to his army, p. 296; posted at Karra and Manikpur, p. 329; put in charge of the fort of Kalinjar by Akbar, p. 357; appointed governor of Ghoraghat by Khān Khānān; defeats Sulaimān Mangli, p. 459; defeated by the sons of Jalāl-ud-din Sur who take possession of Gaur during the Khān Khānān's absence in Orissa; waits at Tanda for the news of the Khān Khānān's victory, p. 469, p. 536.

Makhdum A'lam, governor of Hajipur; joins Shīr Khān; the Sultān of Bengal sends Qutb Khān to crush him, p. 153.

Makhsus Khān, brother of Sa'id Khān; directed by Akbar to accompany him in his rapid march to Gujrat, p. 408.

Maldeo Rai, Rāja of Jodhpur, Humāun starts for his country, p. 83; arrives there and sends Atka Khān to him, p. 84; Maldeo's fear of Shīr Khān, proposes to deliver Humāyun to him, p. 85; on receiving warning from Atka Khān, Humāyun goes away towards Amarkot, p. 86; Maldeo's army pursues him, but is defeated and driven back, p. 87; attacked by Shīr Khān (Shāh), the two armies confront each other for a month; Shīr Shāh makes him suspicious of his nobles, p. 171; they try to reassure him, then they fight with Shīr Shāh's army, p. 172.

Malik 'Ali, brings a letter to Akbar and says his messenger got it at the Sarai of Sarhind from a *piada* who showed his feet were swollen and who said that he was a servant of Sharf Beg who was Khwāja Shāh Mansur's *shiqdar* at Firuzpur and Sharf Beg had sent the latter to Khwāja Shāh Mansur but as his feet were swollen they should take them to Khwāja Shāh Mansur; there were two letters in the packet, p. 546.

Malik Sani Kabuli, see Vazir Khān.

Malik Sikkah, slave of Shīr Khān; slain in a battle with Shadi Khān, p. 149.

Mallu Khān, governor of Malwa; comes to Shīr Shāh but afterwards makes his escape, p. 168; returns and after fighting with Hājī Khān and Shuja Khān is defeated, p. 169.

Maqsud Jauhari, brings Mirzā Muzaffar Husain from Rāja 'Ali Khān, p. 516.

Mariam Makani, originally called Hamida Banu Begam; Humāyun married her at Hindali camp at Patar, pp. 77-78; gives birth to Akbar at Amarkot, pp. 89-91; goes away hurriedly with Humāyun leaving the infant prince behind p. 95; attended by the ladies of the household of Ahmad Sultān Shamlu at Sistan, p. 96; brought to Kabul from Qandahar by Mirzā Yadgar Nasir, p. 107; brought to India from Kabul, p. 222; Akbar brought to Dehli by Maham Anka and her partisans on the pretext of her illness, p. 237; comes from Agra to see Akbar and is treated with honour and affection, p. 512.

Ma'sum Kabuli ('Asi), rebels and attempts to put Mulla Taiyib and Purkhotam to death; communications with the Qaqshals; comes to Garhi and passes through it after defeating Khwāja Shams-ud-din Muhammad Khafi sent by Muzaffar Khān to defend it, p. 532; advance (with the Qaqshals) to attack Muzaffar Khān and the latter is brought out under a promise and is put to death; takes possession of Bengal and Behar, p. 533; comes to meet Rāja Todar Mal at Munghir, p. 534; retires to Behar, p. 536; Rāja Todar Mal, Sadiq Khān and Muhibb 'Ali Khān turn towards Behar to attack him, p. 536; attacks Sadiq Khān's camp with some success, but latter is defeated and Akbar's generals recover possession of the country as far as Garhi, p. 537; writes letters to Mirzā Muhammad Hakim for the conquest of Hindustan, p. 544; Khabisa his servant creates a disturbance in Behar but is defeated and slain, p. 556; Muhammad Sadiq Khān sent to destroy him in concert with A'azam Khān, etc., p. 557; flies and takes shelter with 'Isa, p. 562; Shāhbāz Khān sent to divide the whole of Bengal into *jāgīrs* and to extirpate 'Asi, p. 562.

Ma'sum Khān Farankhudi, ordered by Akbar to help Rāja Todar Mal, p. 534; sent by Rāja Todar Mal to reinforce the garrison of Patna, p. 536; receives harsh letters from Khwāja Shāh Mansur about sums due from him, p. 539; goes to Jaunpur and begins a rebellion, p. 541; Niyabat Khān and 'Arab Bahādur take shelter with him; defeats Shāhbāz Khān who flies to Jaunpur; Tarsun Muhammad Khān who was on the right wing of Shāhbāz Khān's army defeats him, p. 543; flies to the Siwalik hills; writes letters to Mirzā Muhammad Hakim for the conquest of Hindustan, p. 544; sends prayer to A'azam Khān and his sins are pardoned and he comes to Fathpur, p. 553.

Ma'sum Khān, Koka (foster brother) of Mirzā Hakim comes to Akbar who grants his *jāgīr* in Behar and sends him there; defeats Kala Pahar, is promoted, pp. 514-515.

Maulānā 'Abd-ul-lah Sultānpuri, sent by Akbar to bring Bairām Khān, p. 248.

Maulānā Mir Kalan Harwi, Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm takes lesson from him, p. 424.

Maulānā Nizām-ud-din Lari, sent by the garrison of Surat to Akbar to pray for quarter, p. 385; sent back to give the garrison the assurance of safety, p. 386.

Maumin 'Ali Atkah, sent by Babar to reconnoitre the army of Hamid Khān Khasah-Khail of Sultān Ibrahim, p. 15.

Maumin 'Ali Tawaji, sent to inform the *amīrs* at Lahore of Babar's arrival, p. 3.

Mehtar Khān, entrusted with the government of the fort of Ranthambor by Akbar, p. 355.

Miani, a tribe of Afghans living in Raisin; they summon Sultān Ibrāhim to be their commander in carrying on their hostilities against Baz Bahādur, p. 205.

Mihr 'Ali, brings Muzaffar Husain Mirzā to Gujrat to create disturbance, p. 501; shot when attempting to enter the fort of Ahmadabad by climbing a ladder, p. 502.

Mir Abu Ishaq, sent to the Qaqshals by Muzaffar Khān, seized and imprisoned by Baba Khān, p. 531.

Mir Abu Turab, arrives at Ajmir and enters the service of Akbar, p. 504; returns from Ka'ba, p. 557; brings a stone said to bear an imprint of the prophets foot, p. 558; appointed *amin* of Gujrat, p. 561; he and Nizam-ud-din arrange to go to Shahāb-ud-din Ahmad Khān to bring him back to Ahmadabad, p. 566.

Mir Adham, Ray Patar Das appointed joint diwans of Bengal, p. 517.

Mir 'Ali Akbar Mashhadi, brings Akbar's horoscope with a letter from Qazi Ghiyas-ud-din Jami, p. 509.

Mir Fath-ul-lah Shirāzi, sent to arrange matters in the Deccan, p. 585; wanted to remove the ill feeling between A'azam Khān and Shahab-ud-din Ahmad Khān; useless effort to keep Rāja 'Ali Khān loyal; goes to Gujrat to bring the Khān Khānān, p. 586; receives imperial favours, p. 622; dies in Kashmir, pp. 624-625; Faizi's elegy on his death, p. 625.

Mir Gesu Bakawalbegi (Gesu Khān), sent to take over charge of the fort of Bakar, p. 457.

Mir Khalifa (Amir Nizam-ud-din 'Ali Khalifa also called Amīr Khalifa), plots to supersede Humāyun in the succession by Mahdi Khwāja, pp. 41-42 (but see note 2, page 41); Babar directs him to watch Shīr Khān, p. 151.

Mir Miran Khwājah, appointed by Babar to protect the family and children of Daulat Khān, p. 12.

Mir Muhammad Amin, sent with the Khān Khānān in his expedition to conquer Sind, p. 633; he and others sent to the ruler of the Deccan, p. 650.

Mir Muhammad Khān Atka, sent an advance guard to Akbar, p. 370; wounded in the neighbourhood of Sirohi, p. 371.

Mir Muhammad Khān Kalan, his jāgīrs in the Punjab taken back by Akbar on Husain Qūlī Khān and Isma'el Khān being appointed governors of the province, 352; Akbar sends for him to come with his troops and join him at Balisana, p. 411; defeats the sons of Shīr Khān Fuladi, p. 417; is made governor of Pattan, p. 420.

Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, Iskandar Khān and Bahādur Khān send men to him for the pardon of their offences;

rejects their prayers; interview with Bahādur Khān, again rejects the latter's prayer; Lashkar Khān and Rāja Todar Mal join the army under him, p. 306; again rejects the proposal of Iskandar Khān and Bahādur Khān for a settlement, p. 307; defeated by them, p. 308.

Mir Munir, returns from his embassay to one of the rulers of Deccan, p. 650.

Mir Murtaza, invades Ahmadnagar, is defeated by Salabat Jang, p. 584; he and others sent with A'azam Khān when the latter was ordered to conquer the Deccan, beginning with Berar, p. 585; arrives at the threshold, p. 600.

Mir Nizam, comes as ambassador from Mirzā Shāhrukh, p. 520.

Mir Quraish, ambassador of 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek; news of his coming with some presents, p. 611.

Mir Sadr Jahān, sent to 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek to offer condolences for the death of Iskandar Khān, his father, p. 618; returns from Mawara-un-nahr, p. 627.

Mirak Isfahani, ordered by Akbar to find out by Jafar the result of the expedition against Daud, p. 441.

Mirak Radai, son of Farhat Khān; attacked and killed by Gajpati, p. 490.

Mirān Shāh Mirzā, son of Amir Taimūr Gurgan and ancestor of Babar, p. 1.

Mirzā 'Askari, Humāyun gives Sambal to him as his *jāgīr*, p. 45; fights with 'Imad-ul-mulk and defeats him near Mahmudabad, p. 57; Humāyun grants Ahmadabad to him as his *jāgīr*, p. 58; his convivial feast; Ghazanfar's witty remark; puts Ghazanfar into prison; Ghazanfar escapes, and persuades Sultān Bahādur to advance against Ahmadabad, p. 59; Amīr Hindu Beg advises him to rebel, p. 60; Qandahar given to him by Kamran, p. 85; Kamran writes to him to block the passage of Humāyun, p. 93; sends Hawali Uzbek to watch Humāyun's movements, p. 94; takes Akbar to Qandahar and makes him over to Sultān Begam, his wife, p. 95; shows hostility towards Humāyun, p. 119; defeated by Chakar 'Ali Beg Kulabi, p. 122; taken prisoner, p. 125; starts towards Badakhshan with orders to Mirzā Sulaimān to send him to Mecca; dies in the course of the journey, p. 126.

Mirzā 'Aziz Kokaltash, see A'azam Khān.

Mirzā 'Aziz Kokaltash, as jāgīrdār of Dibalpur entertains Akbar with great pomp and makes valuable presents, p. 364; Akbar makes over to him the Government of Gujrat, p. 376.

Mirzā 'Aziz-ul-lāh, besieged by the Mirzās at Ujjain, joins the other amīrs after the siege is raised, p. 351.

Mirzā Beg Qaqshal, separates from 'Asi Kabuli, p. 560.

Mirza Kulad, sent as an ambassador to 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek, ruler of Mawara-un-nahr, p. 523.

Mirzā Hindal, after Babar's death arrives from Badakhshan; receives treasures and Miwat as his jāgīr, p. 44; sent by Humāyun from Monghyr to Agra to put down the Mirzās, p. 65; commences hostilities in Agra and puts Shaikh Bahlol to death; p. 66; arrives near Dehli but finds that Mir Fakhr 'Ali had shut himself up in the fort; meets Kamran; goes away towards Alwar, p. 68; comes and does

homage to Humāyun, p. 70; separates from Humāyun and goes to Patar, p. 76; goes to Qandahar and Qaracha Khān makes it over to him; Mirzā Kamran besieges him there; surrenders it to him, p. 84; Kamran brings him to Ghaznin but after some days takes it from him, p. 85; joins Humāyun, p. 105; he and others help Humāyun to defeat Kamran at Yurt Chalak, p. 111; Kamran sends Shīr 'Ali to crush him; Shīr 'Ali defeated and taken prisoner; p. 116; Kamran attacks and defeats him but the arrival of Humāyun changes the defeat into a victory, pp. 116-117; comes and waits upon Humāyun on his arrival in Badakhshan, p. 119; joins Humāyun, p. 124; killed in a night attack by Mirzā Kamran, p. 127.

Mirzā 'Isa Khān Tarkhān, p. 366.

Mirzā Kamran, receives the Punjab and Kabul and Qandahar as his *jāgīr* on the accession of Humāyun, p. 45; marches from Lahore to Qandahar to meet Sam Mirzā and Agharwar Khān who were besieging Khwāja Kalan Beg, his governor, p. 48; defeat them, p. 49; returns to Lahore and marches towards Agra, and meets Humāyun there after the latter's defeat at Chunar, p. 67; arrives near Dehli but is unable to enter it; goes on to Agra; turns towards Lahore while suffering from illness which he attributes to poison administered at the instigation of Humāyun, p. 71; separates from Humāyun after the latter's arrival at Lahore, pp. 75-76; besieges Hindal at Qandahar, the latter surrenders it to him, p. 84; gives Qandahar to Mirzā 'Askari and brings Mirzā Hindal to Ghaznin; being now master of Kabul, Qandahar and Ghaznin has the *khutbah* read in his own name, p. 85; writes to Mirzā 'Askari to block Humāyun's road and to seize him, p. 93; after Humāyun's return from Iran and arrival at Qandahar and his sending Bairām Khān to him at Kabul sends Khānzāda Begam with Bairām Khān to arrange for peace, p. 101; Mirzā Husain Khān and others desert him, p. 102; comes out of Kabul to fight with Humāyun but his men desert him, p. 105; sends Shaikhs to Humāyun and asks for pardon, but instead of coming to Humāyun takes shelter in the citadel of Kabul, and then escapes to Ghaznin, p. 106; then goes to Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghun at Bhakkar and advances from Bhakkar to Ghurband and Kabul; seizes Ghaznin and marches to Kabul; and enters the city and the fort of Kabul owing to the negligence of Humāyun's officers and the latter's absence in Badakhshan, pp. 109-110; his army defeated on Humāyun's return, p. 111; is closely besieged; sues for peace; orders Akbar to be exposed on the battlements, when he is protected by Maham Anka; escapes with the help of some of Humāyun's followers, p. 112; is plundered by the Hazaras, p. 114; goes to Balkh and establishes his authority in some part of Badakhshan, p. 115; wishes to get into the Hazara country, p. 123; some conspirators against Humāyun come to him; sends Shīr 'Ali to Mirzā Hindal, but the latter's troops take Shīr 'Ali prisoner, p. 116; attacks Mirzā Hindal and defeats him, pp. 116-117; flight

towards Taliqan, p. 117; in great distress asks for leave from Humāyun to go to Mecca; starts but comes back, p. 118; kindly treated by Humāyun who grants Kabul to him as his fief, pp. 118-119; shows hostility towards Humāyun, p. 119; Humāyun sends *amīrs* to attack him but they inform him that he should come by way of Qibchaq when they would join him; Qaracha Khān and others join him; Humāyun defeated goes away towards Zuhaq and Bamian; takes possession of Kabul, p. 123; comes out to oppose Humāyun, p. 124; Khwāja Abd-us-Samad deserts him; Humāyun advances against him and he escapes towards Sindh, p. 125; Hājī Muhammad Khān intends treacherously to surrender Ghaznin to him but before he could march to Ghaznin Bairām Khān arrives there and takes Hājī Muhammad Khān to Kabul, p. 126; makes a night attack on Humāyun's camp, in which Mirzā Hindal is slain; goes to Salīm Khān Afghān, p. 127; flies to the hilly country of Sivalik; Sultān Adam Gakkhar surrenders him to Humāyun; is blinded under orders of Humāyun, p. 128; goes on pilgrimage to Mecca and dies there, p. 129.

Mirzā Khān, 'Abd-ur-Rahim, son of Bairām Khān left by the latter in charge of Shīr Muhammad Diwānā, governor of Tabarhinda; treated badly by the latter, p. 244; after the murder of his father he was taken by the latter's adherents to Ahmadabad and then to Akbar; his gradual rise to eminence, pp. 249-250; after the defeat and death of Khān Zamān the latter's *jāgīrs* are transferred to him; arrives from Agra, p. 338; sent to fight Muzaffar Gujrati, pp. 567–570; asked by Nizam-ud-din to advance quickly; arrives at Sirohi and meets Nizam-ud-din there, p. 571; halts at Sarkhej, p. 572; Muzaffar defeats; reports the victory and receives the title of Khān Khānān; enters Ahmadabad, p. 573; Qūlij Khān and the Malwa *amīrs* join him 3 days after the victory; advances towards Kambayat; sends Qūlij Khān, etc. forward to attack Muzaffar Gujrati, p. 574; advances to Nadot; arranges to fight Muzaffar and sends Naurang Khān to reconnoitre Muzaffar's army, p. 575; occupies himself with the affairs of the soldiery and the *raiyyats*, p. 577; rewarded, p. 578; advances to meet Muzaffar, p. 579; the Jam proposes to lead his army to the place where Muzaffar was; Amin Khān Ghuri sends his son to attend on the Khān Khānān; Jam's men lead him to the hilly country, p. 580; the Khān Khānān had left detachments at Hadala and Paranti, p. 581; sends back Jam's *vakil* and marches forward to attack him; the Jam comes forward to meet him, but when Mirzā Khān arrives within 7 *karohs* he sends ambassadors and makes excuses and sends his son with elephants, etc.; accepts the excuses and comes back to Ahmadabad, p. 582; returns and arrives near Sirohi, p. 583; imprisons Ghazni Khān of Jalor and takes possession of Jalor; arrives at Ahmadabad; news of the death of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 584; 'Azd-ud-daula comes to Gujrat to take him to the threshold; A'azam Khān asks for his help;

sends Nizam-ud-din, etc. and promises to follow later; advances to meet A'azam Khān at Mahmudabad, p. 586; arranges to fight against the Dakhinis; marches to Baroda; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad meets him and both of them march to Bahroj; returns to Ahamadabad, p. 587; prays to accompany Akbar; starts to join him, p. 588; comes from Gujrat, p. 602; sent for from the imperial camp; brings Mir Fath-ullāh Shirazi, p. 622; receives Jaunpur as his *jāgīr* in exchange for the one he had in Gujrat, p. 629; ordered to conquer Sind; advances with a number of *amīrs*, p. 632; arrives at and besieges the fort of Sihwan, but hears of the approach of Jani Beg and abandons the siege; fights with Jani Beg and defeats him, p. 636; stations himself in front of Jani Beg's camp and continues warfare for 2 months; receives help from Akbar in money and grain and also reinforcement by Rai Rai Singh, p. 637; besieges Jani Beg for 2 months; returns towards *pargana* Jun near Thatha, p. 639; sends Daulat Khān to reinforce the men, p. 640; fights with Jani Beg and defeats him; agrees to remain during three months (which was the rainy season) at *Mouza* San opposite to Sehwan, p. 641; renders homage to and receives favour from Akbar, p. 647; sent to receive Mirzā Rustam near Lahore, p. 650; sent to attend on Shāhzāda Danial in the invasion of the Deccan; Akbar sends for him for a conference, p. 651; meets Akbar near Shaikhupur and takes the work of the expedition on himself, and the army is ordered to accompany him; he marches away towards the Deccan and Akbar returns to Lahore, p. 652.

Mirzā Kuka, see A'azam Khān.

Mirzā Mirak Razavi, sent to Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān by Khān Zamān, p. 313; placed in charge of Khān Baqi Khān, p. 330; escapes, p. 331.

Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, leaves the fort of Kabul in charge of Ma'sum Kuka and goes with Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi to Shakardara and Ghurband, p. 318; invited by Khurram Begam to go to her; agrees to go to her at Qarabagh after receiving assurance from her through some men whom he sent; his men and Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi persuades him to go to Khurram Begam but Baqi Qaqshal dissuades him, p. 319; starts to go to her, hears that Mirzā Sulaimān had come to seize him (see note 1) and flies and in great confusion goes towards Badakhshan, p. 320; Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi wants to take him to Pir Muhammad Khān but Baqi Qaqshal brings him to the Nilab and sends a petition to Akbar; he sends Faridun to his help, p. 321; Akbar sends presents by Khush Khabar Khān and he receives the latter with sincerity and fealty but later Faridun led him astray, and told him that he could easily conquer Lahore; Faridun advises him to seize Khush Khabar Khān but he secretly tells Khush Khabar Khān to leave; starts for Lahore; the Punjab *amīrs* combined to defend Lahore; arrives at Lahore; the royal army comes and he flies, pp. 321-32; news of his flight, p. 323; Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khān and Kamal Khān Gakhar are sent on his pursuit by Akbar; goes

to Kabul on hearing of the return of Mirzā Sulaimān to Badakhshan, p. 324; Mirzā Sulaimān comes to him; does not help him to reach the Nilab, p. 474; advances from Kabul to conquer Hindustan; sends a servant by the name of Shadman, who is attacked by Kunar Man Singh and is killed; crosses the Nilab, p. 544; three *farmans* found in the portfolio of Shadman; arrives at Lahore; Vazir Khān his *diwan* separates from him and takes up his quarters in the house of Khwāja Shāh Mansur, p. 545; hears of the approach of the imperial army and goes away towards Kabul, p. 547; goes away towards Kabul on hearing of the arrival of Akbar, p. 548; sends petition to Akbar for the pardon of his offences, p. 549; comes to Khurd Kabul to fight with Shāhzāda Shāh Murad but was defeated and Shāhzāda Shāh Murad entered Kabul; Faridun Khān attacked the rear of his army on the day before the battle and had carried away much booty and slain many men, p. 550; Akbar sends Latif Khwāja to him while at Ghurband; bestowes Kabul on him, p. 551; news of his death, p. 584; grants Mauza Istalif to Mirzā Sulaimān for his subsistence; report of his illness, p. 602; news of his death to Akbar; excessive drinking the cause of his death p. 603.

Mirzā Muhammad Husain, with other Mirzās rebel against Akbar, p. 326.

Mirzā Murād Shāhzāda, son of Shāh Tahmasp sent with Badagh Khān to help Humāyun to recover his empire, pp. 100-101; enters and takes possession of the fort of Qandahar, p. 103; dies a natural death, p. 104.

Mirzā Muzaffar Husain, brought to the court by Maqsud Jauhari from Rāja Alī Khān, p. 516.

Mirzā Rustam, son of Sultān Husain Mirzā, p. 649; sends a petition to the threshold; Akbar sends a pavilion to him on his arrival on the bank of the Chinab to meet him and some other presents; Zain Khān Koka and the Khān Khānān sent to receive him, p. 650.

Mirzā Shāhrukh, his relation with Mirzā Sulaimān, his grandfather, p. 473; became worse after the death of the latter's wife; takes possession of Badakhshan, p. 474; sends Mir Nizam, the husband of his sister to Akbar, p. 520; news of his coming to Hindustan and the arrival on the bank of the Nilab, p. 597; arrival at Sarhind with the intention of going to Akbar, p. 598; unable to withstand 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek, p. 601; sent to conquer Kashmir, p. 607; expedition to Kashmir and his conclusion of peace with the rulers of the country and his return; arrival at the pass of Bhulbas; Yusuf Khān closes the pass; the imperial army remained inactive and snow and rain begun to fall and supplies of grain were cut off, p. 612; government of Malwa is bestowed upon him, p. 649.

Mirzā Sharf-ud-din Husain, comes to meet Rāja Todar Mal at Munghir, p. 534.

Mirzā Sulaimān, fights battle with Humāyun; is defeated and retire, p. 108; joins Humāyun, pp. 117-118; advances to Kabul with his son Mirzā Ibrahim, on hearing the news of the death of Humāyun, p. 212; returns towards Badakhshan, p. 213; Muhammad Qasim goes to him and informs him of Shāh

Abul Ma'ali's proceedings; comes to Kabul, p. 278; Shāh Abul Ma'ali is taken to him; gives his daughter in marriage to Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm, and grants most of the districts of Kabul to his own adherents as *jāgīrs*, p. 279; Mirzā Muhammad Hakim drives out the Badakhshanis; Mirzā Sulaimān comes to Kabul for the third time; advances towards Kabul; Mirzā Muhammad Hakim leaves Baqi Qaqshal at Kabul and retires towards Jalalabad and Parshawar, p. 289; Mirzā Sulaimān advances towards Jalalabad; marches towards Kabul leaving Qambar at Jalalabad, p. 290; retires towards Badakhshan and the *amīrs* sent by Akbar return to their *jāgīrs* except Khān Kalan, p. 291; on hearing the return of the great amīrs again invades Kabul; being unable to capture it sends his wife Khurram Begam to Ghurband to deceive and seize Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 318; Khurram Begam asks him to come and remains in ambush to seize him; comes near Qarabagh by a night march leaving Muhammad Qulī Shughali near Kabul, p. 319; returning from Qarabagh again besieges Kabul, but is in great straits, pp. 324-325; sends Qazi Khān Badakhshi and peace was settled by Ma'sum offering to pay a small tribute and he retires to Badakhshan, p. 325; relations with Mirzā Shāhrukh, p. 473; flies to Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, the latter does not help him to reach the Nilab; arrives on the bank of the Nilab after fighting the Afghans who obstruct his way, p. 474; sends a petition to Akbar; Akbar sends him money, etc.; and sends Rāja Bagwan Das to welcome him and bring him to the presence, p. 475; reception at Lahore, Mathura and Fathpur by Akbar with great pomp and courtesy, p. 476; determines to go to the Hijaz; sent there by Akbar with large sums of money, p. 480; arrives near Badakhshan, p. 481; news of coming to Hindustan, p. 597; report from Kabul of his having obtained possession of Badakhshan but later of his being unable to withstand 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek, pp. 601-602; comes to Badakhshan from Mecca and acquires power there, but has to retire to Kabul and comes from there to Hindustan, p. 620.

Mirzā Sultān Muhammad, great grandfather of Babar and grandson of Taimur, p. 1.

Mirzā Yusuf Khān Akbar directs him to accompany him in his rapid ride to Gujrat, p. 408.

Mirzā Yusuf Khān Rizvi, Akbar sends the army to fight against Daud under him, p. 434; army which had fought against Daud is sent back under him, p. 449.

Mota Rāja, appointed governor of Lahore, p. 638.

Mu'azzam Khwāja, (brother of Mariam Makani and uncle of Akbar) kills Khwāja Rashidi; flies to Kabul and is put into prison there, p. 109; banished by Humāyun and again by Bairām Khān for his misdeeds, determines to kill his wife Zuhra Agha; her mother complains to Akbar, p. 288; Akbar sends Tāhir Muhammad Khān but he puts the woman to death; is punished by Akbar and then imprisoned at Gwaliar where he dies, p. 289.

Mubāriz Khān, see Sultān Muhammad 'Adali.

Muhammad 'Ali Khazanchi, comes from Kabul and reports about the sons of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim and *amīrs*, p. 606.

Muhammad Amin Diwana, flies from Lahore and takes shelter with Shahāb Khān and goes to the rebels, pp. 331-332.

Muhammad Amīr 'Ali Jangjang, one of the *amīrs* deputed by Babar to take charge of the treasures in Milwat, p. 13.

Muhammad Baqi Tarkhān, son of Mirzā 'Isa ; complains against Sultān Mahmūd to Akbar of his interfering with his territories, p. 325 ; *farmān* sent to Sultān Mahmūd, p. 326 ; Nahid Begam complains against him and prays that if her husband Mahibb 'Ali Khān be sent to Thatha that place be easily conquered, pp. 366-367.

Muhammad Ghaus Shaikh, arrives at Agra, p. 234 ; receives imperial favours, but owing to the influence of Shaikh Gadai does not get much attention from Bairām Khān ; goes to Gwaliar, p. 235 ; sent to capture the fort of Chunār by Akbar, p. 280.

Muhammad Husain Mirzā, Akbar resolves to drive him out of Baroch, Baroda, and Surat, pp. 375-376 ; besieges Pattan with the help of others, p. 390 ; wants to re-conquer Surat ; Naurang Khān and Hamid Bukhari are sent to put him down, p. 404 ; flies and joins Ikhtiyar-ul-mulk ; indecisive actions near Ahmadnagar and Idar, p. 405 ; surprised at Akbar's rapid march to Gujrat ; in great confusion arranges his soldiers, p. 414 ; sends Ikhtiar-ul-mulk to intercept Khān A'azam, p. 415 ; fled from the field of battle ; brought before Akbar, p. 417 ; killed by the Rajputs under Ray Singh, p. 419.

Muhammad Khān Hājī, enters Qandahar and attacks the Qazalbash guards, p. 105 ; helps to defeat Kamran at Alang Yurt Chalak, p. 111 ; Humāyun sends him in pursuit of Kamran, but he turns back, p. 113 ; intends treacherously to surrender Ghaznin to Kamran but before the latter could reach Ghaznin Bairām Khān arrives there and takes him to Kabul ; escapes, comes to Ghaznin ; Bairām Khān again takes him to Kabul, p. 126.

Muhammad Khān Kuria, defeated by 'Adali and Himun at Kalpi, p. 206.

Muhammad Khān Sharf-ud-din Ughli Taklu, Ataliq of Sultān Muhammad Mirzā ; welcomes Humāyun, p. 97 ; hostility towards Humāyun, p. 98.

Muhammad Khān Sur, Sulaimān goes to him, p. 145 ; tells him to wait till the battle between Babar and Sultān Ibrahim was fought but Sulaimān refuses to wait ; sent a man to Farid and advised peace among the brothers, p. 146 ; sent Shadi with all his retainers and Sulaimān with him to take Khawāspur, Tāndah from Shīr Khān, and make it over to Sulaimān, p. 148 ; being unable to oppose Shīr Khān, flies to Rohtas hills ; Shīr Khān generously restores Jaund to him, p. 149.

Muhammad Ludi Sultān, son of Sultān Sikandar Ludi ; defeated by Humāyun, pp. 45-46 ; takes shelter with Rānā Sanka ; after the defeat of the latter at Khānwa he remained in the neighbourhood of Chitur, p. 156 ; was sent to Patna by the *amīrs* who supported the Ludis ; Shīr Khān submits to him ; the

amīrs divide Behar among themselves leaving only a small part for Shīr Khān; Sultān Mahmūd advances to Jaunpur to fight with the Mughals, p. 157; he then goes to Sahsaram, Shīr Shāh having gone there at the instigation of his *amīrs*, after being received by Shīr Khān and remaining there for some days he again advanced to Jaunpur; Babar's *amīrs* fled, p. 158; but Babar advances from Kalinjar to meet him; Shīr Khān sent message to Mir Hindu Beg, the commander of the Mughal army that on the day of battle he would desert the Afghans, he does so, and the Afghans are routed, p. 159; Sultān Muhammad retires into seclusion and dies in Orissa, p. 160.

Muhammad Ma'sum Farandkhudi, see Ma'sum Khān Farankhudi.

Muhammad Ma'sum Kuka, defeats Muhammad Qulī Shughali, p. 324.

Muhammad Mirzā Hakim, Mun'im Khān is made his guardian, p. 270; Mirzā Sulaimān comes to Kabul on hearing of Shāh Abul Ma'ali's misdeeds at Kabul; he defeats Shāh Abul Ma'ali and makes him over to Mirzā Muhammad Hakim who orders him to be put to death; Mirzā Sulaimān gives his daughter in marriage to him but grants most of the districts of Kabul to his own men as *jāgīrs*, p. 279; drives out the Badakhshanis; on Mirzā Sulaimān again invading Kabul leaves Baqi Qaqshal there and retires towards Jalalabad and Parshawar, p. 289; comes to the Nilab and sends a representation to Akbar, p. 290; Akbar orders the feudatories of the Punjab to proceed to help him and they march towards Kabul, p. 290; marries his sister, the widow of Shāh Abul Ma'ali, to Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi, p. 291.

Muhammad Murād Khān, *jāgīrs* conferred on him and others in Sarkar Mandu and sent against the Mirzās, p. 342; in Ujjain besieged by the Mirzās; joins the other *amīrs* after his release, p. 351.

Muhammad Qasim, escapes from prison and goes to Mirzā Sulaimān to complain against Abul Ma'ali, p. 278.

Muhammad Qāsim Khān, builds bridge over the Nilab, pp. 551-552; sent to conquer Kashmir, p. 616; Kashmir chiefs desert Ya'qub, p. 617; honoured by Akbar; fights and defeats Ya'qub; Ya'qub joins the imperial army through his intervention, p. 618; government of Kashmir transferred from him to Mirzā Yusuf Khān Rizvi, p. 622; government of Kabul conferred on him, p. 628, p. 637.

Muhammad Qasim Khān Nishapuri, Governor of Sārangpur; welcomes Akbar there, p. 183.

Muhammad Qūlī Khān Birlās, one of the *amīrs* sent by Akbar to bring the Begams from Kabul, p. 212; Akbar sends army under him and others to attack Iskandar at Audh, p. 333; starts in pursuit; the *jāgīr* of Iskandar Khān is transferred to him, 340; dies when marching in pursuit of Dāud, p. 461.

Muhammad Qūlī Shughali, remains near Kabul under the order of Mirzā Sulaimān, p. 319; defeated by Muhammad Ma'sum Kuka, p. 324.

Muhammad Sadiq Khān, sent by Akbar to put down the rebellion in Bengal and Behar, p. 534; turns towards Behar to attack 'Asi Kabuli, p. 536; stays at Hajipur on account of the rains, p. 541; attacks and slays Khabisa, p. 556; comes to

Fathpur and is sent back with some other *amīrs* to destroy 'Asi Kabuli, p. 557; as governor of Bhakkar invades Thatha and besieges Sehwan; Jani Beg, ruler of Thatha comes forward with humility and sends ambassadors to the threshold and Sadiq Khān was ordered to withdraw, p. 621; government of Bhakkar transferred to Mirzā Yusuf Khān Rizvi and Muhammad Sadiq Khān; sent to Swad and Bajapur *vice* Isma'el Qūlī Khān to destroy the Yusufzais, p. 622.

Muhammad Shīr Diwana, an old servant of Bairām Khān with whom the latter left his son Mirzā Khān then three years old and other members of his family and his goods and chattels at Tabarhinda; took possession of the property and treated his family with much contumely, and afterwards seized Muzaffar 'Ali Turbati whom Bairām Khān sent to expostulate with him and sent him to Akbar, p. 244.

Muhammad Sultān Mirzā, one of the *amīrs* sent by Babar against Daria Khān and other *amīrs* of Sultān Ibrahim, p. 17; deserts Kamran and comes to Humāyun, p. 102.

Muhammad Yusuf Khān, son of A'zam Khān Atka, dies of excessive drinking, p. 316.

Muhammad Zaitun, surrenders Dhulpur, p. 34.

Muhammad Zaman, Akbar directs him to accompany him on his rapid march to Gujrat, p. 408.

Muhammad Zamān Mirzā, rebels against Humāyun; taken prisoner and sent to Bianah, p. 46; allowed to escape and takes shelter with Sultān Bahadur Gujrati, who being asked to return him refuses, p. 47; sent to Hindustan by Sultān Bahadur to create trouble; besieges Lahore; on the return of Humāyun returns to Gujrat, p. 62.

Muhibb 'Ali Khān, sent to Sind by Akbar; Sultān Mahmud Bakari refused to allow him to pass through his territory, p. 367; starts for Bakar; besieges Bakar, p. 368; on the death of Sultān Mahmūd of Bakar his *vakils* sent a petition to Akbar to the effect that they did not trust Muhibb 'Ali Khān and would not make the fort over to him, p. 457; ordered to help Rāja Todar Mal in destroying the Bengal rebels, p. 534; turns towards Behar to attack 'Asi Kabuli, p. 536; acts with Muhammad Sadiq Khān in attacking Khabisa, p. 556.

Mu'īd Beg, escapes out of Qandahar and joins Humāyun, p. 102; attacks Shāham Beg who is wounded and dies, p. 227.

Muin-ud-din Chisti Khwāja, Akbar goes on pilgrimage to his tomb, p. 257.

Muin-ud-din Khān Farankhudi, sent to re-inforce 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek in regaining possession of Mālwa, pp. 261-62.

Mujahid Khān, grandson of Muhibb 'Ali Khān, sent with him to Sind, p. 457; see Muhibb 'Ali Khān.

Mulla 'Ishqi, sent to Kashmir, p. 518.

Mulla Taiyib, arbitrarily changes *jāgīrs* in Bihar, p. 531; attempt of Ma'sum Kabuli, 'Arab Bahadur and Sa'id Badakhshi to kill him, p. 532.

Mun'im Khān, sent against Khān Zamān, crosses the Jumna, receives Akbar at Kanouj, p. 297; sent to take place of Asaf Khān on the latter's flight, p. 300; prays for the pardon of Khān Zamān, p. 314; nominated as governor of Qandahar; suggests that Bairām

Khān should remain there, p. 130; is left as governor of Kabul and Ghaznin when Humāyun starts towards India, p. 211; after Humāyun's death when Mirzā Sulaimān invades Kabul shuts himself up in the fort, p. 212; agrees to insert Mirzā Sulaimān's name after Akbar's in the *khutba*, p. 213; sent for from Kabul, p. 243; arrives from Kabul and meets Akbar at Ludiana and is made vakil and Khān Khānān, p. 247; Adham Khān kills Khān-i-A'zam at his instigation, p. 263, being one of the instigators of Adham Khān crosses the Jumna, in order to effect his escape, p. 264; assurance given by Akbar through Ashraf Khān; starts for Kabul; seized and sent to Akbar by Qāsim 'Ali; forgiven by Akbar, p. 265; goes to Kabul; appoints Haidar Muhammad Khān Akhta Begi to be governor of Kabul; later appoints his own son Ghani Khān, p. 269; left at Agra by Akbar when the latter marches to the Punjab to meet Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 323; reports the rebellion of Ibrahim Husain Mirzā, Mirzā Muhammad Hakim and Shāh Mirzā to Akbar, p. 326; after the defeat and death of Khān Zamān is summoned from Agra and on his arrival Khān Zamān's *jāgīrs* were transferred to him, p. 338; at Fathpur comes to Akbar to pray for pardon of Iskandar Khān, p. 368.

Muqim Khān, sent by Akbar to bring 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek back, p. 283.

Murād Khwāja, one of the three men whom Humāyun is said to have met in the course of a walk, and whose names became an omen of his success, p. 130.

Musahib Beg, put to death by order of Bairām Khān (note 2, p. 228), p. 228.

Muzaffar 'Ali Turbati Khwāja, see Muzaffar Khān, pp. 244 and 279.

Muzaffar Gujrati, as soon as I'tmād Khān had left Ahmadnagar he enters the city; the fort is surrendered and he enters it, p. 566; comes out to meet Shahab-ud-din Khān and I'tmad Khān; grants titles to the rebels and tries to gather strength, p. 567; Shīr Khān Fulādi joined him and sends him to Pattan; attacks and defeats Qutb-ud-din Khān; the latter takes shelter in the fort of Baroda and many of his followers go over to Muzaffar Gujrati, p. 568; bombards the fort of Baroda; puts Zain-ud-din Kambu to death, p. 569; marches to Bahroj and occupies it; 14 *lakhs* of rupees belonging to the imperial treasury and all Qutb-ud-din Khān's wealth exceeding 10 *krors* fall into his hands and the number of his followers increase to about 30,000, p. 570; returns to Ahmadabad leaving Nasir, his brother-in-law and Charkas Rumi who had deserted from Qutb-ud-din Khān's army at Baroj, pp. 571-572; encamps opposite to the imperial army; skirmishes for 2 days followed by a pitched battle, p. 572; attacked from rear and left and put to flight, p. 573; flies to Ma'murabad and then to Kambayat; leaves Kambayat for Baroda; Mirzā Khān sends Qulij Khān, etc. to attack him; retires towards Rajpipla and Nadot, p. 574; retires into hills; Ataliq Bahādur joins him; Mirzā Khān arranges to fight him and

sends Naurang Khān to reconnoitre his army; fight, p. 575; defeated and flies, p. 577; retires towards Surath and takes up his residence at Gondal; 3,000 men collect round him; he sends one *lakh* of *Mahmudis*, etc. to Amin Khān Ghuri, ruler of Surath, p. 578; sends similar amount to Jām Satarsal Rājā of Jhalāwar and moves forward towards Ahmadabad; arrives at Morvi; Mirzā Khān advances to meet him, when he arrived at Biramgāon 40 *karohs* from Morvi; finding that neither Amin Khān nor the Jām had joined him retired to Baroda, p. 579; retires towards Gujrat and comes to Uthniya, p. 580; with the *Kolis* and *Grassias* of the district comes to attack the troops at Paranti, p. 581; is defeated; retires towards Kathiawāra; goes forward to attack Amin Khān Ghuri, p. 582; raises the siege and retires towards Kach, is attacked from behind; crosses the Ran, p. 583; collects forces at Amberun; retires towards Kathiawāra, p. 590; advances towards Dulqa; turns back and goes to Morvi; is pursued; retires towards Kach, p. 591; brought by Amin Khān's son to attack the latter; Nizam-ud-din advances to attack him; retires towards the Ran, p. 593; goes to the Khangar; the Khangar arranges with A'zam Khān that Muzaffar should fall into the hands of the imperial troops; is seized; cuts his own throat with a razor and kills himself, p. 647.

Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, taken away from Surat by his mother Gulrukh Begam just before the beginning of the siege, p. 383; brought back to Gujrat by Mihr 'Ali, is joined by a number of people, p. 501; defeats Baz Bahādur son of Sharif Khān in Nadarbar, p. 501; on hearing of the approach of Rāja Todar Mal retires towards Dulqa; defeated by Rāja Todar Mal; retires towards Junagadh; rebellion subsides after his retirement, p. 502; seized by Rāja Ali Khān, p. 509; sent to Akbar with Maqsud Jauhuri; pardoned and favoured, p. 518.

Muzaffar Khān (Khwāja Muzaffar 'Ali Turbati) sent by Bairām Khān to expostulate with Shīr Muhammad Diwana; is seized by the latter and sent to the court, p. 244; made minister of finance, p. 279; comes with Vazir Khān and obtains the pardon of Asaf Khān and Vazir Khān, p. 329; he and Khwāja Jahan were ordered to take the camp to Agra, p. 355; appointed prime minister, p. 424; sent with Farhat Khān to capture the fort of Rhotas, p. 449; then governor of Patna and Behar, ordered to reinforce Khān Jahan, p. 486; appointed governor of Bengal, p. 517; again adopts harsh proceedings towards Baba Khān and Khaldi Khān, pp. 527-528; ordered to put Raushan Beg to death, order carried out (see also note 2), p. 529; sends Hakim Abul Fath and Patar Das against the Qaqshals, p. 530; sends Patar Das, Rizvi Khān and Mir Abu Ishaq to the Qaqshals; Baba Khān seizes and imprisons them, p. 531; sends Khwāja Shams-us-din Muhammad Khafi to defend Garhi, he is defeated by Ma'sum or 'Asi Kabuli, p. 532; 'Asi Kabuli with the Qaqshals advance to attack him; shuts himself up in the fort of Tanda but is brought out under a promise and put to death, p. 533.

N

Nahid Begam, complains against Muhammad Baqi Tarkhān, p. 366.

Nasir, brother-in-law of Muzaffar Gujrati left at Baroj by the lattor, p. 571 ; escapes with difficulty from Baroj, p. 577.

Nasir Khān, the Afghans assemble under Shāhbāz Khān and him at Dibalpur to withstand Humāyun, p. 132.

Naurang Khān, sent to put down Ikhtiar-ul-mulk, p. 404 ; Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khān and he were sent towards Bahroj and Champanir to crush Shāh Mirzā, p. 420 ; sent by Mirzā Khān to attack Saiyyad Daulat who had occupied Kambayat ; drives him out, but he again occupies Kambayat after Naurang Khān had left, pp. 574-575 ; he and other *amīrs* were left to take Bahroj when Mirzā Khān left for Ahmadabad ; they seize it, p. 577 ; he and Qulij Khān and Nizam-ud-din were ordered to remain in Gujrat, p. 588.

Nazr Bahādur, ranthambor made over to him, p. 342 ; sent to attack Junaid but is defeated and takes to flight, p. 461.

Nazr Be Uzbek, one of the great *amīrs* of 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek ; being aggrieved with the latter comes to Akbar with his sons, p. 611 ; on the day of *Nauruz* Akbar allows him to render homage, p. 613.

Nazr Shaikh Juli, sent to inform Akbar of the death of Humāyun, p. 137.

Niazis, on the night before a battle with Salīm Khān's army the Niazis oppose Khawās Khān's proposal that 'Adil Khān should be made the ruler in place of Salīm Khān ; Khawās Khān then separated from them, p. 184 ; the Niazis are defeated, p. 185 ; fly towards Dinkot ; Salīm Khān leaves an army to attack them ; they retire to Dinkot ; defeated by the new army, p. 187 ; takes shelter with the Gakkhars ; Salīm Khān comes with a large army to put them down, the few that were left retire into Kashmir, p. 187 ; the Kashmir rulers obstruct them and they are defeated and slain, and their heads sent to Salīm Khān, p. 188.

Niyābat Khān, rebels in Justi Piyak (Prayag) and attacks the fort of Kara which was in the *jāgīr* of Isma'el Quli Khān ; Iliyas Khān, the latter's servant fought and was killed ; besieges Kara and devastates the neighbouring country ; Akbar sends Isma'el Quli Khān and others to put him down, p. 542 ; raises the siege and goes towards Kantit, p. 542 ; defeated by the *amīrs*, goes to Ma'sum Khān, p. 543 ; is pardoned (see also notes 1 and 2), p. 553.

Nizam Khān, Amīr Sultān Junaid Birlas sent to attack him at Bianah, p. 29 ; sends petition to Babar about Rānā Sanka's designs ; Mir Saiyad Rafi-ud-din Safvi induces him to surrender Bianah and brings him to the court, p. 31.

Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, appointed *bakhshi* in Gujrat, pp. 561, 563 ; attacked and defeated Muzaffar Gujrati's men ; sends Zain-ud-din Kambu to Qutb-ud-din Khān to attack Ahmadabad ; advances to attack Shīr Khān Fuladi, p. 568 ; wants to march to Ahmadabad but was overruled ; *amīrs* remained for 12 days at Kari, p. 569 ; he and his

companions return to Pattan, p. 570; asks Mirzā Khān to advance quickly; meets Mirzā Khān at Sirohi, p. 571; sent to reconnoitre Muzaffar Gujrati's army; fights the enemy at the foot of the hill and advances then to the higher hills; then there was a fight with arrows and musket shots, p. 575; dismounts his best men and make them run up to the hill; sent Khwāja Muhammad Rafi to summon Qulij Khān; description of the battle, p. 576; rewarded, p. 578; started for Sorath; sent some troops to Amin Khān to help him to raid Kathiawara and to attack Muzaffar Gujrati from behind; arrives at Morvi and the Jām and Amin Khān sent their sons to him; joins Khān Khānān, p. 583; when he comes to Mahmudabad A'azam Khān left his army there and went to Ahmadabad, p. 586; advances to Baroda with his companions; meets Khān Khānān, p. 587; ordered to remain in Gujrat, p. 588; returns to Ahmadabad, p. 590; marches towards Dulqa; pursues Muzaffar Gujrati with his companion and leaves a *thana*, p. 591; went away relieving the place, p. 592; crosses the Ran and devastates *parganas* of Maba and Morvi and sends warning to the Khangar who apologizes through his vakils; the younger son of Amin Khān revolts against his father and brings Muzaffar Gujrati to attack him; advances to attack Muzaffar; when he arrives at Rajkot Muzaffar fled towards the Ran; Sidi Raihan, Amin Khān's vakil and the leader of the rebellion separates from the rebel; the Jām and Amin Khān make fresh declarations of loyalty, p. 593; comes to Ahmadabad; determines to crush the Garasias and marches to Uthaniya and Ahmadnagar and devastates the villages of Kolis and Garasias; after 5 months marches towards Bankanir and Sarnal and puts down the rebellion of the Garasias there, p. 594; summoned by Akbar to wait on himself; travels from Gujrat to Lahore in 14 days riding a camel, p. 595; sent for to attend on Akbar, p. 629; honoured with the rank of *bakhshi* of the army, p. 637; accompanied Akbar, p. 643.

Nizam-ul-mulk, p. 585.

Nur Muhammad, drowned in crossing the Ravi, p. 329.

Nur Qulij, p. 583.

Nur-ud-din Hakim Muhammad, Shāh Tahmasp's physician, is friendly to Humāyun, p. 100.

Nur-ud-din Mirzā Muhammad, cousin of Humāyun and father of Salīma Sultān Begam whom Bairām Khān married near Jalandhar, p. 224.

P

Patar Das, sent against the Qaqshals by Muzaffar Khān, p. 530; sent to the Qaqshals by Muzaffar Khān and was seized and imprisoned by Baba Khān, p. 531.

Peshrau Khān, sent by Akbar to assure Ma'sum Farankhudi and Audh was granted to him, p. 541.

Pir Muhammad Khān, originally Maulana Pir Muhammad Sarwani; puts Burj 'Ali to death, p. 226; his rise and fall, pp. 230–32; sent to the fort of Bianah and thence to Mecca, but remains in Gujrat; after Bairām Khān's fall returns to the court from Gujrat and is treated with favour; is granted the title of Nāsir-ul-mulk and sent in pursuit

of Bairām Khān, p. 242; sent with Adham Khān, etc. to conquer Malwa, p. 252; after the recall of Adham Khān, becomes governor of Malwa; advances to conquer Asir and Burhanpur (Khandesh); takes Bijagarh, p. 260; seizes Burhanpur and orders a general slaughter; is attacked by Baz Bahādur and the governors of Asir and Burhanpur; is drowned in crossing the Narbada, p. 261.

Pir Muhammad Khān Uzbek, his *atāliq* shuts himself up in the fort of Aibak but afterwards surrenders it, p. 119; fights a battle with Humāyun near Balkh, but turns back and enters the city, p. 120.

Poets, pp. 714–754 (see the contents also).

Puran Mal, son of Rāja Salhadi Purabiya; establishes his power and has a large band of Hindu and Musalman dancing girls; surrenders Raisin to Shīr Khān and comes out with his family and adherents; 'Ulma gives the verdict of his death; Shīr Khān's army attacks his camp, pp. 169-170.

Purkhotam Bakhshi, changes *jāgīrs* in Bihar, p. 541; Ma'sum Kabuli, 'Arab Bahadur and Sa'id Badakhshi's attempt to kill him; collects troops but 'Arab Bahadur attacks and slays him, p. 532.

Q

Qambar 'Ali Sahari, kills Qaracha Khān, p. 125.

Qambar Diwāna, rebels, plunders and destroys in the Doab; 'Ali Quli Sheibani attacks him and puts him to death, p. 136.

Qambar Ishaq Aqa, came from Shahāb Khān with the news that the latter had decided to stay at Kari, p. 565.

Qaqshals, resolve to rebel, p. 529; Hakim Abul Fath and Patar Das are sent against them by Muzaffar Khān, p. 530; Akbar's *farman* to conciliate them; return outwardly to their allegiance and ask that Rizvi Khān and Patar Das should be sent to them, p. 531; interchange communications with Ma'sum Kabuli, p. 532; advance with 'Asi Kabuli to attack Muzaffar Khān who shuts himself up, but is brought out under a promise and is put to death; Bengal and Behar came in to their possession, p. 533; come to meet Rāja Todar Mal at Munghir, p. 534.

Qaracha Khān, makes Qandahar over to Mirzā Hindal, p. 84; conspires against Humāyun, p. 115; attacks Mirzā Kāmran and defeats him, pp. 116-117; comes out of Kabul to oppose Humāyun, p. 124; taken prisoner and is slain by Qambar 'Ali Sahari, p. 123.

Qasim 'Ali Khān, sent by Akbar to give the garrison of Surat the assurance of safety, p. 386.

Qasim Husain Sultān, leaves Kāmran and joins Humāyun, p. 102; grant of *jāgīr* of Baroda by Humāyun to him, p. 58; flies to Champanir, p. 59.

Qasim Sambali, sends a petition to Babar about Baban having besieged Sambal, p. 28; amīrs sent to compel Baban to raise the siege; siege raised but Qasim evades surrendering it; fort seized and Qasim sent to Babar, p. 29.

Qatlu Afghān, p. 646.

Qatlu Luhani, instigates Daud to seize Ludi, p. 432.

Qazi 'Ali, p. 638; slain, p. 639.

Qazi Ghias-us-din Jami, rewarded for writing Akbar's horoscope, p. 509.

Qazi Jahān Qazwini, minister of Shāh Tahmasp friendly to Humāyun, p. 100.

Qazi Khān Badakhshi, sent by Mirzā Sulaimān to Ma'sum and peace was settled by the latter agreeing to pay a small tribute, p. 325; death, p. 597.

Qazi Nizām Badakhshi, enters Akbar's service, p. 451.

Qazi Sadr-ud-din, sent with Mulla 'Ishqi to 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Kashmir, p. 518.

Qazlbash Army, 10,000 men under the command of Shāh Zādā Shāh Murād and his tutor Badagh Khān Afshar sent by Shāh Tahmasp to help Humāyun to recover his kingdom, p. 100; encamps in front of Qandahar, p. 101; become depressed on account of the length of the siege, p. 102; occupy the fort of Qandahar, p. 103; Badagh Khān obtains permission to return to Iraq, p. 105.

Qiya Khān Gung, with other *amīrs* abandons Agra when Himun advances against them and returns to Dehli, p. 206; after Bairām Khān's fall is received by Akbar with favour, p. 239; is dissatisfied and goes away into the jungle; Rāja Todar Mal re-assures him, p. 462.

Quli Sultān Shāh Istajlu, governor of Mashhad, performs his duty to Humāyun, p. 98.

Qulij Khān, sent to Rhotas to bring Fath Khān and the keys of the fort, but returns unsuccessful, p. 302; was sent to conquer Ranthambhor; ordered to attack the Mirzās, p. 350; command of the fort of Surat entrusted to him, p. 388; strengthened the fortifications of Surat and withstand the attack of Muhammad Husain Mirzā, who thereupon abandoned the idea, p. 404; ordered to attack Rānā Kika, pp. 494-95; ordered to halt at Kokandah, p. 495; Akbar sends for him, p. 496; comes and is sent to arrange for the ships leaving for the Hijāz, p. 497; pp. 567, 571; joined Mirzā Khān three days after the victory; sent by Mirzā Khān to attack Muzaffar Gujrati, p. 574; summoned by Nizam-ud-din, p. 576; sent to take Bahroj which was taken, p. 577; ordered to remain in Gujrat, p. 588; remained at Ahmadabad, p. 590; starts for Surat; marches to Dulqa; returns towards Ahmadabad, p. 591; Isma'el Quli Khān is sent in his place, p. 622; on his arrival from Gujrat was entrusted in concert with Rāja Todar Mal with all political and revenue matters, p. 623; appointed governor of Lahore, p. 638.

Qutb Khān (Naib), one of the *amīrs* whose advice 'Adil Khān asked as to his coming to meet Salīm Khān; the latter sends them to 'Adil Khān; they advise him to come and guarantee his safety, p. 177; they represent to Salīm Khān that Bianah should be granted to 'Adil Khān as his *jāgīr*, p. 179; Salīm Khān's distress on the arrival of 'Adil Khān and Khawās Khān at Agra, p. 180; Salīm Khān speaks to him; promises to put down the disturbance; permitted by Salīm Khān to go to 'Adil Khān, p. 181; flies to A'zam Humāyun who sends him back to Salīm Khān and the latter imprisons him and sends him to Gwaliar, p. 183.

Qutb Khān, son of Shīr Khān, accompanies Humāyun to Gujrat and then returns to his father, p. 161; killed in a battle near Kalpi with

Humāyun's troops, p. 72, and note 2; sent to conquer Behar by the Sultān of Bengal; defeated and slain by Shīr Khān, p. 153.

Qutb-ud-din Husain Khān, separates himself from the other *amīrs* who were attacked by Rāja 'Ali Khān and goes away to his *jāgīrs* of Broach, Baroda, etc. in order to express the disturbances which were being created by Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, p. 503.

Qutb-ud-din Khān, Burhan-ul-mulk comes to him, p. 563; Zain-ud-din Kambu comes to take him to attack Ahmadabad; attacked by Muzaffar Gujrati, is defeated and takes shelter in the fort of Baroda, p. 568; sends Zain-ud-din Kambu under safe conduct to Muzaffar Gujrati but the latter puts him to death, p. 569; goes to Muzaffar Gujrati and is put to death; all his wealth fell in the hands of Muzaffar Gujrati, p. 570; news of his being slain, p. 577.

Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khān, sent by Akbar in pursuit of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, p. 324; *jāgīrs* taken back by Akbar on being recalled from the Punjab, p. 352; summoned by Khān A'azam from Bahroj; they shut themselves up in Ahmadabad on being attacked by the rebels, p. 405; sent towards Bahroj, p. 420; ordered to attack Rānā Kika, pp. 494-495.

Qutb-ul-mulk, p. 633.

Qutlaq Qadam Amīr, one of the amīrs ordered by Bābar to pursue the fugitive Afghan *amīrs* and to guard the neighbourhood of Milwat, p. 11; one of the *amīrs* sent by Bābar to take charge of the treasure in Milwat, p. 13.

Qatlu Khān Afghan, p. 562.

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Rafi-ud-din Mir Saiyad, becomes intercessor of Nizam Khān of Bianah and induces him to surrender the fort, p. 31.

Rahim-dad Khwāja, sent by Babar to take over Gwaliar, p. 32.

Rai Dehli, sent with the Khān Khānān to attend on Shāhzādā Danial in his expedition to the Deccan, p. 651.

Rai Lonkarn, Akbar orders the erection of a fort and city Ambirsar on land belonging to him and called it Manoharnagar after the name of his son, p. 505.

Rai Rām, he and others pursue Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā when he was plundering, p. 395.

Rai Sarjan, owner of the fort of Ranthambor; his servants evacuate the fort of Sui Supar, p. 342; chief of the fort of Ranthambor fought with Akbar Badshāh, p. 353.

Rai Singh, marriage of Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm with his daughter, p. 616; sent by way of Jesalmir with reinforcements to help the Khān Khānān Mirzā Khān in his campaign against Jani Beg, p. 637; sent to attend on Shāhzāda Danial in his expedition to the Deccan, p. 651.

Rāja 'Ali Khān, Akbar sent some great *amīrs* under Shahab Khān to attack him owing to his not carrying out the duty of submission, p. 498; shuts himself up and then makes his submission; the *amīrs* accept his submission and sent his petition to Akbar, p. 503; seizes Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, ordered to send him, p. 509; sends him with Maqsud Jauhari, p. 516; seizes the elephant, p. 600.

Rāja Baharjiu, Rāja of Baglana; sends Sharf-ud-din Husain Mirzā

who had rebelled 10 years and the latter was placed in custody, p. 389.

Rāja Bir Bar, sent to reinforce Zain Khān Koka; at the pass of Karakar a man came and gave some misleading information and he started with the intention of passing through the defile without acting in concert with Zain Khān; the Afghans attack the imperial troops; terrible defeat (see note 4), p. 609; about 8,000 men killed, p. 610.

Rāja Gajapati, supports Khān-i-A'zam, p. 443; 'Arab Bahādur takes shelter with him; defeated by Shahbāz Khān, p. 538.

Rāja Jaichand, Rāja of Nagarkot; Akbar's displeasure towards him, p. 398.

Rāja Kalyān Mal, of Bikanir; becomes a loyal servant of Akbar, p. 362; his daughter becomes an inmate of the *harem* (see note 3), p. 362.

Rāja Māl Deo, joins Akbar's service, p. 362.

Rāja Mān Singh, sent in pursuit of Shīr Khān Fuladi, p. 373; rejoins the camp, p. 374.

Rāja Ram Chānd, Rāja of Patna defeats Sultān Ibrahim, but treats him with respect, p. 204; Rāja of Panna sends the keys of the fort of Kalinjar, p. 357; Rāja of Bhatt; brought by Zain Khān Koka, p. 595; waits upon Akbar at Fathpur, p. 596; renders homage to Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, p. 635.

Rāja Todar Mal, joins the army, p. 306; after the defeat of Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk retires towards Kanouj, p. 308; sent by Akbar to examine the surroundings of the fort of Surat and submits a report, pp. 383-384; sent by Akbar to test the assessment of Gujrat, p. 422; brings the report of the assessment of Gujrat and sent to serve under Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān in Bengal, p. 425; sent in pursuit of Daud by Khān Khānān, p. 459; in pursuit of Daud at Madran hears that Daud was collecting troops at Din Kasari; asks for reinforcement; Khān Khānān sends them; advances to Gwaliar (Goalpara) 10 *karohs* from Din Kasari, p. 460; hears that Junaid, Daud's cousin wants to join Daud; sends Abul Qasim Namki and Nazr Bahādur to attack Junaid; they are defeated and have to take to flight; advances to attack Junaid who flies and takes shelter in the jungles; advances to Medinipur and here Muhammad Quli Birlas dies; returns to Madaran, p. 461; reports to Khān Khānān the retirement of Qiya Khān Gang into the jungle and he sends Shaham Khān Jalair, etc. re-assures Qiya Khān Gang and brings him back; marches from Bardwan via Madaran to Jitura; hears that Daud was collecting forces, p. 462; reports this to Khān Khānān who joins him, p. 463; sent in pursuit of Daud; arrives near Kalkal Ghati (Bhadrak) (see note 4), p. 466; comes from Bengal and brings elephants and other booty from Bengal, p. 497; sent to check the revenue assessment and to arrange the affairs of Gujrat, p. 498; Vazīr Khān writes to him to come for his help, p. 501; comes to Akbar; defeats Muzaffar Husain Mirzā who retires towards Junagadh, goes to the capital, p. 502; arrives at Ajmir, p. 504; sent by Akbar to put down the rebellion in Behar and Bengal; 'Asi Kabuli, the Qaqshals and Mirzā Sharf-ud-din Husain came to meet him at Munghir,

p. 534; shuts himself up in the fort of Munghir; skirmishes, p. 535; sends Ma'sum Khān Farankhudi to reinforce the garrison of Patna; turns towards Behar to attack 'Asi Kabuli, p. 536; reports that Khwāja Shāh Mansur had written harsh letters to Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi about sums due from him and also to Tarsun Muhammad Khān, pp. 539-540; stays at Hajipur on account of rain, p. 541; sent by Akbar with a great army to redress the disaster; builds forts, plunders and devastates the country, p. 610; manages the political and revenue matters in Gujrat with Qulij Khān, p. 623; news of his death, p. 628.

Rānā (Parsād), ruler of Amarkot; receives Humāyun with honour; collects a large army and starts for Bhakkar with Humāyun to fight with Shāh Husain Arghun, p. 89; but the soldiers gradually disperse, p. 92.

Rānā Kika, obstructs the road against Akbar's troops near Jodhpur, p. 372; Kunar Mān Singh is sent to attack him, p. 484; battle with Rāja (Kunar) Mān Singh and defeat by the latter; founded Kokanda after the victory of Chitor, p. 487; defeated, p. 489; takes shelter in mountains and woods, p. 493; Akbar orders some of his men to attack him, p. 495; arrangement to attack him, p. 496; defeat of his helpers, p. 499; Shahbāz Khān and others sent against him; besieged in Kambalmir which is captured but he escapes, pp. 516, 538.

Rānā Sanka, Babar confers with his *amīrs* as to whether he should attack him or the Luhanis; Rānā Sanka takes Kandar, p. 30; marches to attack the imperial dominions, p. 31; advances towards Agra, p. 34; Babar prepares to meet him, p. 35; defeats him, p. 38; Sultān Bahādur besieges Chitor and carries on war with him, p. 47; Sultān Mahmud seeks an asylum with him, p. 156; battle with Babar, and defeat near Khānwah, p. 157.

Rānā Udai Singh, Akbar wants to conquer Chitor on account of his not acknowledging Akbar's allegiance, p. 341; leaves Chitor in charge of Jai Mal and takes shelter in the hills and jungles, p. 343.

Raushan Beg, under the order of Akbar put to death by Muzaffar Khān, p. 529.

Ray Patar Das, appointed joint *Diwan* of Bengal, when Muzaffar Khān was made governor, p. 517.

Ray Sarjan, ruler of the fort of the Ranthambhor asks for protection and is included in the band of the imperial servants, p. 355.

Ray Singh, joins Ram Singh in the pursuit of Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā, p. 395; Rajputs slew Muhammad Husain Mirzā, p. 419.

Ray Singh Bikaniri, posted at Jodhpur to guard the boundary and to keep the road to Gujrat open, p. 373.

Rizvi Khān, appointed Bakshi under Muzaffar Khān appointed governor of Bengal, p. 517; sent to the Qaqshals by Muzaffar Khān and seized and imprisoned by Baba Khān, p. 531.

Rumi Khān, his advice to Sultān Bahādur not to fight a pitched battle with Humāyun accepted by his master, p. 50; its result, p. 51; receives favour from Humāyun and is appointed to conquer Chunar,

p. 62; Chunar evacuated and seized, p. 63 (see also note 1).

Rupmati, favourite wife of Baz Bahādur of Malwa; on whose defeat she takes poison and kills herself, p. 253.

Rustam Khān Rumi, treacherously killed by the Mirzās, p. 351.

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Sa'adat Khwāja, one of the three men whom Humāyun is said to have met in the course of a walk and whose names became an omen of his success, p. 130.

Sadiq Khān, sent with Ashraf Khān to conquer Ranthambhor, p. 350; sent in advance to capture the outskirts of the fort of Surat, p. 383; with Mirzā Yusuf Khān left in charge of the army when Akbar returns after defeating Daud, p. 450.

Sadr Khān, his advice to Sultān Bahādur about fighting Humāyun's army rejected, p. 50; attacked by Humāyun, p. 51; surrenders to Humāyun and is ordered to be imprisoned, p. 52.

Sa'id Badakhshi, attempts to put Mulla Taiyib and Purkhotam to death, p. 532; killed by Shaham Khān Jalair in a fight, pp. 534, 552.

Sa'id Khān, brother of A'zam Humāyun attempts to assassinate Salīm Khān, but is recognized and is wounded but escapes, p. 186; slain, p. 188; his army defeats Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā and Masa'ud Husain Mirzā and takes the latter prisoner, p. 396; Governor of Multān; Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā when attempting to cross the Gara in disguise is seized and brought to him, p. 397; produces the head of Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā before Akbar, p. 403.

Sa'id Khān (Kakhar), Akbar bestowed the government of the Punjab to him, p. 552; sent to reinforce Zain Khān Koka, p. 609.

Saif Khān Koka, debts paid from the imperial treasury, p. 424.

Saiyyad 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān, brings the head of Daud, p. 491.

Saiyyad Ahmad Khān Barha, made governor of Pattan, p. 374; brought the ladies of the *harem* to the emperor, p. 375; Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari Dehlavi (see note 3) sent in advance with others to put down Muhammad Husain Mirzā who was in the fort of Surat, p. 376.

Saiyyad Baha-ud-din Bukhari, sent to besiege Sihwan, p. 640.

Saiyyad Daulat, Muzaffar Khān comes to attack him; driven out by Naurang Khān but again occupies Kambayat after Naurang Khān had left; defeated by Khojam Bardi, p. 575.

Saiyyad Hamid Bukhari, ordered to reinforce Isma'el Quli Khān and remained at Peshawar, p. 615; attacked by the Tarikis; gave them battle and was killed, p. 619.

Saiyyad Mahdi Khwājah, one of the *amīrs* sent by Babar against the Afghan army sent by Sultān Ibrāhim under Daud Khān and other *amīrs*, p. 17.

Saiyyad Mustafa, p. 591.

Saiyyad Qasim Barha, comes from Pattan to Bijapur, 30 *karohs* from Uthniya, pp. 581, 583, 590, 592.

Salabat Khān, vakil of Nizām-ul-mulk, p. 585; defeats the Dakhinis and comes to Burhanpur, p. 600.

Salīm Chishti Shaikh, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lāh Niazi (Shaikh 'Alai) becomes one of his renowned disciples, p. 192.

Salīm Shāh, see Jalāl Khān.

Salima Sultān Begam, marriage with Bairām Khān, p. 224; goes with Gulbadan Begam to the Hijāz, p. 472; arrival at Ajmir and warm reception by Akbar, p. 557.

Sam Mirzā, brother of Shāh Tahmasp; besieges Qandahar for 8 months but is unable to take it then, pp. 48-49; defeated by Kāmran Mirzā, p. 49.

Samanji Khān, ordered by Akbar to help Rāja Todar Mal, p. 534.

(The) Sannasis, their fight with and victory over the *jogis*, pp. 330-331.

Sarang Khān, submits to Bābar, p. 27.

Shādi Khān, a slave of Muhammad Khān sent by him to Shīr Khān to ask him to give a share of his father's *jāgīr* to his brothers, p. 147; returns to Muhammad Khān; is sent with Sulaimān, Shīr Khān's step-brother, to wrest the *jāgīr* from Shīr Khān, p. 148; defeats Malik Sikkah, Shīr Khān's *dārogha* in charge of Khawāspur Tandah and dispossesses Shīr Khān, p. 149.

Shadi Khān Afghan, one of the *amīrs* of S. M. 'Adali; 'Ali Quli Khān sent against him; sends a force to attack him; Shadi Khān attacks it and slays most of the men, p. 213.

Shadmān, sent by Mirzā Muhammad Hakim for the conquest of Hindustān but was attacked and killed by Kunar Mān Singh, pp. 544, 545.

Shahab Khān, Muhammad Amin Diwana had fled from Lahore and taken shelter with him and then gone to the rebels, pp. 331-332; produced by Shāh Fakhr-ud-din and executed, p. 332; sent as the leader of some great *amīrs* to attack Rājā 'Ali Khān by Akbar, p. 498; receives the news of the capture of the fort by Muzaffar Gujrati; halts at 'Usmanpur, p. 567.

Shahāb-ud-din Ahmad Khān, conferred on him and others *jāgīrs* in Sarkar Mandu and sent to crush the Mirzās, p. 342; joins the army against the Mirzās, p. 350; Akbar leaves Agra in his charge when proceeding to Pehna and Hajipur to crush Daud, p. 434; comes out of the city at Ahmadabad, p. 564; went away to Kari, p. 565; was mollified by I'tmad Khān, p. 566; fled after loosing the use of the hands and feet, p. 567; hostility with A'azam Khān, p. 585; went away to Raisin and A'azam Khān advances against him but 'Azd-ud-daula arranged matters, p. 586.

Shahab-ud-din Ahmad Khān Nishapuri, plots against Bairām Khān with Maham Anka, p. 236; poisons Akbar's mind against Bairām Khān and prays to be allowed to go to Mecca pretending to be afraid of Bairām Khān; takes charge of affairs, p. 238; tells Akbar that Bairām Khān had started to conquer the Punjab, p. 241; at his instigation Adham Khān kills Khān-i-A'zam, p. 263; conceals himself, p. 264; re-assured by Ashraf Khān under Akbar's order, p. 265.

Shāhbāz Khān, sent to Bengal in succession to A'zam Khān to make over the whole country to military *jāgīrdars* to extirpate 'Asi Kabuli, p. 562.

Shāhbāz Khān Kambu, sent to help and reinforce the army of Bengal; on arrival at Hajipur attacked 'Arab Bahādur who had taken shelter with Rāja Gajpati and drove him

out and defeated Rāja Gajapati, p. 538; defeated by Ma'sum Khān and flies to Jaunpur; returns and joins Tarsun Muhammad Khān and defeated Ma'sum Khān, p. 543; appointed to extirpate the Yusufzai, p. 627; released, p, 649.

Shāh Bidāgh Khān, sent in pursuit of Shāh Abul Ma'ali by Akbar, p. 275; fights bravely against Khān Zamān but has to retire into the fort of Nimkhar, p. 296; conferred on him and others *jāgīrs* in Sarkar Mandu and they were sent to crush Muhammad Sultān Mirzā, p. 342; with Khān-i-A'zam attacks Shīr Khān Fuladi, Muhammad Husain Mirzā and defeats them, p. 391.

Shāh Husain Arghun, ruler of Thatha; Humāyun sends Mir Tāhir on a mission to him; Shāh Husain after a delay of 5 or 6 months asks Humāyun to come near to Thatha, p. 79; Humāyun advances against him, p. 79; and besieges Sehwan, p. 80; sends on embassy to Mirzā Yadgar Nasir and makes promises of allegiance to him and then advances to Humāyun's camp and seizes his boats, p. 81; Mirzā Yādgar Nasir then suddenly attackes Shāh Husain's men; Shāh Husain then returns to Thatha, p. 82; again enters into an agreement with Mirzā Yadgar Nasir; the Rānā of Amarkot with Humāyun marches against him, p. 89; his soldiers disperse; Shāh Husain Arghūn sends some boats to Humāyun to enable him to cross the river and proceeds towards Qandahar, sends message to Kāmran to inform him that Humāyun was marching towards Qandahar, p. 93; Mirzā Kāmran goes to him and marries his daughter, p. 107.

Shāh Mirzā, revolt against Akbar, p. 326; with Shīr Khān Fuladi besieges Pattan, p. 390; after performing brave deeds flies from the field of battle near Ahmadabad, p. 416.

Shāh Muhammad Qandahari, made governor of Kotah, p. 342.

Shāh Quli Khān, Khwāja Shāh Mansur is placed in his custody, p. 540; sent by Akbar to extirpate the Tarikis, p. 619.

Shāh Quli Khān Mahram, sent in advance to capture the outskirts of the fort of Surat; pursues Gulrukh Begam but returns unsuccessful, p. 383; sent to conquer the fort of Siwana, p. 457.

Shaham Beg, Khān Zamān's infatuation for him; taken away from the court, p. 225; takes Khān Zamān's *nikah* wife Aram Jān and afterwards makes her over to 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Beg. Afterwards goes to the latter's *jāgīr* at Sarwarpur and demands Aram Jān back: and on his refusal binds him and takes Aram Jān by force; attacked by Muid Beg father of 'Abdur Rahmān Beg, p. 227; killed, p. 228.

Shaham Khān, fights bravely against the rebels under Khān Zamān but has to retire to the fort of Nimkhar, p. 296.

Shaham Khān Jalair, fought with Sa'id Badakhshi and slew him, p. 534.

Shāhbāz Khān, Afghans assemble under him at Dibalpur to oppose Humāyun; defeated by Mir Abul Ma'ali and 'Ali Quli Sistani, p. 132.

Shāhbāz Khān Mir Bakhshi, sent by Akbar in pursuit of Gujar Khān,

p. 447; sent against Rānā Kika, p. 516.

Shāhzāda Danial, son of Akbar, p. 371, sent on a pilgrimage by Akbar, p. 540; left in the capital city of Fathpur by Akbar, pp, 544, 552; left in charge of the inmates of the *harem*; directed to wait on the fort of Rhotas, p. 643; appointed by Akbar to be the commander of the army, p. 651.

Shāhzāda Shāh Murād, birth in the house of Shaikh Salīm, p. 360; passes the Khaibar Kotal (pass); proceeds to Kabul and thought that Akbar should do so, p. 549; defeated Mirzā Muhammad Hakim and entered Kabul, p. 550; comes with the inmates of the *harem* from Rhotas and renders homage, p. 627; sent to be the governor of Mālwa; Isma'el Quli Khān was appointed as his vakil (agent) and *amīrs* were sent to attend on him; arrived near Gwaliar and was informed that Madhkar, a zamindar of Undjha (see note 4) was encroaching on the territories of Gwaliar, pp. 634-635; proceeds to punish Madhkar who comes forward and gave battle but after the *amīrs* had met he fled to the jungles and his country was ravaged, after his death his son Ram Chand renders him homage, etc. p. 635; the government of Gujrat was conferred on him and Muhammad Sādiq Khān was ordered to be his vakil, pp. 648-649.

Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm, begins taking lessons from Maulana Mir Kalān Harwi, pp. 423-424; pays reverence to the shrine at Ajmir with Akbar; his weighing ceremony, p. 429; remained in the camp, pp. 550, 551; sent to receive and welcome Gulbadan Begam and Sultān Salīma Begam, p. 557; weighing ceremony, p. 558; marriage with the daughter of Rāja Bhagwan Das, p. 599; marriage with the daughter of Rai Singh, p. 616; birth of his son Sultān Khusru; great festivities, p. 621; left in the great camp by Akbar, p. 638.

Shaikhs, pp. 700-710 (see the contents also).

Shaikh Faizi, p. 633; returns after his embassy to Rāja Ali Khān and Burhan-ul-mulk, p. 650.

Shaikh Farid Bakhsi, sent by Akbar to bring Nazr Bo Uzbek and the sons of 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān Uzbek, pp. 611-612; sent against Yadgar, p. 639.

Shaikh Farid Bukhari, sent by Akbar to put down the rebellion in Bengal and Behar, p. 534; sent to negotiate a peace; enmity with Bahadur Kurfurah who blocked his way and in an engagement some of his followers were slain but he managed to escape, p. 562.

Shaikh Khuram, hastens with the archers of the Doab to submit to Bābar, and becomes one of his great *amīrs*, p. 27.

Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari, debts paid from the imperial treasury, p. 424.

Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari Dehlavi, Saiyyed Muhammad Khān Barha and he bring Akbar's *harem* to the imperial camp, p. 375.

Shaikh Nizām Narnauli, interview with Akbar, p. 350; Akbar visits him, p. 507.

Shaikh Salīm Chishti, Akbar's high opinion about him; builds a *khanqah* and a lofty mosque in his residence in the village of Sikri; story about the name of Fathpur Sikri, p. 356; Shāhzāda Shāh Murād is born in his house, p. 360.

Shams-ud-din Muhammad Khān Atka, goes to Bairām Khān and tries to disabuse the latter's mind of the impression that he and his wife Maham Anka were creating trouble between him and the emperor; sent by Akbar towards the Punjab; blocks Bairām Khān's path, p. 245; comes from the Punjab and is made minister, p. 257.

Sharf Beg, p. 546.

Sharf-ud-din Husain Mirzā, sent to conquer Mirtha, p. 258; made *Jāgīrdar* of Nagor, p. 271; becomes suspicious and flies towards Nagor; Akbar grants his *jāgīr* to Husain Quli Beg, p. 273; meets Shāh Abul Ma'ali and conspires with him, pp. 273, 275; placed under custody by Rāja Baharjiu of Baglana, p. 389; made the chief of the rebels, p. 534.

Sharif Khān Atka, arranged for a grand entertainment for Akbar on his appointment as the governor of Mālwa (see note 3, pp. 538-539), p. 539; sent to take Bahroj which was taken, p. 577.

Shīr Afgan Beg, deserts Kamran and joins Humāyun, p. 102.

Shīr 'Ali, Kāmran's *amīr* sallies out of the fort of Kabul to seize some horses which had been brought with a caravan but Humāyun blocks the way when he tries to enter the fort again, p. 111; sent by Mirzā Kamran to crush Mirzā Hindal, but the latter's troops take him prisoner, and bring him before Humāyun, who pardons his offences, p. 116.

Shīr Khān Afghan, takes possession of Behar, Jaunpur and the fortress of Chunār; Humāyun's determination to crush him, p. 62; war with the ruler of Bangalah, p. 64; sends his son Jalāl Khān and Khawās Khān to defend Garhi, p. 65; comes forward, and his army confronts that of Humāyun for 3 months, p. 67; sends Shaikh Khalil to Humāyun, p. 68; advances and sends an army to Kalpi and Itawah and his son is slain; Humāyun sits down in front of his army, p. 72; attacks and defeats Humāyun, p. 73; crosses the river Bias and arrives within 30 *karohs* of Lahore, pp. 75, 85, 139; Shīr Khān as Shīr Shāh; early history; Ruh, his ancestral country described (see also note 1, p. 140, Abul Fazl's account); his grandfather Ibrāhim comes to Hindustān; Hasan, the latter's son, spends his life in the service of Jamāl Khān, governor of Jaunpur, who granted him Sahsaram, Hajipur and Tanda as his *jāgīr*, p. 141; Farid (Shīr Khān's original name) goes to Jaunpur; Hasan asks Jamāl Khān to send him back; refuses to go and remains at Jaunpur to continue his studies, p. 141; is placed in charge of his father's *jāgīr*, tells his father what his policy would be, p. 142; his drastic measures with the turbulent and refractory; arrival of Hasan at the *jāgīr* and his satisfaction with Farid's arrangements, p. 193; Sulaimān's mother (Hasan's Indian wife) claims the management of the *jāgīr* for her sons; Hasan hesitates; Farid withdraws from the management; goes to Agra and enters the service of Daulat Khān, an amīr of Sultān Ibrāhim, p. 144; asks Daulat Khān to get Sultān Ibrāhim to transfer Hasan's (his father's) *jāgīr* to him and his brother; Sultān Ibrāhim refuses to do so; but on Hasan's death, he confers his *jāgīr* on

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